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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

VARANASI

OCTOBER, 1968

[redacted]

4319

Published by

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,

POONA-4, INDIA

1972

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Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference,
Twenty-Fourth Session, Varanasi, October 1968,
Edited, printed, and published by R. N. Dandekar, General Secretary,
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PREFACE

The twenty-fourth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Varanasi in October 1968, had a special significance for me personally. For, at that Session, I completed twenty-five years of my humble service as General Secretary of the Conference. It was at the twelfth Session, held in 1943 at Varanasi itself, that I was first elected General Secretary, and since then I have had the privilege of being continuously associated with the Conference in that capacity. I should, therefore, be excused if I took this opportunity to look back on the years that have passed and thereby attempt an objective estimate of the work of the Conference.

The first Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Poona, under the auspices of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, from the 5th to the 7th of November, 1919. It is, certainly, a matter of gratification that, during the last fifty years and more, the Conference has been able to hold its Sessions, almost uninterruptedly, once every two years. It is further gratifying that, during this long period, the Conference has been able to cover almost all parts of India—from Trivandrum in the south to Srinagar in the north and from Calcutta and Gauhati in the east to Bombay and Ahmedabad in the west—thereby fully justifying its "All-India" character. With a permanent central office at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, the administrative set-up of the Conference has also become more or less stabilised. The membership of the Conference has now risen to nearly 1000. The *Proceedings* of the various Sessions of the Conference (though, unfortunately, they are now very much reduced in size on account of the lack of adequate funds) and the volumes of the *Index of Papers* have been generally well received in scholarly circles. On the occasion of the second International Congress of Orientalists held at London in 1874, MAX MÜLLER had said: "The real and permanent use of these scientific gatherings is twofold: (a) they enable us to take stock, to compare notes, to see where we are, and to find out where we ought to be going; and (b) they give us an opportunity, from time to time, to tell the world where we are, what we have been doing for the world, and what, in return, we expect the world to do for us." The AIOC may claim to have been trying, in its own way, to live up to this ideal so ably set forth by that great *savant* nearly a hundred years ago. The record of the Conference is thus by no means disheartening.

And yet, having been privileged to pilot the affairs of the Conference as its General Secretary for all these years, I have my own little grouses.

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For one thing, I feel that the scope of the AIOC is too restricted to justify the nomenclature "Oriental." I should like to see Indian scholars specializing in such disciplines as Egyptology, Assyriology, West Asian Studies, South-East Asian Studies, and East Asian Studies. Secondly, the impression has been growing on me that the participants in the Sessions of the Conference are tending to take what I call the "academics" of the Conference rather in a cavalier fashion. This has, I am afraid, adversely affected the standard of our work. And finally, as General Secretary, I have not been at all happy at having had to run a permanent office without any permanent fund which could make it possible for it to diversify and intensify the activities of the Conference.

Circumstances beyond our control have delayed the publication of the present Volume of the *Proceedings* to an unpardonably late date. Actually it is being issued long after the *Proceedings* of the twenty-fifth Session have been issued. The only modicum of satisfaction for me is that, at the twenty-sixth Session of the Conference to be held at Ujjain in the next week, I shall be in a position to declare that there are now no arrears so far as the publication of the *Proceedings* of the Conference is concerned !

Bhandarkar O. R. Institute,
Poona 4
October 20, 1972

R. N. DANDEKAR

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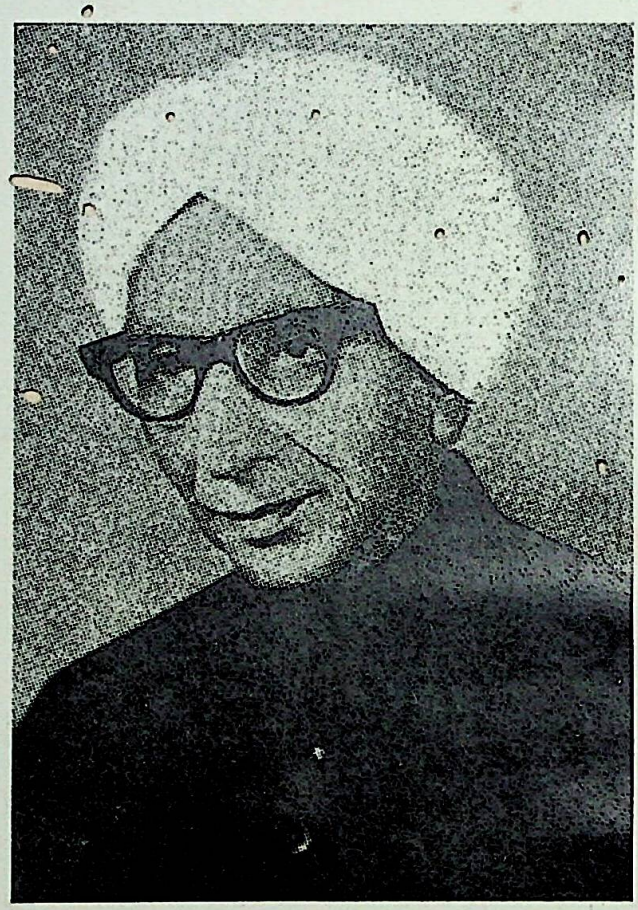

Professor Vishva Bandhu

General President, 24th All-India Oriental Conference

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ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

(Regd. under Act XXI of 1860)

BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE,
POONA-4, INDIA.

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION 1968
VARANASI

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Director, V. V. R. Institute, Sadhu Ashram,
Hoshiarpur (Panjab)

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Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi-2

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ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION

VARANASI

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETINGS

1. THE OLD EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi, at 7 p. m. on the 11th of October 1968, when the following members were present :

A. D. Pusalker, B. R. Sharma, P. V. Bapat, G. V. Devasthali, C. B. Gupta, Jagannath Agrawal, M. Neog, Harnam Singh Shan, S. A. Upadhyaya, A. N. Upadhye, and R. N. Dandekar. In the absence of the President and the Vice-President, A. N. Upadhye was voted to the chair. The following business was transacted at the meeting.

(1) The General Secretary placed before the meeting the draft resolution of condolence to be moved at the Inaugural Session. It was duly adopted.

(2) The General Secretary presented the audited statements of accounts for the years 1966 and 1967. They were duly adopted.

(3) It was resolved that Messrs Patki and Soman, Poona, be appointed Auditors of the Conference for the years 1969 and 1970 and that they be paid Rs. 50/- only as remuneration for each year.

(4) The General Secretary reported (1) that the *Srinagar Proceedings*, Vol. II, Part I, and the *Gauhati Proceedings*, Vol. I and II. were dispatched to Members; (2) that *Index to papers*, Vol. III, was published and was priced at Rs. 20/-; and (3) that the printing of the *Aligarh Proceedings*, was being carried out at the Bhandarkar Institute Press and that 160 pages were already printed off.

(5) The General Secretary reported that due notice was received in respect of the following proposals to be moved at the meeting of the Council of the Conference :

(1) From D. V. Chauhan re. the use of Śakakāla;
(2) From L. M. Chakradeo re. the three-language-formula;
(3) From A. S. Gupta re. lending of manuscripts;

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(4) From A. S. Gupta re. the introduction of Itihasa-Purana Section;
(5) From Badrinath Shukla re. Sanskrit University manuscripts;
(6) From Vidyanivas Mishra re. addition of a Section dealing with Modern Indian Languages.

It was resolved that sanction be granted for these proposals being placed before the meeting of the Council.

(6) The General Secretary proposed that an honorarium of Rs. 500/- be paid to K. V. Sarma for the compilation of Vol. III of the *Index to Papers*. The proposal was duly accepted.

(7) The General Secretary placed before the Executive Committee the letters of G. M. Patil (some suggestions re. the administration of the Conference) and Vishva Bandhu (re. J. P. Singhal's proposal for a Seminar on Aryan Problem). It was resolved to record the letters.

(8) The General Secretary reported that President-elects of the Arabic and Persian Section, the Pali and Buddhism Section, and the Dravidic Studies Section were unable to attend the Session. It was therefore resolved that H. S. Shan, P. V. Bapat, and Shankar Raju Naidu be requested respectively to preside over the three Sections.

(9) It was resolved to recommend to the Council that the following ten persons, whose names had been suggested by the Local Committee, be co-opted as members of the Council :

1. Dr. A. K. Narain
2. Dr. S. Bhattacharya
3. Shri Uma Shankar Sharma
4. Shri K. C. Gorawala
5. Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra
6. Dr. Baldev Upadhyaya
7. Shri Karunapati Tripathi
8. Shri Badri Nath Shukla
9. Shri Asoke Shastri
10. Shri Rai Govind Chandraji

(10) The Executive Committee confirmed the following resolution which was circulated and unanimously adopted by it :

"Resolved that the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference places on record its high appreciation of the distinguished services rendered to the Conference by Dr. R. N. Dandekar as General Secretary of the Conference continuously for a period of twenty-five years.

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Resolved further that, in recognition of these meritorious services, a silver medallion be presented to Dr. R. N. Dandekar on the occasion of the 24th Session of the Conference to be held at Varanasi in October 1968".

The meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the Chair.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

A. N. UPADHYE
Chairman

2. THE INAUGURAL SESSION

The Inaugural Session was held from 11 a.m. to 1.00 p.m. on the 12th of October 1968, in the pandal specially erected for the purpose on the grounds of the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi.

(1) The Session commenced with Vedic, Puranic, Pali, and Prakrit prayers.

(2) At the outset, the General Secretary announced that the General President-elect, Professor Vishva Bandhu, was unable to attend the Session owing to ill health. He read out the following letter from Professor Vishva Bandhu :

"It should have been a rare privilege of mine and should have given extreme pleasure to me, if I had been able to be in your midst on this august occasion. But, my present ill health does not permit me to exercise that privilege and to have that pleasure. I very much regret, indeed, this unavoidable absence of mine from your midst. However, I must assure you that, although physically absent, I shall be with you, in spirit. I wish every success to the Conference, and do hope that its deliberations will make a substantial contribution to and further the interests of Oriental Studies in our country".

The General Secretary further announced that the Vice-President of the Conference, Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, was also unable to attend the Session owing to ill health, and that, therefore, the Executive Committee of the Conference had resolved that Prof. A. N. Upadhye should preside over the Session.

(3) The Maharajasaheb of Banaras, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered his welcome-speech.

(4) The Secretary of the Reception Committee read some of the messages received on the occasion.

(5) Dr. Adityanath Jha, Lt. Governor of Delhi, then delivered the inaugural address.

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Professor R. N. Dandekar,

General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference, since 1943, with the Silver Medallion presented to him by the Conference for his long and meritorious services as General Secretary

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(6) The Acting President, Professor Upadhye, read out the following resolution which had been unanimously passed by the Executive Committee :

" Resolved that the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference places on record its high appreciation of the distinguished services rendered to the Conference by Dr. R. N. Dandekar as General Secretary of the Conference continuously for a period of twenty-five years.

Resolved further that, in recognition of these meritorious services, a silver medallion be presented to Dr. R. N. Dandekar on the occasion of the 24th Session of the Conference to be held at Varanasi in October 1968 ".

He also read out the following letter from Professor Vishva Bandhu :

" It is, indeed, a rare privilege of mine, most cordially, to place on record, on this most auspicious occasion, my high appreciation of the meritorious services which Dr. R. N. Dandekar has been rendering, most unstintingly, to the All-India Oriental Conference, during the last full quarter of a century, during which period, he, as the General Secretary of the Conference, has been shouldering the heavy burden of managing its affairs. There will not be any exaggeration in saying that, during all these years, he has been the live wire of the Conference which owes its pre-eminent position in the midst of similar bodies, to the tireless energy, keen enthusiasm and genial personality of Dr. Dandekar. The presentation of this Medallion to him is, therefore, just a token of the high esteem in which all of us hold him. May the many many years, yet to come, continue to witness his same steadfast association with the Conference and greater and greater contribution being made by him to all the noble ideals and objectives it has always stood for."

In a brief speech, Professor Upadhye eulogised the distinguished services of Professor R. N. Dandekar to Oriental Studies and Research in general and to the All-India Oriental Conference in particular. He then requested Dr. Jha to present the Silver Medallion (bearing inscription in Sanskrit and English) to Professor Dandekar. Dr. Jha made the presentation amidst lusty cheers from the whole gathering.

(7) Professor Jagannath Agrawal then read out the Presidential Address of Professor Vishva Bandhu.

(8) The General Secretary then read out the Condolence resolution in respect of the oriental scholars who had died since the last Session of the Conference. The resolution was passed, all standing in silence for two minutes.

(9) After announcements and vote of thanks by the General Secretary, Professor R. N. Dandekar, and the singing of the National Anthem, the Inaugural Session came to a close.

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3. THE COUNCIL

A meeting of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi, at 12.15 p.m. on the 13th of October 1968. In the absence of the President and the Vice-President, A. N. Upadhye was voted to the Chair. The following business was transacted.

(1) It was resolved, as recommended by the Executive Committee, to co-opt the following ten persons as members of the Council :

1. Dr .A. K. Narain
2. Dr. S. Bhattacharya
3. Shri Uma Shankar Sharma
4. Shri K. C. Gorawala
5. Dr. Vidya Niwas Mishra
6. Dr. Baldev Upadhyaya
7. Shri Karunapati Tripathi
8. Shri Badri Nath Shukla
9. Shri Asoke Shastri
10. Rai Govind Chandraji

(2) The Council then proceeded to elect eighteen persons as members of the New Executive Committee. The Chairman nominated S. S. Malwad, D. G. Joshi, and V. V. Bhide to act as scrutineers.

(3) D. V. Chauhan proposed : "This Session of the All-India Oriental Conference requests the Government of India to implement the decision to use the Śakakāla only as the national era in all its documents.

This CONFERENCE further requests all the research institutions, academic bodies, men of letters and writers in general in the Country to use the Śakakāla in all their books and writings.

This CONFERENCE makes a fervent appeal to the fourth estate, which was the Standard-bearer in the freedom struggle and is a real force in the integration and advancement of the Country, to take up this cause of popularising, among the people, the Śakakāla, an instrument for the integration of the nation."

After some discussion, it was resolved to drop the proposal.

(4) L. M. Chakradev proposed : "This 24th Session of the A.I. Oriental Conference requests the Government of India, the Union Education Minister and the Parliament to substitute the following THREE LANGUAGE Formula in place of the THREE LANGUAGE Formula advocated at present,

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1. The State Official Language of the particular Uni-Lingual State OR the Mother tongue of the Indiyidual Student Concerned, if possible.
2. Sanskrit as the Cultural Language of India and as the Language which will immensely help the Emotional Integration of the Nation.

AND

3. Hindi OR English in the capacity of the Union Official Language, whichever the Student likes to study. The Government and University should make arrangements to teach BOTH these languages.

After some discussion, it was resolved to drop the proposal.

(5) A. S. Gupta proposed : "All the Indian Oriental Institutes and Libraries are requested to supply their manuscripts on loan to such public Institutions which are well established and recognised by the Government, on furnishing adequate security and executing an indemnity bond. In case of the rare manuscripts they are requested to provide microfilm or photo-stat copies at the borrower's cost. If the lending Institutions have not got the facilities for preparing the microfilm and the photo-stat copies of their manuscripts, they should get them done by the National Archives of India".

The proposal was unanimously adopted.

(6) A. S. Gupta proposed : "That a new Section called Itihāsa-Purāṇa Section be added to the present Sections of the Conference."

It was resolved to refer this proposal to the New Executive Committee.

(7) Badrinath Shukla proposed :

"The Government of India be urged to grant a special subvention to the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya for the publication of rare manuscripts deposited in the library of the Vishvavidyalaya."

The proposal was unanimously adopted.

(8) Vidyanivas Mishra proposed :

"That a new Section on Modern Indian Languages and Literatures be opened at the future Sessions of the Conference".

It was resolved to refer this proposal to the New Executive Committee.

After a vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting terminated.

R. N. DANDEKAR	A. N. UPADHYE
General Secretary	*Chairman*

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The following was the result of the election to the New Executive Committee.

(The number of votes secured is given against each name)

1.	Dandekar R. N.	96
2.	Upadhye A. N.	65
3.	Pusalker A. D.	59
4.	Katre S. M.	49
5.	Bapat P. V.	48
6.	Gupta C. B.	47
7.	Agrawal Jagannath	44
8.	Neog Maheshwar	43
9.	Devasthali G. V.	42
10.	Chatterji S. K.	39
11.	Banerji A. C.	38
12.	Mehendale M. A.	38
13.	Ram Gopal	38
14.	Sharma B. R.	35
15.	Pushp P. N.	34
16.	Raghavan V.	34
17-	Sarma K. V.	34
18.	Shan Harnam Singh	31

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

A. N. UPADHYE
Chairman

4. THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

A meeting of the New Executive Committee of the Conference was held at the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi, at 10.30 a.m. on the 14th of October 1968. The following persons were present :

R. N. Dandekar, A. N. Upadhye, A. D. Pusalker, C. B. Gupta, Jagannath Agrawal, Maheshwar Neog, G. V. Devasthali, A. C. Banerji, M. A. Mehendale, Ram Gopal, B. R. Sharma, K. V. Sarma, and H. S. Shan. A. N. Upadhye was voted to the Chair.

(1) The New Executive Committee unanimously elected the following office-bearers :

General President	:	P. L. Vaidya
Vice-President	:	Gaurinath Sastri
Treasurer	:	A. D. Pusalker
General Secretary	:	R. N. Dandekar
Joint Secretary	:	B. R. Sharma

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(2) It was resolved to co-opt the following persons on the New Executive Committee in the vacancies caused by the election of office-bearers :

H. C. Bhayani, M. F. Kanga, and S. Shankar Raju Naidu.

(3) The General Secretary reported that invitations for the next Session of the Conference were received from Vikram University, Ujjain, and Jadavpur University, Calcutta. After some discussion, it was resolved that the invitation of Jadavpur University be thankfully accepted.

(4) It was resolved that the General Secretary be authorised to fix up the dates for the twenty-fifth (Silver Jubilee) Session in consultation with the authorities of Jadavpur University.

(5) The New Executive Committee considered the following two proposals forwarded to it by the Council :

(a) re. addition of the Itihāsa-Purāṇa Section

(b) re. addition of the Modern Indian Languages and Literatures Section.

It was resolved that these Sections be not added to the present Sections of the Conference.

(6) A joint meeting of the New Executive Committee and the Sectional Presidents at the various Sessions was then held to elect Sectional Presidents for the twenty-fifth Session. After voting, wherever necessary, the following Section Presidents were declared elected :

Section	President
1. Vedic	Father A Esteller
2. Iranian	Dr. M. F. Kanga
3. Classical Sanskrit	Prof. Jagannath Agrawal
4. Islamic Culture	Dr. S. M. Ataur Rahman
5. Arabic and Persian	Prof. Harnam Singh Shan
6. Pali and Buddhism	Dr. Bishvanath Banerji
7. Prakrit and Jainism	Dr. Hiralal Jain
8. History	Shri P. L. Gupta
9. Archaeology	Dr. Rai Govind Chandra
10. Indian Linguistics	Dr. C. B. Gupta
11. Dravidic Studies	Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu
12. Philosophy and Religion	Dr. J. S. Jetley
13. Technical Sciences and Fine Arts	Prof. S. K. Sarasvati
14. South-East Asian Studies	Dr. Buddha Prakash

After a vote of thanks to the Chair, the meeting terminated.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

A. N. UPADHYE
Chairman

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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5. THE CONCLUDING SESSION

The Concluding Session was held at 4 p.m. on the 14th of October, 1968, in the Conference Pandal on the grounds of the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Varanasi. The Acting President, Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye, was in the Chair.

(1) The General Secretary, Professor R. N. Dandekar, announced the names of the Office-bearers and members of the Executive Committee :

General President	:	Prof. Dr. P. L Vaidya
Vice-President	:	Prof. Dr. Gaurinath Sastri
Treasurer	:	Prof. Dr. A. D. Pusalker
General Secretary	:	Prof. Dr. R. N. Dandekar
Joint Secretary	:	Prof. Dr. B. R. Sharma

Other Members of the Executive Committee :

1) Prof. Dr. P. V. Bapat ; 2) Prof. A. C. Banerjee ; 3) Dr. S. K. Chatterji ; 4) Prof. Dr. G. V. Devasthali ; 5) Dr. C. B. Gupta ; 6) Prof. Jagannath Agrawal ; 7) Prof. Dr. S. M. Katre ; 8) Prof. Dr. M. A. Mehendale; 9) Dr. Maheshwar Neog; 10) Prof. P. N. Pushp; 11) Dr. V. Raghavan; 12) Dr. Ram Gopal; 13) Prof. Harnam Singh Shan; 14) Shri K. V. Sarma; 15) Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye ; 16) * Prof. H. C. Bhayani ; 17) * Dr. M. F. Kanga ; 18) * Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu (* Co-opt. Members)

(2) The General Secretary also announced the names of Sectional Presidents for the next Session :

	Section	President
1.	Vedic	Father A. Esteller
2.	Iranian	Dr. M. F. Kanga
3.	Classical Sanskrit ...	Prof. Jagannath Agrawal
4.	Islamic Culture	Dr. S. M. Ataur Rahman
5.	Arabic and Persian ...	Prof. Harnam Singh Shan
6.	Pali and Buddhism ...	Prof. Bishvanath Banerji
7.	Prakrit and Jainism ...	Prof. Dr. Hiralal Jain
8.	History	Shri P. L. Gupta
9.	Archaeology	Dr. Rai Govind Chandra
10.	Indian Linguistics ...	Dr. C. B. Gupta
11.	Dravidic Studies	Dr. S. Shankar Raju Naidu
12.	Philosophy and Religion ...	Dr. J. S. Jetley
13.	Technical Sciences and Fine Arts :	Prof. S. K. Sarasvati
14.	South-East Asian Studies ...	Dr. Buddha Prakash

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(3) The General Secretary then announced that Jadavpur University, Calcutta, had invited the A.I.O.C. to hold its next, that is, the twenty-fifth (Silver Jubilee) Session under its auspices and that the invitation was thankfully accepted. The General Secretary was authorised to fix the dates for the Session in consultation with the authorities of Jadavpur University.

(4) The Chairman then moved the following resolution which was unanimously adopted :

"The All-India Oriental Conference, meeting in its twenty-fourth Session at Varanasi, conveys to the Kashiraj Trust its felicitation on the recent publication of the *Critical Edition of the Vāmana-Purāṇa*. The Conference wishes to record its high appreciation for the competent manner in which the Editor, Shri Anand Swarup Gupta, has tackled the various text-critical problems which his work involved. Further it notes with satisfaction that the *Critical Edition of the Vāmana-Purāṇa* is brought out with Hindi and English Translations in separate Volumes. Altogether, this *Edition* augurs well for the Critical Editions of other Purāṇas, which are under active preparation under the auspices of the Trust.

The Conference is glad that the Government of India and Uttar Pradesh have been rendering financial help to the Trust for this important research project, and hopes that the project will not have to languish for want of adequate funds."

(5) The President then delivered the concluding address.

(6) After a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee, the Local Committee, Volunteers, etc. the Session was concluded.

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

A. N. UPADHYE
Chairman

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Receipts and payments Account : for

RECEIPTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
TO BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT :		
Cash on hand ..	68-38	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona City ..	4,600-10	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-4. ..	132-18	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with Reserve Bank of India, Bomby	12,000-00	16,800-66
„ MEMBERSHIP FEES ..		
i) Life Membership Fee ..	150-00	
ii) Full-Membership Fee ..	90-00	240-00
„ INTEREST :		
i) On Securities ..	480-00	
ii) On S/B Account ..	5-20	485-20
„ GRANT-IN-AID FROM GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TOWARDS THE PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF PROCEEDINGS OF ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, 21st (SRINAGAR SESSION), VOLUME II, PART I. ..		5,000-00
„ GRANT-IN-AID FROM GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TOWARDS THE PRINTING AND PUBLICATION OF " PANDIT PARIṢAD VOL." OF SRINAGAR SESSION (21 st) (GRANT RECEIVED IN PART) ..		3,000-00
	Total Rs.	25,525-86

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona-2
Date : 30th August, 1968.

PATKI & SOMAN
Chartered Accountants

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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C/O BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE : POONA-4
the year ending 31st December, 1966

PAYMENTS	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
BY POSTS & TELEGRAMS AT POONA AND OUTSIDE		325-38
„ PRINTING EXPENSES		
i) Srinagar Session		
a) Vol. II, pt. I. ..	5,357-00	
b) Pandit Parisad Vol. ..	1,438-62	
i) Miscellaneous : Aligarh Session.	834-50	7,630-12
„ REMUNERATION TO CLERKS ..		475-00
„ RAILWAY FREIGHT & CARTING.. CHARGES ..		959-90
„ AUDITOR'S FEE		
i) For the year 1964 ..	25-00	
ii) For the year 1965 ..	25-00	50-00
„ ADVANCE TO SHRI K. V. SARMA FOR THE WORK OF "INDEX TO PAPERS TO ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE", VOLUME III(FROM 1955 to 1965). ..		250-00
„ HONORARIUM TO SHRI K. V. SARMA FOR "THE COUNCIL REGISTER OF MEMBERS OF ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE"		500-00
„ STATIONERY ..		106-50
„ FULL MEMBERSHIP FEES, RECEIVED FOR ALIGARH SESSION, SENT TO LOCAL SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CENFERENCE; 23rd ALIGARH SESSION		75-00
„ MISCELLANEOUS ..		36-30
„ BALANCE AT CLOSE		
Cash on hand ..	211-00	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona City..	2,769-28	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-4.	137-38	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with Reserve Bank of India, Bombay ..	12,000-00	15,117-66
	Total Rs.	25,525-86

R. N. DANDEKAR
General Secretary

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

Receipts and Payments Account : for

RECEIPTS

	Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
TO BALANCE AT COMMENCEMENT		
Cash on hand ..	211-00	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona City ..	2,769-28	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-4. ..	137-38	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with Reserve Bank of India, Bombay ..	12,000-00	15,117-66
„ INTEREST		
i) On Securities ..	480-00	
ii) On S/B Account ..	6-25	486-25
„ MEMBERSHIP FEES		
i) Life Membership ..		100-00
„ 2/3rd of E FROM SALE OF CONFERENCE VOLUMES FROM BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE :		
i) For the year 1963-64 ..	1,830-03	
ii) For the year 1964-65 ..	1,088-40	
iii) For the year 1965-66 ..	2,495-40	5,413-83
„ SHARE IN MEMBERSHIP FEES FROM TREASURER, ORGANIZING COMMITTEE, ALIGARH SESSION, ALIGARH (NET) ..		6,627-50
	Total Rs.	27,745-24

AUDITOR'S REPORT

Examined and found correct as per books of accounts produced to us and information given to us during the course of our audit.

Poona-2
Date : 30th August, 1968

PATKI & SOMAN
Chartered Accountants.

Ganesh Varni Digambar Jain Institute, Naria, Varanasi

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C/O BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE : POONA-4

The year ending 31st December, 1967

PAYMENTS

		Rs. Ps.	Rs. Ps.
BY POSTS & TELEGRAMS AT POONA AND OUTSIDE	..		117-30
„ PRINTING EXPENSES			
i) Srinagar Session			
a) Vol. II, pt. I.	..	66-00	
b) Pandit Parisad Vol.	..	767-20	
ii) Index to Papers to A. I. O. C. Vol. III.	..	3,500-00	4,333-20
„ REMUNERATION TO CLERKS	..		535-00
„ PEON'S PAY	..		25-00
„ STATIONERY	..		18-75
„ MISCELLANEOUS	..		38-89
„ TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE PAID TO DR. A. N. UPADHYE, GENERAL PRESIDENT, ALIGARH SESSION OF ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE	..		392-25
„ MEMBERSHIP FEE FOR INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ORIENTALISTS (UNO)			808-50
„ BALANCE AT CLOSE			
Cash on hand	..	158-95	
In C/A with State Bank of India, Poona City	..	9,173-77	
In S/B Account with Poona Central Co-operative Bank Ltd., Deccan Gymkhana Branch, Poona-4.	..	143-63	
4% Treasury Savings Certificates in Safe Custody with Reserve Bank of India, Bombay	..	12,000-00	21,476-35
		Total Rs.	27,745-24

R. N. DANDEKAR

General Secretary.

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GENERAL PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS

By

ACHARYA DR. VISHVA BANDHU SHASTRI,
Hon. Director,
Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur

ओं धीधामप्रचेतिन्यै शब्दब्रह्मस्वयम्भुवे।
भगवत्यै सरस्वत्यै भूयो भूयो नमो नमः॥

Fellow Delegates and other Friends,

I have been done a rare honour, indeed, in having been called upon to preside over this Session of the All-India Oriental Conference which is the premier and all-comprehensive organisation of Oriental scholars of our country. I am grateful to the Executive Committee of the Conference for the great trust they have thereby reposed in me. This, I should believe, has been done not so much for any personal consideration regarding my humble self as it must have been done owing to a generous urge to recognize the work of the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, which it has been my privilege to direct since its reorganisation in its present form at Lahore in 1924, through several vicissitudes including the catastrophic aftermath of the country's Partition in 1947 disrupting the Institute and forcing it out of Lahore to shift and get re-established at Hoshiarpur. I hope you all will kindly extend to me your hearty co-operation towards enabling me to fulfil my duty properly.

Before I proceed further, it is my foremost duty to pay on your behalf and on my own, due homage to the sacred memory of those from our fraternity who, to our great loss, had their final exit from the world of the living subsequent to our last Session. While a general Condolence Resolution, in this connection, is presently coming before you, I may make a special mention, here, of Dr. Louis Renou, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, Prof. H. D. Velankar and Dr. Kalidas Nag, from amongst our departed friends.

Varanasi has the unique privilege of playing host to the Oriental Conference for a second time. It first met here in 1943 under the auspices of the Banaras Hindu University, and is meeting here again, this time, under the auspices of the recently chartered Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya. Indeed, it is as it should be. For, from hoary antiquity, Varanasi has been known as a most prominent seat of Śāstric learning and

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religious teachings. Hallowed by tradition and custom, it has been a common centre of pilgrimage for all, whether hailing from this country or from outside it, who subscribed to the ancient Aryan religion, embracing, alike every shade of Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. Here ruled Dhanvantari, who is traditionally known to have been the founder of Āyurveda. It was to its suburban Isipatana that Buddha came to preach his First Sermon. It was at this place that, as the legend goes, God Brahmā came down in the form of a Caṇḍāla to initiate Śaṅkara into the essentials of practical monism. It was here that the Vaiṣṇava reformer Rāmānanda preached his Bhakti School of Philosophy. Here did come Chaitanya, Ravidās and Tulasīdās to preach their cult of love and devotion. Likewise, it was here that Kabīr poured out his heart in support of a rationalistic approach to the problems of life and pure *Bhakti* which refused to recognize communal differences. Nānak came here to make known to the world his reorientation of the Upaniṣads and Purāṇas. And, more recently, it was here that Dayānand felt a similar urge to come to preach his gospel of neo-Hinduism.

During the days of Vedic glory Kāśī was already known as an established *Janapada*. *Atharvaveda* refers to it and it formed, probably, the south-east extremity of the then Aryan settlements.[1] The Brāhmaṇa texts reveal indirectly Vedic culture having already pervaded Kāśī and the adjoining territories like Kosala, Videha and Magadha by referring to the political feuds born of the ambitious performance of the Aśvamedha sacrifice by their kings.[2] Among the philosopher-kings of Upaniṣadic fame, a mention has to be made of king Ajātaśatru of Kāśī, whom Bālāki, a rather swollen-headed brāhman youth, made bold to offer to initiate into the secret lore of *Brahman*, but ultimately accepted him as his teacher.[3] The Epics and the Purāṇas which abound in references to the importance of Kāśī give a glimpse of the political ups and downs through which Kāśī had to pass during those early days.

Of still greater interest to us must be the strides that this city took through the ages towards developing as an advanced seat of culture. Situated on the main trade route of ancient and mediaeval India which connected great cities like Pāṭaliputra, Prayāga, Mathurā, Indraprastha and Takṣaśilā, flourishing commerce made a great contribution to the prosperity of the city and the rich business magnates, in their turn, took pride in extending their

1. *Cf. Atharvaveda*, Paippalāda Saṁhitā, 13.1.12.

2. See, for instance, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 13. 5. 4. 19-22. See also *Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra*, 16.29.5, where Jala Jātūkarṇya is mentioned to have officiated as priest for the kings of the three kingdoms of Kāśī, Kosala and Videha.

3. *Cf. Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, 2. 1. 1 ff.

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liberal patronage to art and learning. Perhaps, there is no other city in the world, like Varanasi, which could claim an unbroken tradition of having been a prominent seat of learning and culture during the past five millennia.

Though, at first, Takṣaśilā was the educational capital of India, there are references in early literature pointing to students even from that city going to Varanasi for further instruction.[1] Later on, when Takṣaśilā fell on evil days under foreign pressure, Varanasi assumed and has, since then, maintained that position. However, unlike Takṣaśilā, Nālandā, Vikramaśilā and Valabhi, which owed to bounteous royal patronage their development as University Centres managed by scholarly organisations, Varanasi did not grow in the direction of emerging as a centralised University organisation, but, on the other hand, continued to remain as a place where large numbers of erudite scholars resided and imparted, in their personal capacity, instruction in the different disciplines.

The fame of Varanasi as a centre of learning has never been on the wane. From every part of India and even abroad, young aspirants after learning have ever been seeking to enter the portals of that city to sit at the feet of its renowned scholars. Even learned Pandits from elsewhere have been thinking it useful to spend a portion of their active life here because it added to their status. Numerous families devoted to higher learning have migrated from far and near to this holy city for study and permanent stay here, further enriching, in their turn, its cultural wealth. The contribution of Varanasi to studies in religion, philosophy and literature has been most substantial, perhaps, unequalled by that made by any other single place.[2] Therefore it is but appropriate that our Conference is holding its Session for a second time at this place.

A subject of prime importance which deserves to be considered in the right perspective by this august body is the determination of the proper place in our educational curriculum, of the study of Sanskrit, being so essential as a basic discipline for the study of all other branches of Indology. Sanskrit language and literature form, in the words of Jawahar Lal Nehru, " the finest heritage of India. This is a magnificent heritage and so long as

1. See, for instance, *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā* (P. T. S. edn.), vol. III, p. 45, where Susīma, śaṅkha's son is stated to have proceeded from Takṣaśīlā to Vārāṇasī for study. See also *Khuddakapāṭha Aṭṭhakathā* (P.T.S. edn.), p. 198.

2. On Varanasi and its learned tradition, See : A.S. Altekar, *Benares : Past and Present*, (Banares, 1943); Moti Chandra, *Kāśī kā Itihās* (Hindi), (Bombay, 1962); *Illustrated Weekly of India*, (Bombay). two Special Numbers entitled 'Homage to Varanasi', dated 9.2.1964 and 16.2.1964; S.P.V. Ranganathaswami Aiya, 'On the S'eṣas of Benares' *Indian Antiquary*, 41 (1912) 245-53 ; Gopinath Kaviraj, 'Kāśi kī Sārasvata-sādhanā', (Hindi), *Pariṣat-Patrikā*, (Patna) 2. ii (July 1962) 9-24 ; iii (Oct. 1962) 9-32 ; iv (Jan 1963) 9-25; 3. i (April 1963) 9-26.

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this endures and influences the life of our people, so long the basic genius of India will continue." Sanskrit functioned as a most effective vehicle for the expression of the countless ideas and highest ideals which our forefathers conceived of and pursued during the past ages and also deeply influenced and moulded their varied cultural patterns. It is a veritable mirror of Indian civilization and culture, being the repository of a mass of literature which has given expression to the intellect and the spirit of India in her progressive march through the great creative ages. The literature is copiously rich in religion, philosophy, law, linguistics, fine arts, positive sciences, gnomic and didactic verse and *belles lettres*.

It may be of interest to draw attention, in this context, to a well-known aspect of the Sanskirt language which is, often, lost sight of, *viz.*, possession by it of wonderful vitality and resilience, which may be said to have been brought about, first, by the perfection of its grammar so dextrously formulated by Pāṇini, the greatest linguistic authority of all times, and, secondly, by its extraordinarily rich vocabulary. As a literary medium, it is most precise in delineating all scientific and philosophic thought, besides being the most enduring one.[1] It is these characteristics of the language that had developed it as the all-expressive and eternal medium of the learned tradition of the ancient Brāhmaṇas and had advantageously pursuaded, later on, both the Jainas and the Buddhists to adopt it as the first alternative language, besides Prākṛt and Pāli, for their writings. This astounding life-force of Sanskrit which has so successfully sustained it in the past is asserting itself again, at present, through the Modern Indian Languages which, facing as they do, the challenge of modern arts and sciences, have to draw upon this perennial reservoir. This is observable in the process of vitalisation, which, under its influence, the modern Indian languages are going through towards becoming proper media for expressing adequately the innumerable techniques of modern disciplines. Equally impressive is the mass of creative and commentative writings that is being turned out these days, in Sanskrit, and the renderings into it of important works from other languages besides the considerable periodical literature that is being published in it.[2]

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1. It is this aspect of Sanskrit that had persuaded us to adopt it as the medium of the voluminous critical commentaries to our 16- volume *Vedic Word-Concordance*. (V. V. R. I. 1935–65).

It may be interesting to add here that judgments in the Indian Law Courts were being delivered, practically up to the middle of the 19th century, in Sanskrit. A reference could be made here to the *Nyāyakandalī*, (Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya 1968) being a collection of 263 such judgments.

2. For details, see : V. Raghavan, 'Sanskrit literature, 1709-1937. *J. of the Madras University*, Centenary Number, 1957; 'Modern Sanskrit writings', *Adyar Library Bulltein*,

(Continued on next page)

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We might recall, here, the robust realisation by the representatives of the people, at the time of the framing of our Constitution, that Sanskrit, if adopted as our official language, could be a very effective means of bringing about our much-needed emotional integration and thereby, help us build up our national solidarity. No less than one half of the ruling political party of the country wanted a resolution to be passed in this behalf, but, as chance would have it, the said resolution got defeated just by the casting vote of the Chairman. This enthusiasm for Sanskrit was, however, successful in having Sanskrit included in the VIII Schedule of our Constitution as one of our National Languages and by getting it practically prescribed, in Art. 351, as the sustainer and reinforcer of Hindi in the development of the latter. This was followed up by getting the Government of India's Sanskrit Commission set up, in the autumn of 1956, for the purpose of going about the country to know, exactly, the present position of Sanskrit studies and to make proposals for improving the same in every possible way. But, it is extremely sad that after having shown, in the beginning, so much enthusiasm for Sanskrit, the Government have, since, been following certain policies which, in effect, have practically elbowed out Sanskrit from the general scheme of education in our country. Thus, the Three-language Formula, enacted in 1956, has been responsible for the virtual elimination of Sanskrit studies from Secondary Education. The Amendment to the Official Languages Act and the Resolution on Languages adopted by the Lok Sabha in 1967 have potencies to stifle, still further, the study of Sanskrit. The Sanskrit Commission's major recommendations towards Sanskrit being accorded its due position in the educational schemes of the country have likewise, been left unheeded. It is to be deplored that at a time when there should be an all-out effort towards national integrity, the strong cords of Sanskrit, which had culturally unified our country in the past, are being snapped. Things have come to head, so much so that, recently, a writ petition was filed by the Akhila Bharatiya Rashtrabhasha Sammelanam of Calcutta at the West Bengal High Court, praying for the restoration to Sanskrit of its due place in the educational curriculum of India. It is high time that the Government woke up and realised what they should really do towards duly promoting, as expected by the whole country, the study of Sanskrit at all levels.

(Continued from previous page)

20 (1956) 20-56; *Contemporary Indian literature*, (Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1957), Section on Sanskrit, pp. 189-237. See also the section devoted to Sanskrit literature in the monthly *Indian P. E. N.*, (Bombay) and the half-yearly *Indian Literature*, (New Delhi). The entries in the *Rāṣṭrīya Granthasūcih* (Saṁskṛta-vibhāgaḥ). 1958-1962, (New Delhi, 1963), number about 2000.

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The above observations on Sanskrit, in general, may lead us now, to a special consideration of the present-day situation regarding our earliest literary heritage consisting of the Vedic literature which occupies a unique position among the literatures of the world. A Grand monument of the hoary past, the Vedas have come down to this day much better and much more extensively preserved than any other extant old literature. The Hindus, in particular, have always looked upon the Vedas as the sacrosanct authority for religion and morality and, as such, have preserved them, through the ages, with an unparalleled record of fervent devotion and punctilious care. But now, even among the Hindus, the Vedas seem to be increasingly falling on evil times. In olden days, the whole country extending from Kashmir in the North to Kerala in the South and from Kāmarūpa in the East to Kacch in the West, was studded with Vedic seminaries which turned out, successively, generation after generation of trained reciters of the Vedic texts and erudite scholars drunk deep in the Vedic lore. This situation maintained itself, though to a lesser degree, even during the five centuries (*C.* A. D. 1300–1800) of Muslim political predominance. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the said situation has been going from bad to worse, more or less, as a result of the Western impact, in general, and of the British imperialistic policies, in particular. The said process of deterioration in the situation of the Vedic studies does not seem to have been checked, in any way, during the last two decades of the revival of Indian political independence. Today, barring just a small number of Vedapāṭhaśālās, worth the name which somehow or other, are still carrying on in the South and the South-West of India, practically, no vestige of similar institutions is to be met with in any other part of this vast country of five hundred millions.

The Vedas have figured as the premier basis, ever rich and resourceful, of Indological researches, pursued, on modern critical, comparative and historical lines, during the past two centuries. Work of great merit has been and is still being turned out in several directions in this field. It includes text-critical, exegetical, literary, linguistic, grammatical and cultural studies, text-editions, lexicographical and bibliographical works relating to the Vedic texts and also literary, socio-economical and other general histories of the Vedic age. By far the most voluminous work has however been produced regarding the social, political and religious history of the Vedic age. Thus, altogether 15,379 books and papers of modern Vedic research have been registered in Renou's *Bibliographie Vedique* (1931) and Dandekar's *Vedic Bibliography*, volume I (1946) and volume II (1961) and, out of these 2679 items, being 17% only of the total number, pertain to text-editions and dictionaries, translations and commentaries, while, to the contrary, as many as 12,700

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items, being 83% of the total number, are related to general, historical and cultural studies. The glaring contrast between the aforesaid figures cited for the two sections of the publication work in the Vedic field apparently lends weight to the general belief that the Vedic text-critical studies have been fairly completed and now not much remains further to be done in this direction. That this impression, however, is not correct should be evident from a proper consideration of the situation.

The Vedic texts are most important in that the most ancient phase of Indian cultural, socio-economic and Political history must needs be reconstructed on the basis of the varied side-lights which could be obtained from their study. Evidently, therefore, it was most essential that this study should be based either on well authenticated originals or on really dependable translations of the Vedic texts. Otherwise, as obvious, the deductions made from imperfect basic data as embodied in and extracted from incorrectly recorded, ill-edited and corrupt texts and translations thereof, will lead only to general miseducation and intellectual malaise all along the line where Indological studies are pursued.

Notwithstanding the universally admitted fact that supreme effort has been made in this country down the past fifty centuries or so towards preserving intact the original purity of the old texts in question by committing them to memory with such extreme care and ardent devotion as have no parallel in the literary history of any other people, it has been observed, somewhat casually, by previous workers in this field and, in detail, by ourselves in the course of our researches during the past four decades that even these works did not remain immune from the ravages of time and imperfections of human transmission. Indeed, it would have been incredibly miraculous if it had been otherwise. Therefore, in the interest of both promotion of Vedic philological studies themselves as well as of correct reconstruction of cultural, socio-economic and political history of the Indian nation, it is a desideratum of the greatest importance and urgency, that the available linguistic talent and competency of the day should give first priority to the task of undertaking to bring out thoroughly revised and critically edited and authenticated texts of the 500-odd Vedic and allied texts as now extant.[1]

So far, by fancying our routine cramming and recitation of the Vedic texts not to have been subject to the universal law of phonetic change and our making and copying out of manuscripts thereof to have remained free

1. For about 5,000 text-critical notes and notices on suspected text-corruptions, see the Footnotes added to the *Vedic Word-Concordance* (16 vols., V. V. Research Institute, Hoshiarpur, 1935-1965), which can now be taken up one by one for being studied afresh and in detail along with and in the light of all possible further augmentation of data, for the purpose of the proposed critical editions of these texts.

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from the admittedly unavoidable usual graphical errors and corruptions, we have taken every Vedic text at its face value and published it, practically, as such and, in doing so, unwittingly, laid the foundation of our work, I am afraid, on quicksands in place of hard rock. Evidently, the translations as well as other superstructural studies which would be based on thoroughly revised and critical editions, as envisaged above, alone, could afford dependably realistic depiction of affairs in the Vedic age. For, in the absence of this consummation, all other work in this field will look like playing *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark.

An investigation into the pre-history of the language of the Veda would be instructive, in this connection. The Indo-Aryan speech did not start with the vocabulary employed in the composition of the Vedas. This vocabulary represented only a particular midway stage in the perennial flow of the stream of that speech, with numerous such stages preceding as well as succeeding it. The same phonetic processes which resulted, subsequently, in the development of Vedic speech, first, as Classical Sanskrit and, then, in succession, as MIA and NIA must have been responsible for its own emergence from the long and continuous line of its successive predecessors.

Thus viewed, every Vedic vocable, while it is being interpreted, strictly, in accordance with its context and on the basis of well-known canons enunciated by tradition[1] can therefore be passed, like any MIA or NIA vocable, through its preceding regularly reconstructable stages. This process alone could facilitate each Vedic vocable being inter-related to its cognates at the all-time Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and Indo-European levels towards getting at its original conceptual as well as its proto-phonetic etymon. So, a Vedic etymologist, to be true to his grain, could not arbitrarily set up any midway station and content himself with just a random scattering of a few cognates from here and there, but must pursue his objective, *ad ultimo*, casting his net as wide and exhaustively deep as he could in the entire related linguistic field, including its pre-history.

The total number of verbal roots of OIA, as recorded in a number of related treatises, might be in the neighbourhood of 3000. Quite a large number of these have been assigned more than one meaning each. Besides

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1. Cf the well-known dictum of Bhartṛhari, as given in his *Vākyapadīya*, 2. 317-18 :

saṁyogo viprayogas ca sāhacaryaṁ virodhitā /
arthaḥ prakaraṇam liṅgaṁ śabdasyā'nyasya sannidhiḥ //
sāmarthyam aucitī deśaḥ kālo vyaktiḥ "svarādayaḥ" /
śābdārthasyānavacchede viśeṣasmṛtihetavaḥ //

This dictum might, as well, include under the term *svarādayaḥ*, the modern methodology of linguistic research on historical lines, so that the latest contributions on this subject could also be duly utilized.

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these roots, which have thus been recorded as possessing more than one meaning each, every other root also, as Patañjali has said, could give a number of meanings *(bahvarthā api dhātavo bhavanti, Mahābhāṣya,* 1. 3. 1*)*. As each of the different senses conveyed by a root will have to be treated as a distinct basic concept, this would swell the number of the OIA roots beyond imagination.

It has however been observed that the synonymic roots could be grouped together under one arch-root, actually found recorded or, if not, reconstructable according to regular phonetic patternization and treated as phonetic variants of the latter, thereby bringing down the total number of OIA roots to a really effective minimum.

It has also been observed by actual experimentation on the suggested lines, carried out, continuously, during the past three decades, that all the said arch-roots could be represented proto-linguistically at the molecular stage, as distinguished from the preceding nuclear and atomic stages by the same single unit *√bhṛṣ* which, while remaining intact in the formation of one set of its derivatives like *bhṛṣṭa-* and *bhṛṣṭi-*, has lent itself, down the ages, to innumerable patterns of phonetic change in the rest of them. To cite an example, I have shown in the *Specimen* of my projected *Dictionary of Vedic Interpretation* (Hoshiarpur, 1965), how it is this *√bhṛṣ* to which eleven out of the thirteen semasiologically different postulations of *aṁśa–*, which is a homonym treated in that *Specimen*, have been ultimately related. It is held in this connection that this same single phonetic unit has been made to express different meanings, simply, by the force of persistent primitive multi-directional convention *(saṅketa)*. In other words, it has behaved like so many different roots by virtue of having become conventionally invested with its multi-conceptual character, keeping pace with the gradual growth of civilization and culture. Work on this proto-linguistic hypothesis has been in regular progress at the Vishveshvaranand Institute, now, for a number of years. A basic corpus of about 1.25 lakhs of word-cards has already been built up in this behalf. While more and more word-cards continue to be added to this corpus, it is now being taken up for being passed through a process of regular patternization towards the definitive formulation of this new hypothesis.

One of the main benefits that should accrue from a periodical gathering of scholars, like the present one, would be to take stock of the work done in the various fields of study at regular intervals and to lay down guidelines for further work. The Addresses of the Presidents of the different Sections of our Conference would present, when read together, a systematic

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account of the research in the entire field of Indology during the last two years. Therefore, it will be my privilege, here, to refer only to the major developments in Indological Studies in general and to other matters of common interest. I may also be saying something regarding specially outstanding work which might have been done in our various fields of study. Moreover, I may be placing before you certain problems which seem to be confronting some of the branches of Indological Studies.

The progress made in the Vedic Studies subsequent to our last Session has been substantial, if not spectacular. The Vishveshvaranand Institute, Hoshiarpur, completed its 8-volume critical edition of the *Ṛgveda* with four commentaries by Skandasvāmin, Udgīthācārya, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava and Mudgalācarya, based on 32 original manuscripts and all available earlier editions (1963–66). Dr. V. M. Apte has continued working, incessantly, on his Marathi Translation of *Ṛgveda* with elaborate critical and exegetical Notes and it is heartening to note that this important project is, now, nearing completion. The Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, has made further progress in its critical edition of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* with the commentaries of Sāyaṇa and Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara as well as in its two other undertakings, *viz.*, the *Śrautakośa* and the English Translation of the Eighteen Principal Upaniṣads. The Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, has brought out critical editions of six minor Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāmaveda*. The surprising discovery of new manuscripts of the Paippalāda recension of the *Atharvaveda*, in Orissa, in 1959, by the late Dr. Durga Mohan Bhattacharyya was rightly hailed as an important event in the history of modern Vedic Studies. The Calcutta Sanskrit College undertook to bring out a critical edition of this text on the basis of these manuscripts and also issued, in 1964, its Vol. I comprising of the first *Kāṇḍa* only. It was very unfortunate that Dr. Bhattacharyya passed away in 1965 and no further volume has been issued so far. It would certainly be appreciated if the Calcutta Sanskrit College took special interest in completing the publication of this work. The Vishveshvaranand Institute has recently issued two ancillary texts of the *Atharvaveda*, *viz.*, the *AV Bṛhatsarvānukramaṇī* (1966) and the *Vaitānasūtra* with the commentary of Somāditya (1967). The same Institute recorded further progress in the critical editions, as undertaken by it, of the Śrautasūtras Āśvalāyana, Drāhyāyaṇa and Lāṭyāyana, altogether with six commentaries.

On the side of Vedic exegesis, the University of Mysore has published, Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah's *Contributions to the interpretation of the Ṛgveda* (1967). A study of about 200 gāthās lying scattered in the Vedic texts has been made by Paul Horsch in his *Die Vedische Gāthāund Śloka-literatur*

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(Bern, 1966). J. Gonda has published two important monographs, *viz.*, *Loka : World and Heaven in the Ṛgveda* (Amsterdam, 1966) and *The meaning of the word dhāman in Sanskrit* (Amsterdam, 1967). The posthumous publication of N. J. Shende, entitled *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharva Veda* (Poona, 1967) presents an interesting study on the Atharvanic poets and their art.

The publication by the Vishveshvaranand Institute of the *Brāhmaṇoddhāra-Koṣa* (Hoshiarpur, 1966) which brings together, under properly classified and alphabetically arranged appropriate conceptual headings, a typical selection of about 50,000 Brāhmaṇic citations should now go to fulfil a desideratum of long-standing by providing an instrument of ready reference for instituting comparative and critical studies of the Vedic concepts as enunciated in the vast Brāhmaṇa literature including the prose sections of the Saṁhitās. The *Upaniṣad-Uddhāra-Koṣa* being another work, on similar lines, in respect of the Upaniṣads, too, has almost been completed by the same Institute.

Of prime importance to furtherence of Vedic Studies, as the *Vedic Concordance Project* of the said Institute has, all along, been admitted, its completion in 16 volumes (1935-1965), may be said to have been a major event in the history of modern Indological Research. This *Concordance* forms a universal vocabulary register of all available Vedic texts, *viz.*, the Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upaniṣads and the Vedāṅgas, with complete text-references and critical comments bearing on the phonology, morphology, accent, grammar, metre, text-criticism and traditional as well as proto-linguistic etymology. Attention might be drawn here to a generally unnoticed but very important aspect of the said *Concordance*. Out of the 11,000 pages of this work, nearly 4000 account for the commentative footnotes which, besides recording, exhaustively, the available text-comparative data, trifurcate into three new directions, namely, (1) Vedic Text-Criticism (*Pāṭhamīmāṁsā*), (2) Supplementation (*Upasaṅkhyānaṁ*) and Revision (*Śodha*) of Pāṇinian Grammar and (3) Proto-linguistic etymology, all of these three, evidently, possessing a very high potential for opening up new vistas of research. Suspected text-corruptions, about 5000 in number, have been marked off and, in many cases, suitable emendations suggested. Similarly, about 5000 items of Pāṇinian text-tradition have been pointed out as requiring further study towards supplementation or revision, accompanied by suggestions in this behalf. And, lastly, considerable data are spread over the entire range of the said footnotes on Proto-linguistics, about the nature of which a brief indication has already been given in the earlier part of this Address.

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While on this subject, I would stress the need of preserving the tradition of Vedic recitation and, for this purpose, of strengthening what is being done at present in this connection in Pāṭhaśālās where there is provision therefor and of introducing this study in Pāṭhaśalās where it is not being imparted. In this context, one should welcome the establishment of a Trust, named as Chaturdhama Veda Bhavan Nyasa, with the main object of preserving the Vedas and promoting their study and research and for this purpose, start, in the first instance, Veda-Pāṭhaśālās at Badrinath, Jagannath Puri, Rameswaram and Dwaraka.[1] A mention may be made here also of the honour being done to Vedic scholars by the Maharashtra and Rajasthan Governments and, likewise, of the periodical *Vidvat-sabhās* held by enlightened individuals and cultural institutions, especially, in South India, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Gujarat. Of late, some laudable efforts have been made towards tape-recording the Vedas by certain private and public agencies. A mention in this behalf might be made of the All-India Radio,[2] the Rajasthan Sanskrit Parishad, Jaipur,[3] and the Oriental Research Institute, Trivandrum.[4] However, to achieve the intended objective, it is necessary that this tape-recording is done systematically and fully and the records are kept in public institutions like the National Library, Calcutta, where they should be available for study and research as well as for the supply of copies thereof, if required. It is suggested that a project like this should be taken up, at the all-India level, by the Central Sanskrit Board, in collaboration with the All-India Radio, who should be in a position to provide, readily, the necessary equipment and expertise for the purpose.

In the field of Sanskrit Grammar, a major project in progress pertains to a critical edition of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* with all available commentaries, its translation into English with explanatory comments and a study thereon by Prof. K. A. S. Iyer, Lucknow. The project is to be completed in nine volumes, out of which three have been issued so far (Deccan College, Poona, 1963-65). V. P. Limaye, and K. V. Abhyankar have edited Bhartṛhari's *Ṭīkā* on the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali and the publication of the same, serially, in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona, is nearing completion. Malayagiri's system of Sanskrit Grammar entitled

1. The co-sponsors of this Trust are Shri M. Anantasayanam Ayyangar, Ex-Governor of Bihar, Shri Biswanath Das, Ex-Governor of Uttar Pradesh and Shri Hanuman Prasad Poddar, Head of the Gita Press Organisation, Gorakhpur.

2. They have taken tape records of a large number of select Vedic hymns.

3. Their Veda Saṁskrita Yojanā (Project for tape-recording the Vedas) was inaugurated on 23. 8. 1966.

4. The aim of this project was to record the Vedas as recited by the Namputiri scholars of Kerala.

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Sabdānuśāsanam accompanied by his own commentary has been critically edited by B. J. Doshi (Ahmedabad, 1967). Out of the 10 volumes in which the Sanskrit Education Society, Madras, has undertaken to publish *Kṛdanta-rūpamālā*, three volumes have been issued so far. The publication of G. V. Devasthali's *Anubandhas of Pāṇini* (Poona University, 1967) supplies a very useful reference tool for the study of the Pāṇinian Grammar.

It should be a matter for jubilation to note that the project of the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata*, which had been undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in 1917, has been successfully completed in 19 volumes, running, altogether, to about 13,000 pages. The Oriental Institute, Baroda, undertook in 1951 to bring out a Critical Edition of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and, out of its seven *Kāṇḍas*, five have been published so far. The Saraswati Mahal Library, Tanjore, has completed the publication of the last three kāṇḍas of the commentary known as *Dharmākūtam* on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, of which four had already been issued by the Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam. The Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, has been engaged on the publication of the commentary *Amṛtakatakam* on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and has, so far, issued the first four *Kāṇḍas*. The Kashiraj Trust, Varanasi, has brought out a critical edition of the *Vāmana Purāṇa* (1967).

Among recent critical studies on Kālidāsa, a mention may be made of Dimbeswar Sarma's *An interpretative study of Kālidāsa* (Gauhati, 1968) which is a good reappraisal of the views of Kālidāsa on various aspects of life, both religious as well as secular. The first all-inclusive critical edition of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, as composed in succession, by Kalhaṇa, Jonarāja, Śrīvara and Śuka, has been completed by the Vishveshvaranand Institute (4 vols.,-1960–67). *The Dhvanyāloka and its critics* by K. Krishnamurthi (Mysore, 1967) presents an assessment of the Dhvani school with reference to other schools of rhetoric. The Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, has issued two of the three volumes, as planned, of its critical edition of Basava Bhūpāla's encyclopaedic work known as *Śivatattvaratnākara*. The Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya has just brought out (1968) an interesting book entitled *Nyāyakandalī*, being a collection of 263 judgments which had been delivered in Sanskrit in the early 19th century in the courts, mostly at Calcutta, of the East India Company.

Studies and researches on Pāli and Buddhism, on the one hand, and Prākṛts and Jainism, on the other, happen to be under pursuance only at a few special centres. Thus, while the former are carried on mainly in the academic institutions at Calcutta, Santiniketan, Patna, Gaya and Varanasi, the latter are receiving special attention at Vaisali, Varanasi, Jabalpur and

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Ahmedabad. Barring a dozen or so of them, our universities may be generally said to have not made, so far, any provision for the study of these subjects. It is, however, very desirable that more universities should come forward to include these subjects in their curricula. It is well known that, from the 3rd century B. C. onwards, Jainism had enjoyed wide currency in the Karnatak region, which has on that account become enriched with an extensive Jain literature, both in Sanskrit and Kannada, offering a great potential for fruitful researches. In this context, it augurs well that the Karnatak University, Dharwar, has, recently set up a new Department for Jain Studies.

The Jaina Śvetāmbara Terāpanthi Mahāsabhā, Calcutta, had planned to issue the entire Jain canon in six graded series and it is to be noted with satisfaction that nine volumes have already appeared (1968). A mention may be made also of the project of the L. D. Institute, Ahmedabad, having undertaken to bring out a *Dictionary of Prākṛt Proper Names* and the Parshvanath Vidyashram Research Institute, B. H. U., Varanasi, having undertaken the preparation of a *Dictionary of Jaina Technical Terms* and *Histories of Jaina literature* and *Jaina Philosophy*.

In the field of History, some of the previous undertakings are nearing completion. Thus, out of the 11 projected volumes of the *History and Culture of the Indian people*, as undertaken by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, eight have aleady appeared. The Vol. I of the 6-volume history of Indian political renaissance, entitled *Study of India from 1870-1939*, as planned by Anil Seal of Cambridge and John Gallagher of Oxford, has just been issued (1968). The Rajasthan State Archives, Bikaner, has issued Vol. I of its 2-volume *Rajasthan through the ages* which is intended to be a comprehensive history of Rajasthan. The recently started Shivaji University, Kolhapur, is instituting, as one of its main activities, exhaustive studies on Maratha history from original sources. *Select Documents for the period 1689 to 1920*, being the first publication under this programme, has been issued during the current year (Ed. A. G. Pawar, 1968). *A History of Panjab* has been undertaken by the Panjabi University, Patiala, to be issued in eight volumes, of which one volume has already been published.

The benefit of international exchange of documentary information for the progress of researches in history cannot be over-estimated. The recent (1966) exchange, between USSR and India, of lists of documentary material on Indo-Russian relations available in the State Archives of the two countries is, therefore, to be welcomed. Both parties have also agreed that the micro-films of relevant documents will be supplied on either of the parties asking for the same. It will be advisable to enter into similar agreements with other

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countries as well, and, in the first instance with those countries like Holland, Portugal, England and France, with which we have had close contacts during the last few centuries. It is to be hoped that the decision recently taken by our Government, at the instance of the Indian Historical Records Commission, to throw open to scholars Governmental documents older than 22 years instead of 30 years, as previously prescribed, will, likewise, be useful in its own way.

Of late, there has been a feeling that the era of making new significant archaeological finds was over. That this, however, is not so is being increasingly domonstrated by the fruitful excavations which have lately been conducted by the Central and State Departments of Archaeology. Thus, the exploratory excavations carried out, during 1967-68, along the West Indian coast northwards as well as southwards of Surat by Shri. J. P. Joshi of the Western Circle and Dr. and Mrs. Allchin of the Cambridge University, have brought out as many as 42 new sites ranging from the Early Stone Age to the Mediaeval Period, including the one at Malwan on the estuary of the river Tāpti, which having been taken, so far, as the southernmost limit of the Harappan culture, may be said to be the most important of the finds. Likewise, recent excavations conducted at Tilwara and Balotra in the Barmer area of Rajasthan have yielded finds which are supposed to be pre-Harappan in antiquity. Among other significant finds, a mention may be made of those at Kalibangan in Rajasthan where two fortified settlements have been excavated, one Harappan and the other still earlier; at Sonkh, near Mathura, where excavations have indicated as many as twelve different strata of occupation, going back to the proto-historic period; and at Pandu Rajar Dhibi in the valley of river Ajay in West Bengal where excavations have yielded relics of the chalcolithic civilization which flourished there 4000 years ago. A mention might be made, also, of the excavations at Kaveri-p-pumpaṭṭinam or Pūmpuhār, the ancient port-city of Tamilnad, where the discoveries made, including a settlement of the Greeks (Yavanas), corroborate the details in contemporary literary records.

Among major projects in progress, may be noticed the 'Survey of monuments and temples in the Deccan region' undertaken by the Marathawada University and two works of reference, *viz.*, the *Topographical List of Indian Inscriptions* and the *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, both being prepared at the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta.

It is good that archaeology has been introduced as a subject of study in some of our Universities and, also, that an all-India body, named the Indian Archaeological Society has been formed with its headquarters at the

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B. H. U., Varanasi. In his Presidential Address to the inaugural session of the Indian Archaeological Congress convened by the said Society in February 1968, at Varanasi, Dr. H. D. Sankalia has rightly emphasized the need of priority being accorded to the publication of the bulky materials which have already been discovered by the Central and State Archaeological Departments as well as by the connected Departments in some of the Universities, but have yet to see the light of the day.

Turning to linguistics, R. L. Turner's *Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages*, containing about 15,000 words, being the result of his forty years' labour, has been completed (O. U. P., 1967). The Vishveshvaranand Institute, after having circulated among scholars a 40 page *Specimen* of its *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of Vedic Interpretation* decided, in the light of the comments received from some of the scholars in this behalf, to bifurcate this project into two separate works, (1) *A Comparative and Critical Dictionary of Vedic Interpretation* and (2) *A Comparative Proto-linguistic Etymological Dictionary of Indo-Aryan*. Accordingly, the methodology of both these works is being re-formulated and the working thereof reorganised. Working at the Chandigarh Sub-office of the same Institute, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma has completed his *Summary of Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India*, compressing the entire materials contained therein in about 1500 pages, being about one tenth of the size of the original, and the same is now, awaiting publication. Likewise, Dr. Varma's *Dictionary of North-Western Himalayan Dialects*, taking into its purview about 45,000 words of 27 Kāshmīrī, Pahāṛī and Kāṅgṛī dialects has been completed and is being made ready for the press. For some years now, he has also been engaged on the compilation of another important work of reference, *viz.*, a *Dictionary of Śikṣā and Prātiśākhya Terminology*, which aims at studying critically and comparatively all available data on the subject.

The Modern Indian Languages have started receiving special attention owing to their having been recognized as the various State Languages and their being gradually adopted as the media of higher education. In the case of Hindi, its study is receiving additional fillip on account of its having been adopted as the Official Language of the country. It is a step in the right direction that the Government have decided to establish State Institutes of Languages in every State towards providing additional facilities for the promotion equally, of all the State Languages and the Official Language, *viz.*, Hindi, on a country-wide scale, and, also, for bringing about, in the non-Hindi regions, the closest rapproachement between the State Languages and Hindi.

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As a direct result of the special attention being paid to Modern Indian Languages, various linguistic and lexicographical studies in this field have been initiated at several centres. The K. M. Institute of Hindi and Linguistics, Agra, is working on its project of a *Dictionary of Early Hindi (11th to 16th cent.)*. The Sadul Rajasthan Institute, Bikaner, has issued the Vol. I of the project, as undertaken by it, of a *Rājasthānī Śabdakoṣa*. The Panjab Language Department, Patiala, recently started working on a *Linguistic Survey of Panjab*. *A Pilot survey of the Marathi Dialects* is being conducted by the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, University of Poona. The same Centre is working also on a Dictionary and a Grammar of Marathi and Sindhi and on a descriptive and historical study of the Munda languages. The Kerala University is preparing a *Malayalam Lexicon*, of which the Vol. I has already been issued (Trivandrum, 1965). *A Historical Grammar of Malayalam* and a *History of the Malayalam Language* are in preparation in the recently started Malayalam Research Department of the same University. The Tamil Research Department of that University is concentrating on the study of a Descriptive Grammar of Tamil on the basis of the ancient Tamil classics. The French Institute of Indology at Pondicherry has brought out an *Index des mots de litterature tamoule ancienne* (1967). The Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, has recently increased its activity relating to the publication of Tamil works on Āgama, Āyurveda and Architecture. The Karnatak University, Dharwar, has been interesting itself in bringing out Kannada classics, among which may be mentioned *Basavarāja-vijayam* and *Triṣaṣṭipurātana-caritra*. An International Institute of Tamil Studies has come into being at Madras for advanced studies and researches in Dravidian culture, with special reference to Tamil.

Dr. R. N. Dandekar has surveyed in his book entitled *Some aspects of the history of Hinduism* (1967), the evolution of the Hindu religion through its proto-historic, Vedic and Classical stages and Dr. Maheswar Neog, in his book *Śaṅkaradeva and his Times* (Gauhati, 1965), the early history of the Vaiṣṇava movement in Assam. The Karnatak University, Dharwar, is concentrating on the edition, translation and comparative study of the rich *Vacana* literature in the Kannada language composed by the Vīraśaiva Saints. The works issued already include *Cannabasaveśvara-Vacanagaḷu*, *Siddha-Maheśvara-vacanagaḷu* and *Śivaśaraṇeyara-Vacanagaḷu*. A mention may be made here also of two projects on Indian religions in progress, *viz.*, the 3 – volume *Āgama-Koṣa* as undertaken by the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth, Tirupati, and the *Hindu-Koṣa*, as undertaken by the Jabalpur University.

Ancient Indian Sciences, (Pure as well as Technical), Arts and Crafts admittedly possess a high potential for advanced study and research.

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Apart from their purely academic value, these two disciplines have their own practical importance in modern life. One should, therefore welcome the proposal of the Government of India to attach Sanskrit Wings to Engineering Colleges with the object of acquainting the students with indigenous technical terminology and to give them an insight into the scientific tradition of our country as recorded in Sanskrit texts. At present, students in our Universities, while learning the various sciences, get acquainted with the history of their development, mainly, in the West. It should, likewise, be useful to take necessary measures for acquainting them with the history of the development, in the past, of those subjects in India also. It is to be hoped that the National Commission for the History of Sciences in India, which has been recently set up, will provide full and authentic information in this behalf. It is also a matter of satisfaction that the Government have set up, as had been due long since, the Council of Indigenous Systems of Medicine, towards promoting studies of and research in the Āyurveda and Unani Systems, at the post-graduate level.

The Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University has undertaken the project of compiling *a Glossary of Technical terms in Indian Art and Aesthetics.* The French Institute of Indology. Pondicherry, has been, for some time now, taking interest in studies pertaining to South Indian Temple Architecture, Jewellery and Iconography. Some interesting materials collected by the Institute have been published already, but the major portion thereof awaits publication.

In Iranian and Greater Indian Studies, there does not seem to have been much significant activity during the period under consideration. A mention may, however, be made of the *Glossary of Sanskrit from Indonesia* by Ensink and Van Buitenen published by the Deccan College, Poona, (1966), and the Collected Works of the 14th century Tibetan scholar Bu-ston Rinchengrub, the publication of which has been undertaken by the International Academy of Indian Culture, Delhi.

We may now make a reference to the present position, in general, of Indological studies in our country. Admittedly, there has been considerable expansion, during the two decades following the Independence, on all the fronts in the field of educational and cultural activities in the country, including, Indological researches. The University Grants Commission has been encouraging research by the sponsoring of the establishment of Centres of Advanced Study in some of the Universities, grant of financial assistance to research projects to individuals and institutions, award of Research Fellowships, utilization of the services of super annuated teachers, subsidies for the

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publication of research theses, organisation of Summer Schools and Seminars and Research participation programmes for college teachers and students. The Government of India's Indology Committee and the Central Sanskrit Board have been granting financial assistance towards cataloguing and publication of ancient manuscripts, maintenance of traditional Pāṭhaśālās and research scholarships to the products of the Pāṭhaśālās. Universities and Indological Research Institutes, too, have been providing from their own resources, some additional facilities in this direction.

This increase in the facilities has resulted, quite expectedly, in a corresponding increase in the quantum of research output, which however, has had an undesirable aspect also. Apart from a general lowering of standards and lack of depth, as observed in many of the recently produced research dissertations, certain regrettable tendencies have appeared, which need being properly examined and rectified. The creation of Linguistic States in our country has produced in each of these States a special enthusiasm for studies and researches pertaining to its own language, literature and culture. Regional centres may be admitted, to some extent, to be more suitable for carrying on studies pertaining to the particular regions. The most undesirable thing, however, about these regional studies is that these are being pursued, more often than not, on purely regional basis, to the utter exclusion of their country-wide background. This glaring defect in their procedural pattern naturally detracts much from the validity and comprehensiveness of the conclusions arrived at through them. One also finds that living authors and current events are being sometimes taken up as topics for research. It seems desirable that topics of this type should be avoided because sufficient time could not have passed, in such cases, for their full impact on the society and the latter to react properly to the same. Besides, close familiarity is likely to stand in the way of dispassionate and objective assessment. The establishment of Chairs, drawing up of courses of study, and the selection of teachers and research scholars are often vitiated by regional, communal and sectarian considerations, evidently, to the detriment of academic standards and the sense of unity of our country. Therefore, we should always be sufficiently alert and vigilant to see that in any of the said activities fissiparous tendencies of this type cannot raise their head.

The high incidence of wastage in research as pursued by fresh scholars poses an important problem by itself, which does not seem to have attracted sufficient attention, so far. A statistical study of the relevant publications, as issued periodically, by our Inter-University Board reveals, as nothing else could, that just about one third of the topics, as approved for doctoral research

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succeed in earning the degrees, while the remaining topics, being about two-thirds of the lot, get either rejected by the examiners concerned or left unfinished by the scholars concerned. Two factors seem to be responsible for this enormous wastage, viz., in the first instance, it is not duly examined if a particular student seeking to work on a particular topic really possesses proper academic background as well as aptitude for the same and, secondly, necessary arrangements for pre-research training seem to be conspicuous, simply, by their absence. Drawing up of suitable syllabi for and running of courses of research training at different centres might be able to check this undesirable situation. This course might extend at least to one year, and, preferably, to two years. It should also be useful to run, for this purpose, Summer Schools providing intensive training in research methodology. If the Research Degree Committees, which are usually set up by the various Universities for dealing, separately, with the different subjects of study, could become sufficiently alive to the co-ordination of the Universities towards seeing that duplication of any kind was not involved in the matter of approving topics such duplication which, at present, is caused by the lack of this co-ordination could also be avoided.

If copies of Doctoral Theses, which generally take a long time in seeing the light of the day and, in many cases, are not published at all, could, as soon as they are approved for the degrees concerned, be made available to scholars at all Univesity Centres, this, too, may give another fillip to further researches. Every University will be well advised to purchase a Duplicating machine for this purpose and make it a function of its own to supply all the other Universities with a copy each of the theses on which it might award a doctoral degree. It should also be useful if every University might issue, annually, a volume of its *Dissertation Abstracts*. At present, abstracts of this type are being published only by a few of our universities, and that too, rather sporadically and just as appendages to their Annual Reports or Journals.

A mention may be made here of some important books of reference for Indological research which were issued during the past two years. Our Conference itself published in 1967, the Third Volume of its annotated *Index of Papers* pertaining to Sessions 18 to 22 (1955-1965), by K. V. Sarma which, together with its two previous volumes, presents fully referenced information on about 7000 papers on Indology. The Bharatiya Charitra Kosha Mandal, Poona, brought out two publications, entiled *Review of Indolgical Research in the last 75 years* and the *Bhāratavarṣīya Prācīna Caritra Kośa*, both issued in 1967, the latter giving short biographical sketches of the personalities mentioned in ancient Indian literature. The Calcutta University published *A Dictionary of Indian*

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History by Saccchidananda Bhattacharya (1967) and the Asia Publishing House, *Mughols in India : A Bibliographical Survey* by D. N. Marshall (1967). The *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Calcutta, has a regular feature which is highly useful, entitled 'A Select Bibliography of source materials of Indian history'. A mention might be made also of two periodicals of a bibliographical nature, entitled, respectively, *Index India* (Jodhpur University, 1967) and *Index to Indian Periodical literature* (Prabhu Book House, Girgaum, 1967).

The Government of India has been pursuing, during the last few years, its scheme of awarding Research Scholarships to the products of Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālās. The experience, however, gained from this experiment, has not been very satisfactory, so far, mainly because adequate number of really deserving candidates has not been available, with the result that the provision made in this behalf could not be fully utilised. Effective steps have, therefore, to be taken to introduce necessary reforms in the present Pāṭhaśālā system of Sanskrit education to ensure that wellgrounded and properly equipped young Acharyas become available in sufficient numbers for working on these scholarships. It should be desirable that necessary provision be made whereby the selected candidates have to undergo a research training course for a period of at least one year before they commence work on the topic chosen for research. The quality of the various works which might have been completed under this scheme may also be examined and necessary facilities be made available for the publication of really deserving material.

In spite of the large number of manuscripts that have already been collected and preserved in public and private institutions, there must, still, be, as expected, quite a large number of manuscripts that yet remain to be spotted out and secured to the great benefit of scholarship. The compilation and publication of catalogues of manuscripts has, of late, been going on, with acceleration, at various centres, especially with the help received in this behalf from the Government. Recently a project was undertaken in West Germany to compile and issue, in 25 volumes, a Descriptive Catalogue of the Oriental Manuscripts as available in that country and a few volumes have already appeared (Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1962 ff.).

Of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit and Allied Manuscripts*, a project commenced in 1935, four volumes have come out (1948–68). This multi-volume work being of primary importance for the critical editing of Sanskrit, Pāli, Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa texts, it is very much desirable that efforts are made to complete it and publish it most expeditiously. It will also be advisable, towards avoiding time lag, to proceed, simultaneously, with the

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compilation of Supplemental Volumes on the basis of the further extensive data now made available by the quite large number of manuscript catalogues that have been published after the compilation, before 1948, of the basic materials of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*.

We have aleady pointed out the need of running centres for research training as well as of holding Summer Schools and Seminars for the same purpose. It goes without saying that Manuscriptology and the technique of Text-editing should form a necessary part of the said courses.

International Conferences with Indology as one of its important sections, are often attended by our delegates towards keeping in touch with the progress of Indological and allied studies abroad. The information and knowledge gathered in this way, however, generally remains only with the said delegates themselves. In order that this information could become available, also, to all other interested institutions and scholars, it is suggested that the delegate-sponsoring authorities should take it upon themselves to secure from the delegates detailed reports of the conferences attended, for wide circulation in this behalf.

Under certain cultural pacts and agreements with foreign countries, we send there, practically every year, goodwill missions besides art troupes, sport teams and student groups. So far as the goodwill missions are concerned, it is suggested that these should also include, every time, a few allround academicians who could talk with authority on the different aspects of our culture and our cultural history in general. It should be very useful towards creating among the other nations much deeper interest in the understanding, in proper perspective, the history of our varied cultural achievements through the ages.

I might now conclude this Address by laying emphasis, once again, on some of the points which have already been dealt with therein. Since Sanskrit can provide an essential background in the pursuance, at pre-degree and post-degree levels, in the various humanistic studies, particularly those pertaining to the different aspects of Indology, it is most desirable that sufficient provision is made, in our national scheme of secondary education, for the compulsory study of Sanskrit. In the field of Vedic Studies, it is necessary, in the first instance, to recognize that like all other ancient and mediaeval literary compositions, the Vedas, too, have scummed down the ages to the ravages of time, with the inevitable result that those texts have ceased, to-day, to be as authentic as they are generally supposed to be. The first desideratum, is to subject, on scientific and historic lines, every one of

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the Vedic texts to text-critical treatment which alone could lend due authenticity to the task of producing translations that might be taken up thereafter. In determining the meanings of the Vedic texts, the canons of etymological, mythological, philosophical and ritualistic approach, as developed by the Ancient Indian Acharyas, and those of comparative and historic approach, as developed by modern philologists, must, of course, continue to be exploited to the utmost. However, where they fail to help us out of the woods, there, it is to be hoped, the new Proto-linguistic approach, which, happily, the V. V. Research Institute has been able to evolve, should prove useful. According to this hypothesis, the earliest phase of Vedic Language has been conceived of as the ridge at a mountain top with its back slope rising up, stage by stage, from the remotest depths wherein were embedded the roots of the Indo-European, Indo-Iranian and Indo-Aryan Languages, and with its front slope descending through the stages of Old Indo-Aryan and Middle Indo-Aryan to the latest phases of Neo-Indo-Aryan. Since the oral tradition of the Vedas is slowly dying out, necessary measures should be immediatey taken to tape-record the various text-recitations as are still in vogue. It was good that the late Dr. D. M. Bhattacharya had completed his work on the critical edition of the *Paippalāda Saṁhitā* and now, it is very desirable that, in the interest of Vedic scholarship, the publishers concerned expedite its publication to the utmost. As amply illustrated in the Comments to my *Vedic Word-Concordance*, there is a great need of initiating further researches towards Supplementation as well as Revision of the traditional Sanskrit Grammar as envisaged and propounded by the three Munis, *viz.*, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali.

We are happy that the Modern Indian Languages are now taking strides towards their proper development and that they are being helped, liberally, by the Government towards this consummation. The foremost fifteen of them have been equally recognised as our National Languages and, besides, Hindi has been adopted as our Official Language. The decision of the Government to establish, in each State, a Language Institute should surely go a long way in the achievement of this objective.

It is gratifying that more facilities are available, now, as never before, for higher studies and research. Therefore, it should be the concern of all, including the educational planners, educational institutions, educationists and, above all, the younger generation of scholars, to take full advantage of these facilities, never allowing their work programs to be distracted by any considerations of caste, community, region, language and, more than anything else, party politics which, unfortunately, is leaving no walk of life free from its devious influences,

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May the increasing interest, in the years to come, in the pursuance of Indological studies, as in that of all other humanistic and scientific disciplines, always lead to more and more of universal piety, purity, peace, harmony and happiness, to attain which, in the words *Uttiṣṭhata, Jāgrata, Prāpya varān nibodhata*, (*Kaṭha Upd.* 1. 14) as uttered by the Vedic Ṛṣi, let us 'Arise! Awake! and stop not till the goal is reached!'

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VEDIC SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

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Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, University of Poona

Mr. President and Fellow-delegates,

I feel great pleasure in expressing my gratitude to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for having done me the honour of electing me as the president of the Vedic Section at this twenty-fourth session of the Conference held in this holy city of Varanasi. The reasons for my election to this post would be best known to those who preferred to elect me. I, on my part, think that the significance of the study of the ritualistic aspect of the Vedic literature, to which I have devoted myself for the last few years, might have weighed with them. Whatever it may be, I submit to their wish and request you all to give me your full and hearty co-operation in carrying out the responsibilities which have been placed on me.

Since we met at the last Session, some of our colleagues have left this world. Shri R. K. Prabhu of Mangalore, who made great efforts in explaining the Vedic mythology on the astronomical basis, passed away on the 3rd January 1967. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar of Poona, one of the great scholars of India, passed away on the 8th January 1967. He was one of the founder-members of this Conference, and was one among those who organised the first Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Poona in 1919. He had presided over the twelfth Session of this Conference held in this very city. Prof. H. D. Velankar of Bombay, who had specialised in the Vedic studies and was also equally competent in classical Sanskrit and Prakrit studies, passed away on the 13th January 1967. He had twice presided over this section at the thirteenth and the seventeenth sessions (Nagpur 1946, Ahmedabad 1953), and many of us know his major part in organising the fifteenth Session of the Conference held at Bombay in 1949. Dr. N. J. Shende, who worked as a Professor of Sanskrit at Bombay, and had subsequently joined the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit at the Poona University, suddenly expired at a young age on the 20th March 1967. His studies in the religion and mythology of the *Atharvaveda* are well-known, and his latest work *Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharvaveda* unfortunately proved to be posthumous. Dr. N. G. Chapekar of Badlapur (Maharashtra), who was particularly inte-

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rested in the study of Vedic mythology, passed away on the 5th March 1968. Pandit S. D. Satavalekar expired on the 31st July 1968 at the age of 101. He studied the Vedic literature for nearly seventyfive years and, throuugh his Svadhyaya Mandala, published handy editions of Vedic texts, and made them available at a low price. He also translated several Vedic texts in Indian languages, and wrote numerous books bringing out the high values of the Vedic culture. The study of Indology in general, and the Vedic learning in particular, has suffered a great loss by the passing away of these scholars.

The position of Vedic scholarship

When we turn to the position of Vedic studies in India, it would appear that the standard of Vedic scholarship is going down, and the number of Vedic scholars is lessening from year to year.

So far as the traditional Vedic recitation is concerned, the number of real Vedic Pandits is decreasing every year. In the first quarter of this century, one could easily come across Vedic Pandits who had completed the *Śākhādhyayana* of the *Ṛgveda* (Śākala recension), *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* (Taittirīya recension) and *Śukla Yajurveda* (Mādhyandina and Kāṇva recensions) and were well-versed in the Vikṛti-recitations including the Ghanapāṭha, and had even learnt by heart the Vedāṅgas. Now it is becoming difficult to find out such a learned Vaidika. The link, by which the Vedic learning came down for thousands of years orally from teacher to pupil and from father to son, is almost completely broken. A son of a Vaidika does not follow his father's tradition. This sad position must be attributed mainly to the social revolution and economic conditions. Even though the traditional Vedic learning may perhaps be said to have served its purpose in making the Vedic texts available to the world without a single modification in syllable and accent upto the present time when it has become possible to print them in a correct form, the preservation of that tradition, at least to a small extent, is a cultural necessity and responsibility of India. India is the only nation in the world which has correctly preserved the old literary monument, namely, the Vedas, in a remarkable manner. It would serve no purpose to throw all the responsibility in that respect on the people. In a democratic country, where all the ambitions and aspirations of the people are reflected and fulfilled mainly through the Government, it is the duty of the Central Government and the State Governments to see that the traditional Vedic learning 'lives' in India. Certain steps in that direction seem to have been taken. Annual subsistence grants are reported to have been given to a few Vedic Pandits. The Government of Maharashtra has started the practice of honouring five Vedic Pandits every year. This, however, is not enough.

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Something substantial requires to be done to encourage Vedic teaching and learning. The Governments would do well to make lifelong provision for proficient Vedic teachers by giving them substantial honoraria and to provide for a number of stipends to ambitious and worthy students.

There is another aspect of the Vedic tradition, namely, rituals, which demands our attention. Side by side with the Vedic recitations, the tradition of Vedic rituals–both domestic and sacrificial–needs careful preservation. The sacrificial institution, which has a hoary past and which did so much for the spiritual enlightenment and social co-ordination for several centuries, needs to be preserved at least to a small extent. The preservation is significant also from the educational point of view. At present there are very few persons who have been maintaining the Aupāsana fire and who have been performing all or a few of the seven *pākasaṁsthās*. Same is the case with Āhitāgnis who maintain their daily Agnihotra and who perform the seven *haviḥsaṁsthās*, the Agniṣṭoma and other Soma sacrifices characterised by Agnicayana. The scarcity of Āhitāgnis is responsible for the scarcity of the various officiating priests studying and practising the performances prescribed in the various Vedic schools. Prompt steps must be taken to save the age-old practice of the Vedic rituals from total disappearance from the surface of the earth. In this connection, mention may be made of a timely and noble attempt, even though a small one, being made at Kumbakonam in South India to encourage the study of Śrauta rituals by opening a Śrauta College. The problem is, however, a serious one which must be tackled on a higher plane. Attempts will have to be made to provide facilities for the University students of Veda to witness ritualistic performances which may take place at different places from time to time. The modern means of tape-recordings and films may also be exploited for the purpose. Attempts to tape-record Vedic recitations are reported. Attention will, however, have to be paid to produce and make available films of important Vedic rituals performed by efficient officiating priests.

So far as the study of the Vedic literature is concerned, what applies to Sanskrit studies in general, applies to Vedic studies as well. Sanskrit education in the secondary stage is at a very low ebb, and this has caused a very unfavourable effect on Sanskrit studies at the higher stage. Very few students take up Sanskrit at the post-graduate level. One can imagine how many of these students might be going in for the Veda. So far as the Vedic research and publication work is concerned, the position may be said to be equally unsatisfactory. There are in Europe and America several Universities having oriental seminars. The field of studies at these seminars seems now to have been further widened, and even though studies in Buddhism, Jainism,

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and modern Indian languages including those of the Dravidian group are being found to be more attractive, still there are certain countries where the Indo-European linguistics and Vedic philology are being studied scrupulously. In India, even though almost all the Universities have got Sanskrit departments, only a few of them seem to be continuing the activities in Vedic research and publication.

Besides the University Sanskrit Departments, there are a few private institutions and individuals engaged in research work, but their progress is very slow chiefly on account of inadequate help from the Governments. It has to be noted that the public support which such institutions and individuals used to receive up till now, has almost come to nil. It is now the duty of the welfare state to see that such institutions are run efficiently and progressively and that their work does not suffer for want of funds.

(a) The Problems

Attempts to understand the Veda

The Vedas are very old, hence it has been the ardent desire of those who claim the Vedic heritage to understand them and also to assess the state of religion, culture, philosophy and civilization of that period. For this purpose, the old sources are fortunately available in the form of the Brāhmaṇas, the Vedāṅgas, and the commentarial literature. During the last two hundred years, several important sources like the comparative mythology, comparative religion, and comparative philology were discovered. These have definitely rendered easy the task of deciphering the old Indian records. All these means–old and new–have been exploited by many a scholar–Indian and outsiders. It can, however, not be claimed that the last word has been said about the Vedas.

Because the modern sources of interpretation were discovered in the West, it was natural that attempts to interpret the Vedas were made first in that part of the world. There was a new awakening even in India, and Indian scholars were not slow in trying to solve the riddle in their own way.

Thus in the last century Swami DAYANANDA made a daring attempt to interpret the Vedas with the presumption that the Vedas were the source-book of all knowledge. Guided by this principle, he sought to explain each and every Vedic word and mantra in his own way, resorting to the science of etymology. Following him, many others exerted themselves in the same direction. Among these, mention may be made of Pandit BHAGAVAD DATTA, BRAHMADATTA JIJNASU, and YUDHISHTHIRA MIMAMSAKA. Pandit BHAGVAD DATTA who has already written, among other works, the

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Vedavidyānidarśana (Hindi) and *Extra-ordinary Scientific Knowledge in Vedic Works*, has very recently published his *Story of Creation*. He holds that the Vedic texts are in reality a repository of scientific truths of the highest order and that the statements of the perfect yogis or seers as well as the mantras they received in the recesses of their hearts were all systematic and clothed in a definite and often a mystic technique. Pandit BRAHMADATTA JIJNASU, who unfortunately passed away on the 21st December 1964, has published his *Yajurvedabhāṣya* (Hindi) on the first ten Adhyāyas of the *Śukla Yajurveda Mādhyaṁdina Saṁhitā* along with an extensive introduction following the principles laid down by Swāmi DAYANANDA. YUDHISTHIRA MIMAMSAKA has been making efforts to continue the same line of thought.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, one of the great Pandits of India, MM. Pandit MADHUSUDANA OJHA very ingeneously developed a complicated theory of Vedic symbolism, and wrote several works explaining that symbolism. In his clever attempt, he brought to bear his profound knowledge of Indian philosophical systems, Vedāṅgas, Purāṇas, and Smṛtis. His disciple, MM. Pandit GIRIDHAR SHARMA CHATURVEDI, ably absorbed his Guru's teachings, and restated his theory in a short and rather simple manner through his *Vaidikavijñānam* and *Vaidik Vijñān aur bhāratīya Saṁskṛti*. V. S. AGRAWALA took up the same thread and stretched the symbolism to a larger extent by writing several works. His main principles are as follows :

(i) The Vedic Ṛṣis wanted to convey a rational meaning which must have been intelligible to their contemporaries.

(ii) The hymns embody metaphysical statements of cosmogonic laws which hold good at different levels, especially with reference to the working of the Devas of Prāṇic energy and the working of the Bhūtas or gross matter.

(iii) Life and cosmos are the outcome of a struggle between the Devas and Asuras.

(iv) The Vedic symbols are numerous.

(v) There is a coherent system of metaphysics which was real to the poets and which has found expression in a consistent terminology.

Thus, according to him, the symbolical approach to Vedic interpretation alone is adequate to take note of the total evidence available on different levels and that the Vedavidyā, which is Sṛṣṭividyā, is elaborated under several names and forms, like Agnividyā, Prajāpatividyā, Saṁvatsaravidyā, Devavidyā, Yajñavidyā, Chandovidyā, Paśuvidyā, etc.

Maharṣi ARAVINDA cut a new path of Vedic interpretation by advocating the metaphysical aspect, and tried to explain Ṛgvedic mantras accordingly.

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His line of thought was taken up by KAPALI Sastri who wrote a few works in the light of that theory. Pandit MOTILAL SASTRI has tried to explain the Vedic symbolism on the astronomical basis.

MM. Pandit SITARAMASASTRI SHENDE has made an attempt to solve the Vedic mythological riddles, and has consequently explained certain Vedic mantras in his own way through his *Vedārthavicāraḥ* (Calcutta, 1961). His main theme is that the sun (Āditya) is the only divinity in the Veda, and that it is given different names including even Indra. He holds that the entire Vedic mythology in the mantras and Brāhmaṇas is based on the position of the sun at the *sumeru* (position in the northern hemisphere) and *kumeru* (position in the southern hemisphere). He further thinks that TILAK's Arctic Home theory does not adequately explain all the mythological facts. The different deities represent the sun in the different astronomical positions. In the light of this theory he has explained not only the mantras from the *Ṛgveda* and the other Vedas, but also Brāhmaṇa passages dealing with myths and other Arthavādas. He has also tried to explain certain rituals in that light.

Recently a bold view has been expressed by A. ESTELLER (*Indian Antiquary*, third series Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 1–23; *ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, pp. 1–16), who thinks that the present *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* is a palimpsest redacted by Śākalya, and that it is possible to arrive at the original *Ṛgveda* of the Ṛṣi-kavis by subjecting the Saṁhitā-text to a critical study of the metre or rhythm and archaism. He has stated that the results so far arrived at are to be considered as definitive in principle, but as generally provisional and subject to revision. Another aspect of a more or less similar nature has been put forth some years back by VISHVA BANDHU. He holds that the phenomenon of phonetic change has played havoc with the Vedic texts, and that therefore the various Vedic recensions need to be treated as many time-worn manuscripts first to be deciphered and then to be text-critically studied. An attempt to fix the comparative chronology of the Ṛgvedic hymns has been made by H. R. DIVEKAR. He had read a paper on this subject at the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists held at New Delhi in 1964. Following the line adopted therein, he has published another paper entitled 'The presentation of the first and the oldest Ṛksaṁhitā' (*ŚPP*, Dwarka, 1968, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-10). According to him, upto the time of Bharata, Vedic hymns were composed by Brāhmaṇas who exclusively performed Brāhmaṇic duties. Bhāradvāja II was the first seer to become a Kṣattropeta Brāhmaṇa by agreeing to become the successor of Bharata as a king. After him Brāhmaṇas became free to perform the duties of a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣattriya according to their sweet will. These Kṣattropeta Brāhmaṇas were not debarred from composing hymns, and they did compose. In order, however, to preserve the sanctity and the

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integrity of the old hymns, they were designated as *pūrva* while the later ones were called *navya*. This collection of hymns by *pūrva* Ṛṣis was the first and the oldest Saṁhitā consisting of fifty-five hymns. DIVEKAR has further given details of these hymns. All these attempts have no doubt been made in the spirit of scientific examination, and let us hope that they will receive patient attention of scholars who have the truth about the Veda in their heart.

The way to understand the Veda

In spite of the numerous attempts made so far in the East and West, nobody can claim to have peeped into the minds of the Vedic Ṛṣis. If at all the efforts to understand the Veda are to succeed, they will have to be made in the right direction. At the outset, it may be observed that the case of the *Ṛgveda* and the *Atharvaveda* is almost of a similar nature, while that of *Yajurveda* is different. (The *Sāmaveda* is of no significance from the exegetical point of view.) The problem of Vedic chronology is closely related to the problem of interpretation. Even though the *Ṛgveda* is acknowledged to be the oldest of all the Vedas, it will not be reasonable to presume a big interval of time between that Veda and the other Vedas. The *Yajurveda* and the Brāhmaṇas followed the composition of the Ṛgvedic hymns only by a few centuries. Hence it would not be reasonable to undervalue the Brāhmaṇas as the oldest source of Ṛgvedic exegesis. Next to the Brāhmaṇas are the Vedāṅgas which, even though chronologically later, ought to be regarded as representing the old tradition in more or less original form. The true interpretation of the Veda would, therefore, be that which, to a large extent, is in consonance with the spirit of the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedāṅgas.

So far as the *Ṛgveda* is concerned, there are more commentaries than one on that Veda–some of these incomplete–written in a period between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries. The authority of these commentaries–particularly that of Sāyaṇa–is undermined chiefly on the ground that between the period of the composition of the Ṛgvedic hymns and that of Sāyaṇa several centuries have intervened. The strength of this argument is diminished a little, because certain pre–Sāyaṇa commentaries have now become available, thus showing that the commentarial activity was rather a continuous process, and that the interpretational tradition need not be regarded as completely broken. Another point to be taken into account is that Sāyaṇa and others have been almost faithful to the tradition of the Brāhmaṇas and Vedāṅgas. It has, of course, to be conceded that in his wake of faithfully following the tradition of the Brāhmaṇa and Śrautasūtra, Sāyaṇa has tried to interpret the Ṛgvedic verses strictly in the light of their ritual–employment in the Brāhmaṇa and Śrautasūtra. This overemphasis is obviously

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unreasonable because of the absence of the proper understanding of the purpose of the Ṛgvedic verses. Even though the Brāhmaṇas and the Śrautasūtras have laid down the ritual application of almost all the Ṛgvedic verses, it cannot be said that those verses were composed with that specific purpose in view. It must always be borne in mind that the *Ṛgveda* is a poetry–of course liturgical poetry. The ritual–application of the Ṛgvedic verses is only a secondary purpose. It has, however, to be admitted that the atmosphere in which the verse–composition took place was certainly dominated by mythology and ritual. One, who aspires to peep into the hearts of the Vedic Ṛṣis and to arrive at the original meaning of the Ṛgvedic verses, will always have to remember this fact.

Dr. S. V. Ketkar's view

There have been scholars who acknowledged this fact and tried to interpret the *Ṛgveda* accordingly. In this connection, I must particularly mention the name of the late Dr. S. V. KETKAR, the chief editor of the Marathi Encyclopaedia. KETKAR, who had his higher education in U. S. A. in the early twentieth century, had combined in himself the eastern and the western scholarship. He acquired adequate knowledge of the Śrauta rituals with the help of the late Śrautācārya Dhundiraja Bapat Diksita, and laid down in the Introduction (Vol. II) to the Encyclopaedia (Poona, 1921) his considered views on the Ṛgvedic interpretation and his assessment of the Vedic religion and civilisation. His views may be summarized as follows :

The purpose of Yāska and Sāyaṇa in composing their works was to defend the sacrificial institution, hence they were bent upon explaining every Ṛgvedic verse in the ritual-context. Leaving aside that extreme view, it has to be admitted that, because the Ṛgvedic verses were composed on the ritualistic background, it is impossible to understand their meaning unless one has obtained an adequate knowledge of the Vedic rituals. It was for the purpose of the rituals that the verses were selected, collected, and their order was fixed. So in order to arrive at the original meaning of the verses, one has to realise this fact, and then sift out the material thus collected on historical principles. To attempt to reach the original meaning without taking cognisance of the oven which cooked that material would mean to omit an important step. The tendency to avoid this important step may be attributed to two reasons : (i) Western scholars in general did not pay adequate attention to the study of the ritualistic aspect. (ii) According to them, the priestly class had defined the sacrifice as the purpose of the Vedas through their selfish attitude. KETKAR has further attempted to trace the stages by which the Ṛgvedic hymns were compiled into the Saṁhitā.

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Limitations of Etymology

Another problem, which affects the interpretation of the *Ṛgveda*, is whether the latter is more Indian or more Indo-European. The modern sources of comparative mythology, comparative religion, and comparative philology have undoubtedly facilitated the understanding of the Veda. But the extent of the use of these sources poses a problem. The absolute reliance on these sources cannot be expected to lead one to the complete truth, because such a reliance would presume the stagnation of the Vedic society which cannot be accepted. The just course would be to hold that the Veda is Indian (in a wider sense) more than Indo-European. The sources of comparative philology etc. should serve as a check to the interpretation based on Indian sources. This view has already been adopted by many a scholar including S. V. KETKAR.

This leads us to the problem of the limitations of etymology which was discussed by GELDNER and to which reference was made by S. S. BHAWE in his Presidential Address to the Vedic Section of the twentieth session of this Conference held at Bhubaneshwar in 1959. BHAWE concluded the discussion by saying that the purpose of etymology is " to know approximately original meaning of the word " and that etymology " certainly helps in fixing the source of its further ramifications. " (*Proceedings*, pp. 27–31.)

In this connection, I should like to draw special attention to a very recent article (" A Socio-semantic analysis of Sanskrit *kalp–*", *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Golden Jubilee Volume*, Poona, 1968, pp. 161–171) by O. H. de A. WIJESEKERA in which he has presented an illuminating study of the Vedic root *kalp–*, and has pointed out the different phonetic and semantic stages through which the root has passed. The study of this root is particularly significant because it is very closely related to the ritualistic practices of the Indo-Europeans and the Vedic Indians. Consequently it shows that the Ṛgvedic exegesis has to be based principally on the semantic changes which resulted from the social and cultural evolutions.

Veda and Magic

The science of comparative religion is considerably developed in recent times, and scientific and detailed studies of the different societies living in different stages have become available. It has been observed that certain religious beliefs played a similar role among the primitive societies. The Vedic society could not be an exception to this rule, and many a myth and rite can be satisfactorily explained by the conclusions of that science. Such beliefs and practices are quite naturally mingled with myths and rituals whose analysis has to be attempted very cautiously. The anthropological

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elements have to be regarded only as old relics and need not in any way be taken to speak against the high cultural level obviously attained in the Vedic period.

With the consideration of comparative religion is closely connected the question about the position of magic in the Ṛgvedic culture. Magic is a psychological stage through which every society in the world has to pass. Magic can exist side by side with religion, and in the ritualistic religion expanded especially in the *Yajurveda* literature one easily finds the magical element off and on. Sometimes it is said that even though in the post-Ṛgvedic literature one comes across magical practices, the *Ṛgveda* is free from it, and that the magical element was introduced later on when the ritual expanded. As a matter of fact, magic is concomitant with ritual; and, as we shall see later on, even the Ṛgveda-period was not without ritual. It does not stand to logic that magic was newly introduced in the Yajurveda period and that it did not exist in the earlier i. e. Ṛgvedic period. And in fact there is nothing to be worried about magic. The existence of magic does not lower down the status of any society, provided there is the dominant force of religion.

Veda and Pāṇini

An important question which largely concerns the problem of the Vedic interpretation is Pāṇini's grammar *vis-a-vis* the Veda. This problem has passed through several phases, and is being discussed even at present. According to the Indian tradition, grammar is one of the Vedāṅgas, hence its knowledge is essential for the understanding of the Veda. In the early stage of Vedic studies in the west, it was held that Pāṇini's grammar was mainly intended for the classical Sanskrit language and that it was inadequate for describing the Vedic language. This view is no more maintained now, particularly since the appearance of PAUL THIEME'S *Pāṇini and the Veda*. It is now agreed that Pāṇini was fully conversant with the niceties of the language of most of the Vedas. It is, therefore, appropriate that Pāṇini's grammar should be used to the fullest extent for the grammatical explanation of each Vedic word. I have nothing more to add here except quoting what S. S. BHAWE said in his presidential address already mentioned: "Without the proper utilisation of Pāṇini, which would obviously require some grounding in the complicated yet artistic mechanism of the *sūtras*, Vedic interpretation will clearly possess some serious lacunae. Of course, I do not argue for an exclusive and absolute application of Pāṇini. If historical and comparative evidence in the field of Indo-European and Indo-Iranian linguistics goes against the results achieved, necessary modification must certainly be accepted.' (pp. 35-36).

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Loan-Words

The lexical study of the *Ṛgveda* involves the consideration of another problem, namely, that of loan-words. The efforts so far made by some scholars have conclusively proved that several Ṛgvedic words can successfully be traced to the non-Sanskritic languages. The prehistory of the Vedic language occasioned the accommodation of several foreign words. The Vedic Aryans, moreover, came into contact in different periods and in different regions with peoples speaking different languages; consequently several words from those languages were incorporated in the Vedic Sanskrit. One will, however, have to be cautious in recognising the loan-words, and accept the borrowing only after being assured of satisfactory evidence.

Key to Vedic Interpretation

The interpretation of the *Ṛgveda* is a many-sided problem. One has to resort to different considerations in different cases. It is, however, expedient to focus one's attention mainly towards two things :

(i) Pāṇini's grammar should be utilised to the fullest extent for explaining the forms of Vedic words subject to the adjustment which may be called for as a result of the study of the historical and comparative evidence in the field of I–E and I–Ir linguistics. (ii) It is always essential to keep in mind that the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed mainly on the ritualistic background. Recently S. S. BHAWE has presented his English translation of hymns 1–70 of the Maṇḍala IX of the *Ṛgveda*. He has based his translation on full utilisation of Pāṇini's grammar with regard to derivation and accent, and has also brought to bear his knowledge of the Vedic rituals. While SIDDHESHWAR VARMA, one of the great linguists of India, has fully endorsed the method adopted by BHAWE, a European linguist, F. B. J. KUIPER, has expressed his complete disapproval of the same. If by the word 'Indian tradition' KUIPER means Sāyaṇa, and expresses doubt about the correctness of Sāyaṇa's explanations, one can understand it. But when he sees the impracticability of the attempts for bringing into harmony the traditional approach based on Pāṇini's grammar with the results of comparative philology, one has to pause and think over the matter. It is the responsibility of Indian scholars of Veda, grammar, and comparative linguistics to take up the challenge, judge the inherent values of the two sources possessing different and perhaps opposite characters, and find out the truth without caring for fear or favour.

Veda and Rituals

So far as the ritualistic aspect is concerned, I am convinced that one cannot unlock the secrets of the Vedic mind, unless he uses the key of the

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knowledge of the sacrificial rituals. As a matter of fact, many a scholar has already recognised the significance of this aspect. It is essential to acquire beforehand a good knowledge of the rituals with the help of the literature on the Ṛk, Yajus, and Sāman. It is generally agreed that the rituals which existed in the Ṛgvedic period were different from those which we find in the other Vedas. But one has to agree that there did exist some kinds of rituals which were constantly before the eyes of the Vedic seers. The practice of rituals is the natural tendency of all primitive societies, and the Ṛgvedic people could not be an exception to the same. As BERGAIGNE has said, mythology and cult are interdependent. BERGAIGNE has made a very ingeneous attempt to explain the symbolism which, according to him, lay at the basis of the Vedic mythology and ritual. (V. G. PARANJAPE has rendered into English Bergaigne's *La Religion Vedique d'apres les hymns du Rigveda.* It is published.)

Attempts have been made to discuss the nature and scope of the rituals which existed in the days of the composition of the Ṛgvedic verses. The Brāhmaṇas and Śrautasūtras have prescribed the recitation of the Ṛgvedic verses on different occasions during the various rituals. But what was the position when the Ṛgvedic verses themselves were being composed? In the Ṛgveda we come across the names of several officiating priests, sacrifices, parts of sacrifices, rites in the sacrifices, sacrificial implements, the various oblations, several technical terms such as the Śastra, Stotra, Nivid, etc., which show that the Ṛgvedic sacrificial institution was not rudimentary, but was much advanced, and was in the process of development. Mention may be made here of the material collected from the *Ṛgveda* by S. V. KETKAR in his *Marathi Encyclopaedia*, Intro. Vol. II (pp. 358 ff.). The data collected by him indicate that the specification of duties assigned to the officiating priests, as appears in the 'Classical' ritual does not seem to have taken place in Ṛgvedic times. One comes across the plural forms of the words Hotṛ, Adhvaryu and Brahman. The Hotṛ might be the chief appointed priest who recited verses, perhaps also chanted them and made offerings in normal rituals of a smaller extent. The *Adhvaryavaḥ* might be those priests who helped in filling the Soma-cups and in offering them in a Soma-sacrifice. The *Brahmāṇaḥ* were engaged in praying as well as in offering; the function of supervision attributed to the Brahman is absent herein. K. R. POTDAR has also collected in his *Sacrifice in the Ṛgveda* the ritualistic data from the *Ṛgveda.*

The close relationship between the Ṛgvedic verses and the ritual has been adequately appreciated by at least a few scholars. Long ago, the French scholar P. REGNAUD was of the view that the Ṛgvedic hymns describe

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sacrificial ritual–not in details but in general. D. D. KOSAMBI suggested that the dialogue between Pururavas and Urvaśī was a part of a ritual act which served as a substitute for an earlier actual sacrifice of a male. Very recently ULRICH SCHNEIDER ("Yama" und Yami, *ṚV.* X. 10", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. X, No. 1, 1967, pp. 1–32) has suggested that the Yama-Yamī myth is ritual formula for the safe delivery of the twin-born male and female babies. He remarks: "Wir dürfen, glaube ich, nicht vergessen, dass von texten, die im ṚV. überliefert sind, bis zum Beweise des Gegenteils angenommen werden muss, dass Sie einmal einen bestimmten rituellen Zweck dienten." One may agree, or not, with the conclusions drawn by these and other scholars, but one thing is sure, namely that the line along which they have been working is the right one.

Tendency for Theorising

With a view to distinguishing from each other the periods of Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad, attempts have been made to assign different characters to them. Thus the Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣad are regarded as representing the mythology, ritual, and philosophy respectively. Such a tendency for theorising is understandable, but it is essential that in doing so one should be as nearer the truth as possible. As a matter of fact, the water-tight compartments as indicated above can hardly be justifiable. It cannot be said that in the Saṁhitā period there was only mythology and that there was no ritual. If at all any algebraic formula can be framed, it would be correct to say that the Saṁhitā period represents both the mythology and the ritual, as already discussed, that the Brāhmaṇa period represents the ritual and philosophy, and that the Upaniṣad period represents the philosophy alone. These three kinds of literature are represented in still another way. It is said that the Saṁhitā period represents devotion, the Brāhmaṇa period represents action, and the Upaniṣad period represents cognition. Such a distribution would hardly accord with the facts. I think that in the Saṁhitā period, there were both devotion and action, that in the Brāhmaṇa period all the three existed side by side, and that in the Upaniṣad period there were devotion and cognition.

An understanding about the Brāhmaṇas

There is a general understanding amongst Vedic scholars about the Brāhmaṇa period that in that period sacrifice was exalted so extravagantly that it came to be regarded not as a means to an end but as an end itself, that the motto was no longer sacrifice for Gods, but that it was transformed into 'Gods and indeed everything else for sacrifice'; that the Devatās were no more than mere agents that were duty-bound to supply the fruits of the

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sacrifices to the sacrificers. My submission is that this is an overstatement of fact.

Of all the Vedas, the *Yajurveda* describes in details the procedure of any ritual. The Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Yajurveda* naturally lay down the elaborate duties of the Adhvaryu and his assistants. Even a casual study of the functions of these priests is sufficient to create an impression to the above-mentioned effect. But it has to be remembered that the entire sacrificial institution hinges round a single individual, namely, the sacrificer. The priests are but his deputies. The most important thing in a sacrifice is, therefore to see what the sacrificer thinks, feels, performs, and aims at. The very fact that, at the beginning the sacrificer announces his desire in performing the sacrifice, is sufficient to show that in his view the sacrifice is a means, not an end. Before the sacrificial performance, the sacrificer has got to be initiated. During the performance, he has to observe certain rules. At every rite – big and small – he has to announce, before and after, his offering to the relevant divinity. He has to offer prayers to the various divinities. These facts are adequate, I think, to counterbalance the attitudes and functions of the officiating priests which are responsible for creating the impression recorded above. The author of a Brāhmaṇa (*ŚBr.* IX. 5. 2. 16) himself says that sacrificer is the body of the sacrifice while the officiating priests are the limbs. (*Ātmā vai yajñasya yajamāno' ṅgāny ṛtvijaḥ*). It would, therefore, not be proper to ignore the principal and over-emphasize the subsidiary.

The authors of the Brāhmaṇas invariably mention the divinity presiding over the ritual under discussion. The Śrautasutras naturally follow suit. Not only that, the Sūtrakāras are so possessed of the pre-eminence of the divinity that whenever there was any doubt about the correct understanding about the divinity, the Sūtrakāra opens the question, and makes the decision about the divinity of the rite concerned. Thus in the Karmānta portion of the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, which is the oldest of almost all the Śrautasūtras, one comes across several such inquiries, e. g. BaudhŚS. XXIV. 3 : *kiṁdevatyā khalv anūyājā bhavantī'ti / āgneyā ity eva brūyāt / XXV. 21 : kiṁdevatyā ū khalv ṛtuyājā bhavanti'ti / ṛtudevatā ity etad ekam / athā'param / indraṁ hotā yajati / ..XXV. 31 : kiṁdevatyāni khalv atiriktastotrāṇi bhavanti'ti / āśvināni'ty eva brūyāt / etc.*

Even the officiating priests are supposed to think of the divinity for whom they may be offering or reciting or chanting. It is true, the philosophy of Pūrva Mīmāṁsā, which aims at the interpretations of the mantras and injunctive sentences in the Brāhmaṇas, etc. led the divinities to an insignificant position in the wake of heightening the significance of *Karma*. It is, however, essential to study the ritual–literature independently and judge whether the

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authors of the ritualistic texts really did mean what the Pūrva Mīmāṁsā professed.

Agni : The Dearest Divinity

Another point may be discussed in this context. Among the several divinities of the Veda, Varuṇa was the divinity which was loved most according to one view, because it is in the hymns to Varuṇa that the sense of devotion has been expressed most deeply. There have been scholars who hold that to the Vedic Indians Indra was the dearest divinity, because in the hymns to Indra one finds expressions of almost all the varieties of devotion mentioned by the later writers. I am of the opinion that of all the divinities, Agni was the dearest to the Vedic people. Firstly, the form of Agni was directly before the eyes of the worshipper, which was not the case with the other divinities. Secondly, offerings to all the divinities were made only through Agni. The Brāhmaṇas say that Agni indeed represents all divinities (*agnir vai sarvā devatāḥ*, *TS* II. 2. 9. 1; *ŚBr* I. 6. 2. 8 etc.). It may be said that Agni is not very significant mythologically as also from the point of view of proper religious feeling, but that his cultic importance is correspondingly great. I have already expressed my view that mythology always goes together with the ritual, and that the former cannot be considered independently.

The most friendly devotion of the Vedic Ṛṣis to Agni would be manifest both in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Yajurveda*. Thus, e. g.

yadagne martyas tvaṁ syām aham mitramaho amartyaḥ /
sahasaḥ sūnav āhuta //
na tvā rāsīyā' bhiśastaye vaso / na pāpatvāya santya /
na me stotā'matīvā na durhitaḥ / syād agne na pāpayā //

ṚV. VIII. 19. 25–26

"If, O Agni, thou wouldst have been mortal and I, O celebrated as a friend, would have been immortal, O son of power, whom offering has been made, I would not have exposed thee to bad repute nor to misery, O bountiful and veracious. My worshipper would not have been helpless nor wretched nor tended to evil, O Agni."

yad agne syām aham tvaṁ
tvaṁ vā ghāsyā aham /
syus te satyā ihā"śiṣaḥ //

ṚV. VIII. 44. 23

"If I would have been thou and thou wouldst have been I, O Agni, thy desires would have been fulfilled here."

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With these may be compared the following mantras, among others, from the *Yajurveda* :

mama nāma prathamaṁ jātavedo
pitā mātā ca dadhatur yad agre /
tat tvam bibhṛhi punar ā madaitos
tavā'ham nāma bibharāṇy agne //
mama nāma tava ca jātavedo
vāsasī iva vivasānan ye carāvaḥ /
āyuṣe tvaṁ jīvase vayaṁ
yathāyathaṁ vi pari dadhāvahai punas te //

TS. I. 5. 10

(When the sacrificer proceeds on a journey, he prays to the sacred fire:)

" O Jātavedas Agni, do thou bear, until my return, my first name which my parents gave me at the beginning; and let me bear thy name. "

(When he returns from the journey, he prays:)

" We have moved while we have exchanged our names like garments. Now let us again bear our own names so that I may live long. "

The Agnihotra-offering and the Agnihotra-prayers was the most favourite function to be observed by an Āhitāgni every evening and morning; and that function fully expressed the deep emotional reverence of the worshipper to his most favourite deity. Several mantras of a similar nature would be found even in other Saṁhitās of the *Yajurveda* and in the context of other rituals also. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says that Agni is the most kind-hearted of all divinities (*agnir vai devānām mṛduhṛdayatamaḥ*–*ŚBr* I. 6. 2. 10). Certain verses addressed to Indra (e. g. *ṚV*. VIII. 14. 1) and Varuṇa (e. g. *ṚV*. VII. 86) express a similar feeling; but the intensity of love and the frequency of expressions are indeed unique in the case of Agni.

Ritualistic Practices

A point which is sometimes discussed with reference to the practice of the sacrificial rituals is: how far the ritualistic religion was practised in the Vedic period, and who practised it. It may be said that, even though in the early stage of the Vedic period the ritualistic religion cannot be said to have been practised universally, the Princes, rich Brāhmaṇas and even a few wealthy Vaiśyas used to maintain the sacred fires and perform sacrifices in accordance with their necessities and capacities. In the Brāhmaṇa period, particularly in the Sūtra period, the practice seems to have been still lessened. The Epigraphical records show that in ancient and medieval periods of history certain Ṣoma-sacrifices were performed by Princes, landlords, and Brāhmaṇas in

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different parts of the country. The main responsibility of maintaining the sacrificial institution seems, however, to have been rested with the first social order. The Śrautasūtras have been composed with the presumption that the various prescriptions were to be laid down chiefly for a Brāhmaṇa sacrificer; the modifications to be observed in the case of a Rājanya or a Vaiśya sacrificer have been laid down separately wherever necessary.

(*b*) *A Retrospect*

It is the usual duty of a President of this Section, nay, of every section of this Conference, to take a review of the research and publication work carried out during the interval between the last and the present Sessions. I should like to cover a little more period, and take stock of the work done mostly during the last four years.[1] The review need not be regarded as comprehensive one; nor should it be understood that I am attaching more significance to the works recorded herein than those not mentioned here.

Saṁhitās

Last year a big volume of reference value has been published in the form of "*Review of Indological Research in last 75 years*" in honour of Pandit S. CHITRAV SHASTRI. Among the reviews of several other subjects, one finds a review of Vedic literature (pp. 29–54) by G. V. DEVASTHALI, and another of Religion and Philosophy (pp. 561–594) by R. N. DANDEKAR.

So far as the *Ṛgveda* is concerned, mention must first be made of the complete edition of the *Ṛgveda* published by the V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur (1963–66) with the available portions of the commentaries by Skandasvāmin, Veṅkaṭa Mādhava, Udgītha, and Mudgala. This publication has undoubtedly facilitated our understanding of the traditional view-point. Photostat edition of Max Müller's second edition of the *Ṛgveda* with Sāyaṇa's commentary in four volumes has become available through the efforts of the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series. In the field of traditional Vedic learning, VENKATARAMA SHASTRI has edited *Ṛgvedaghanasāraḥ gānilakṣaṇam svaralakṣaṇam ca* (Srirangam, 1967). V. VENKATARAMA SHARMA has discussed *Vaidikaḥ prakṛti-pāṭhaḥ* (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 5–9). 'A new light on the method of the recital of Vedic texts with accents' has been thrown by K. V. ABHYANKAR (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, Poona, 1968, pp. 353–359). Namputiri K. BHAVADASAN has brought under print the *Tṛssivaparur yogapakṣaḥ* a versified work denoting the Ṛṣi, Chandas and Devatā of Ṛgvedic verses. Ittiravi NAMBUTIRI has presented the traditional system of Vedic learning practised in Kerala, and has also laid down the present position of Vedic

1. I thank Dr. R. N. Dandekar for having made me available his bibliographical material so carefully collected and systematically arranged.

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studies in Kerala ('Keraleṣu Vedādhyayanasampradāyaḥ,' *Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 46–48). The sad story of tradition in Kerala as told by him is the same as is found in other parts of the country. B. K. SHIVARAMAIAH has drawn attention to "Some Peculiarities of the *Ṛgveda-Padapāṭha*" (*Mysore Orientalist*, Vol. I, No. 1, March 1967, pp. 9–14). According to him, the peculiarities of the *Ṛv–Padapāṭha* indicate intervals of time between the composition of the hymns and their compilation into a Saṁhitā on the one hand, and between the Saṁhitā text and the Padapāṭha on the other. They also reveal that in those very early times there were problems relating to an analysis of the text of the *Ṛv–Saṁhitā* in the context of its accurate recitation, correct interpretation and proper transmission. YUDHISHTHIRA MĪMĀṀSAKA has also been studying the Vedic Padapāṭhas (cf. his papers: "Padapāṭhomen nirdiṣṭa avagraha" *Vedavāṇī*, Vol. 17, Part 1, Nov. 1964, pp. 20–25, and "Vaidik Pāṭhonkī Samasyā", *ibid*, Vol. 18, No. 10, August, 1966). MOTILAL RASTOGI has studied the *Sāmavasa Saṁdhi* in the *ṚV*. and has divided and sub-divided the cases of lengthening in simple words and compound words, again in final, medial and initial syllables (*Bulletin of the Philological Society of Calcutta, Sukumar Sen Felicitation Volume*, Jan. 1966, pp. 1–18).

Several general studies have been published. In his *Ṛksūktavaijayantī*, H. D. VELANKAR has given the Hindi rendering of 108 *ṚV*-hymns together with notes and a complete Hindi rendering of Sāyaṇa's introduction to his *ṚV-Bhāṣya*. (Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala, Poona, 1965). J. VARENNE has presented certain hymns in his *le Veda : Textes saeris traduits cavre des introductions et des notes* (Paris, 1967). A. C. BOSE has published *Hymns from the Vedas* (Bombay, 1965). N. B. SEN has given *Glorious thoughts of Vedas* culled from all the Vedas under numerous subjects (New Delhi, 1966). VISHVA BANDHU has written a general informative book, *Vedas and Śāstras* (Hoshiarpur, 1967). From the same institution has come out another book by R. C. SHARMA, called *The Vedas : An Introduction* (1967). In his *Destiny of Veda in India*, L. RENOU has taken an exhaustive review of the views on the *Ṛgveda* expressed in the religious, philosophical and historical works produced in India through the centuries. PAUL THIEME read a paper on *Problems of the Ṛgveda* at the twenty-seventh International Congress of Orientalists (Ann Arbor, 1967, Program, p. 40). With a view to introducing the Vedic studies to the Japanese scholars, N. TSUJI has written in the Japanese language a book called *The dawn of the Indian civilization* (An Introduction to the Vedic studies) (Tokyo, 1967). G. V. DEVASTHALI has published a paper entitled "Pāṇini and Ṛgvedic exegesis" (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, pp. 71–81) in which he has quoted two examples, and has shown how the application of Pāṇinian rules helps the correct

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interpretation. Mention must also be made of his two other papers on the same subject : "Pāṇini as an aid to Ṛgvedic interpretation", *Velankar Commemoration Volume*, Bombay 1965, pp. 20–26, and "Sāyaṇa utilising Pāṇini in the *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya*", *JAS, Lad Memorial Volume*, Bombay, pp. 165–173. RAM GOPAL has facilitated Vedic studies by compiling a Vedic grammar (*Vaidik Vyākaraṇa, Prathama Bhāga*, Delhi, 1965). C. KUNHAN RAJA has expressed his views about the *Ṛgveda* in his *Poet-Philosophers of the Ṛgveda* (Madras, 1963). W. RUBEN has compared the *Ṛgveda and Homer's epics*, and has pointed out their similarities and dissimilarities (*JOI*, Baroda, 1966, pp. 314–321).

Among the studies of the Ṛgvedic commentators, we have a paper by M. M. PANTULA on *Vedārthopapattau Veṅkaṭatanayamādhavaḥ* (*Sāmmanasyam*, Vol. 2, No. 4, 1966, pp. 5–8), wherein he has also pointed out the discrepancies of the Padapāṭhas. The same author has also studied Skandasvāmin's commentary (Skandasvāmī'tadīyam prathamāṣṭakamitam Ṛgvedabhāṣyam, ca', *Gurukulapatrikā*, Vol. 21, No. 8, 1968, pp. 412–415). BHAVENDRANATH HAZARIKA has drawn attention to the efficacious aid which is paid by Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *ṚV.* ("Tasmād vedasya vedatā", *Prācyabhāratī*, Vol. I, No. 1, Gauhati, 1965, pp. 68–72).

Following the lines adopted by MOTILAL SHARMA, T. A. BAMBAWALE has tried to explain Ṛgvedic verses on the basis of astronomy, astrophysics and nuclear science in his *Vedarahasya, the secret of the Vedas* (Poona, 1962). SATYAPRAKASH SINGH has tried to explain certain *ṚV.* words like *hṛdā manasā, parama vyoman, tapas* and *guhā* in the light of post-Vedic philosophy ("Conscious Introversion and Divine intimations in the *Ṛgveda*", *Kaviraj Abhinandan Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 44–54). S. A. DANGE has devoted himself to the anthropological studies and has tried to explain Vedic symbols and solve several mythological riddles. Very recently he delivered lectures on "Pastoral Symbolism in the *Ṛgveda*" at the Poona University. He has also written several papers some of which are as follows : "Sasarparī : a war-spell from the *Ṛgveda*", *VIJ*, Vol. V, pt. 1, Hoshiarpur, 1967, pp. 25–32. "A virile Charm in the *Ṛgveda* (the hymn of Vṛṣākapi)", *Nagpur Univ. Jour.* Vol. XVI, No. 2, 1966, pp. 127–145 ; "Three stages of the Advent of Soma" *JOI*, Baroda, 1964, Vol. XIV, No. 1, pp. 62–67 ; "Survivals in the Ṛgvedic Indra-myth", *Nag. Univ. Jour.*, Vol. XV, No. 2, 1965, pp. 166–188 ; "Aspects of War from the *Ṛgveda*", *JIH*, Trivandrum, 1966, Vol. XLV, No. 1, 1966, pp. 125–138 ; "Ketu or the war-banner in the *Ṛgveda*" *JIH*, Trivandrum, 1964, Vol. XLII, No. 2 ; "The field and the ploughs hare (a ritual at *ṚV.* X. 101)," *Nag. Univ. Jour.*, April, 1967, pp. 158–178, "A virility charm from the *Ṛgveda*", *Nag. Univ. Jour.*, April, 1965 ; "About the words *garut* and

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garutman in the *Ṛgveda*", *IHQ*, Calcutta, 1963, Vol. 39, Nos. 1–2, pp. 134–137; "A folk-custom in the Aśvamedha", *JOI*, Baroda 1967, Vol. XVI, No. 4, pp. 323–335; "The Bull and the fiery fluid from the *Ṛgveda*" (*JOI*, Baroda, Vol. XVII, No. 3, pp. 209–229).

Several studies of individual hymns have become available, VISHVA BANDHU has studied *ṚV*. X. 166 in his "Vedic Textuo-linguistic studies : 3 Pantheographical re-examination of *ṚV*. X. 166" (*VIJ*, Hoshiarpur, 1966, pp. 161–166). A. VENKATASUBBIAH has published a monograph entitled "Contributions to the interpretation of the *Ṛgveda*" (Mysore, 1967) in which he has dealt with an unusual type of similes. He also deals with the instances of the use of particles indicative of comparison. He has also published the following papers : "On *ṚV*. I. 6" (*ALB*, Madras, 1964, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 1–2, pp. 55–111); "On *ṚV*. 3. 45. 3 and 5. 1. 1" *VIJ*, Hoshiarpur, 1966, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 19–24); and "On *ṚV*. X. 111. 4" (*VIJ* 1966, Vol. IV, No. 2, pp. 178–185). V. S. AGRAWALA has written "An exposition of the Āśvina Sūkta of the *ṚV*. I. 34" (*JOI*, Baroda, 1965, Vol. XV, pt. 1, pp. 1–7; *VIJ* 1966, Vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 25–33). K. P. JOG has written "A note on *ṚV*. X. 93. 5" (*JAS*, Bombay, 1964–65, volumes XXXIX-XL, pp. 239–242). RATNA V. SHRIYAN has studied "Hymns to Pūṣan" (*Bhar. Vid.*, Bombay, 1965, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1–2). S. A. UPADHYAYA has also presented a study of "Hymns to Pūṣan *ṚV*. I. 42; 138; VI, 53–58; X. 26" (*Bhār. Vid.*, Bombay, 1965, Vol. XXV, Nos. 1–2, pp. 38–50). ROLF HIERSCHE has studied the word *avṛka* (Zu *ṚV*. 7. 88. 6c and 5b *avṛka*", *IIJ*, 1965, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 165–170). GUISEPPE PIPITONE has translated and discussed in Italian the "*Nāsadīya Sūkta ṚV*. X. 129" (Vidya 7–9, *Rivista trimastrale di cultura*, 1965, pp. 75–81). On the Ākhyāna theory we have two papers : Ākhyāna theory reconsidered by A. ALSDORF (*JOI*, Baroda, 1964, Vol. XIII, No. 3, pp. 195–207); and "A possible background of the Ākhyāna hymns of the *Ṛgveda*" by LUDO ROCHER (XXVII Inter. Cong. Ori.; Ann Arbor, 1967, Program p. 39). The former scholar has pointed out that old Ākhyāna verses quoted from the store of popular Ākhyāna poetry were put to magical use by the secondary addition of an appropriate spell, and that what was incorporated into *ṚV*. was not an original Ākhyāna, but this secondary magic combination. He has further said that this magic Sūkta might be recited without the prose portions. S. G. KANTAWALA has made a comparative study of *ṚV*. X. 10 and *Narasiṁha Purāṇa* 13 ("Yama-Yamī dialogue" *JOI*, Baroda, 1966, Vol. XV, Nos. 3–4, pp. 509–514). H. D. VELANKAR has presented an exhaustive study of "Emotional simile in the *Ṛgveda* and the concept of Bhakti" (*Bhār. Vid.*, Bombay, 1965, Vol. XXV, Nos. 3–4, pp. 1–43). A. VENKATASUBBIAH has also pointed out 'Some similes in the *Ṛgveda*' (*ALB*, Madras

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1964, Vol. XXVIII, Nos. 3–4, pp. 161–207). N. M. CHAUDHARI has written a paper on 'Wit, Scepticism and Rhetoric in the Ṛgvedic hymns' (*Cal. Rev.*, 1965, Vol. 174, No. 3, pp. 219–222). M. D. PANDIT has made a statistical study of the *ṚV*-hymns ascribed to Gṛtsamada and Karma Gārtsamada (*JUP*, 1967, No. 25, pp. 135–163).

The most important event in the field of the Atharvavedic studies which occurred during the last few years is the discovery of important manuscripts of the *Atharvaveda* in the Paippalāda recension, and the publication of the first part (Kāṇḍa I) of the same. The credit of this important discovery goes to the late Professor DURGAMOHAN BHATTACHARYYA. He delivered in 1962 three lectures at Poona on 'The Fundamental themes of the *Atharvaveda*' which have been published very recently (*Kauśika Lectures Series* No. VI, Poona, 1968). In these lectures he has traced the history of the discovery of the manuscripts, has given the details of the literature of the Paippalādas and of the position of the Paippalāda Brāhmaṇas, and has also given the philosophical contents of the Paippalāda *Atharvaveda*. L. RENOU has written notes on the Paippalāda recension ('Notes sur la version Paippalāda de l' *Atharvaveda* (2e series)' *JA* 1965, Vol. 253, No.1). N. J. SHENDE has presented an exhaustive study of the poetry of the *AV*. (*Kavi and Kāvya in the Atharvaveda*, Poona, 1967). VISHVA BANDHU has presented 'Vedic Textuo-Linguistic studies : *Atharvaveda* I' (*VIJ*, Hoshiarpur, 1967, Vol. V. part I, pp. 13–24). H. D. VELANKAR has studied 'Similes in the *Atharvaveda*' (*JAS*, Bombay, 1964, Vol. 38, pp. 19–43) in which he has analysed over three hundred similes. G. V. DEVASTHALI has drawn attention to "The form and arrangement of the *Atharvaveda*" (*B. K. Barua Commemoration Volume*, Gauhati, 1965, pp. 47–53) and to 'The Status of the *Atharvaveda*' (*Gopinath Kaviraj Abhinandan Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 3–13). R. B. PANDAY has dealt with the 'Conception of a house and domestic facilities in *Atharvaveda*' (*Madhyabhāratī*, 1965, Vol. 3, Part 3, pp. 14–18) in which he has studied *AV*. III. 12 and IX. 3. D. B. DISKALKAR has collected information about 'The Atharvaveda Brāhmaṇas' (*Poona Ori.*, 1962–63, Vol. 27, Nos. 1–2, pp. 1–4). An important contribution to our knowledge of the *AV*. religion has been made by J. GONDA by presenting a Translation, Introduction and Commentary on the *Savayajñas* (*Kauśika-sūtra* 66–68) (Amsterdam, 1965). In 1900 CALAND published his *Altindisches Zauber-ritual* dealing with KauśikaS 7–52. After a lapse of over sixty years GONDA has followed up the study of this important Sūtra-text. He has pointed out the distinction between the Sava Soma-sacrifice prescribed in the *Yajurveda* and the Sava of the *AV*. He has brought out the mystical values of the Sava, and has also shed light on the various ritualistic terms. He has

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made a very close comparative study of the Sava ritual and the *AV.* mantras prescribed therefor, and has pointed out that the Sava ritual can shed light on the interpretation of the *AV.* mantras. N. R. RATATE has written a short introductory note on the *Kauśikasūtra* (*Vedavāṇī*, Varanasi, 1965, Vol. 17, No. 10, pp. 12–15). CHOTALAL DVIVEDI has published a translation of the *Atharvavedīyajyautiṣam* (Datia, 1965).

Very little seems to have been done in the field of the *Yajurveda* studies. G. S. RAI has collected information on the 'Śākhās of the *Yajurveda* in the Purāṇas' (*Purāṇam*, Varanasi, 1965, Vol. 7, Nos. 1–2). K. ANNANGARACHARYA has presented a study of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā Padapāṭha (Padapāṭhapariśuddhiḥ, *Saṁvid*, Bombay, 1965, Vol. 2, Nos. 1–2, pp. 29–37). KRISHNA LAL has studied the ritualistic employment of *TS.* V. 6. 1. 1–2 (*Sāgarikā*, Saugar, 1965, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 313–316). T. GOUDRIAAN has published *Kaśyapa's book of wisdom – Jnānakāṇḍa* which is a ritual text of the Vedic school of the Vaikhānasas. VIDYANIDHI Śastri has published '*Maitrāyaṇīsaṁhitoktasūktisaṁgrahaḥ* (*Gurukula-patrikā*, Gurukula Kangdi, 1964–65, Vol. 17). G. G. DESAI has presented a philosophic interpretation of the Śukla Yajurveda following Swami Dayānanda's line of thought in his *Thinking with the Yajurveda* (Bombay, 1967).

In the field of the Sāmaveda, B. K. LAHIRI has published the *Sāmaveda Saṁhitā Āgneya Parva* (Calcutta). G. S. RAI has collected information on the 'Śākhās of the *Sāmaveda* in the Purāṇas' (*Purāṇam*, Varanasi, 1966, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 115–134). T. S. RAMAKRISHNAN has published a paper on 'The Music in the chant of *Sāmaveda*' (*Jour. Mu. Acad.*, Madras 1967, Vol. 38, Nos. 1–4, pp. 59–62). The same topic has been dealt with also by Mrs. BRINDA VARADARAJAN ('Music in the *Sāmaveda*', *Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 50–58).

Brāhmaṇas etc.

The question whether the Brāhmaṇas are to be regarded as Veda has been kept alive even at present. Swami KARAPATRA has advocated the view that the Veda character of the Brāhmaṇas is established by *yukti* (*Sūryodaya*, Varanasi, 1966, Vol. 42, Nos. 9–10). V. V. R. Institute of Hoshiarpur has published in 1966 a *Brāhmaṇoddhārakoṣa* which is a Dictionary of Brāhmaṇic citations. This Dictionary is a revised and enlarged edition of the *Vaidika Koṣa* published in 1926. It is proposed to publish two more citation-registers one based on the Saṁhitās and the other based on the Upaniṣads. Another important publication is *Die Vedische Gāthā und Śloka–Literatur* edited by PAUL HORSCH (Bern, 1966). It defines the characters of the varieties of literature such as Nārāśaṁsī, Gāthā, Itihāsa, Purāṇa, Śloka etc., collects the

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Gāthās and Ślokas from the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, and traces the history of this literature. NATHULAL PATHAK has published a study of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (*Aitareya brāhmaṇakā eka adhyayan*, Jaipur, 1966). He has also studied the legends in that Brāhmaṇa ('Aitareya brāhmaṇa ke itivṛttātmak ākhyān' *Viśvambharā*, 1967, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 39–44). N. J. SHENDE has made a study of the 'Teachers and their views in the *Ṛgveda–Brāhmaṇas*' *Velankar Comm. Vol.*, Bombay, 1965, pp. 133–153). H. S. ANANTHANARAYANA has presented 'Studies in the language of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*' as a University of Texas Dissertation (1962). P. E. DUMONT who has been steadily translating portions of the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* with critical notes, has now published the text and translation of *TBR* II. 6, the Kaukilī Sautrāmaṇī (*Proc. of American Phil. Socy*, Baltimore, 1965, pp. 309–340). B. R. SHARMA who had already published the Sāmavidhāna, Devatādhyāya, Saṁhitopaniṣad and Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāmaveda*, has published the *Ṣaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* with Sāyaṇa's commentary, the *Ārseya Brāhmaṇa* with Sāyaṇa's commentary, and *Sāmavedārṣeyadīpa* of Bhaṭṭa Bhāskarādhvarīndra (Tirupati, 1967). J. GONDA has studied the word *bandhu*–occurring in the Brāhmaṇas (*ALB*, Madras, 1965, Vol. 29, Nos. 1–4, pp. 1–29). KLAUS MYLLIUS has presented a study of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* ("Die Ideenwelt des *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*", Wissenschaftliche *Zeitschrift der Karl Marx Univ.*, Leipzig, 1967, Vol. 10, No. 12, pp. 47–55). According to him the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is a literary product of a transitory period, the early Vedic polytheism is in the process of making room for pantheism as also for the conception of a supreme divinity; there are elements of Vedānta philosophy side by side with the subjective idealistic views and elements of a raw empirical materialism and indigenous dialectics. There has appeared in the *Vedavāṇī* (Varanasi, 1965, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 41–47) a specimen of a Hindi commentary on *Ś.Br.* Kāṇḍa I *Darśapūrṇamāsau*. VIDYA NIVAS MIŚRA has presented 'Vāk legends in the Brāhmaṇa literature' *Kaviraj Abhinandan Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 20–28). K. HOFFMANN has made a text-critical study of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* ('Text-critisches zum Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa', *IIJ*, Vol. 4, pp. 17–36). S. K. GUPTA has studied the Agnihotra-portion of the *JBr.* (*Vedavāṇī*, Varanasi, 1965, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 25–30). T. BURROW has made an interesting study of the word *arma, armaka*–occurring in the post-Ṛgvedic literature ('On the significance of the term *arma, armaka* in early Sanskrit literature' *JIH*, Trivandrum, 1963, Vol. XLI, pt. 1, pp. 159–166). From the verse *TBr.* 2. 4. 6. 8 *yeṣām ime pūrve armāsa āsan*.., he concludes that the Aryans were responsible for the overthrow of the Indus Civilisation. N. TSUJI has presented an analytical and comparative study of the *Adbhuta Brāhmaṇa* and has made an attempt to define the stages of its formation ('On the form-

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ation of the *Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇa*' *ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, pp. 173–178).

Some work has been done in the field of Upaniṣadic studies. Mention must first be made of the critical exegesis of the *Īśopaniṣad* presented by PAUL THIEME (*JAOS*, 1965, Vol. 65, No. 1, pp. 89–99). In his article 'Remeaning Philosophy' (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, pp. 123–136). R. MORTON SMITH has advocated the view, by a study of the *Īśa* and *Kaṭha* Upaniṣads, that the process of changing meanings has been going on since old days, even before Śaṅkara, and that some of the difficulties and contradictions of the Upaniṣads are due to the prentice hands of Śaṅkara's predecessors. Sengaku MAYEDA has discussed the problem of the authorship of the *Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadbhāṣya* and the *Gauḍapādīyabhāṣya*, and has concluded that both these works are by Śaṅkara (*ALB Raghavan Felicitation VOl.*, Madras 1968, pp. 73–94). A YA. SYRKIN has published the Russian translation of *Bṛhad. Up.* (*Pamyatniki*, Vol. V, 1964) and *Chānd. Up.* (Moskva, 1965). WILHELM RAU has made a German translation of the *Muṇḍaka Up.* ('Versuch einer deutschen Übersetzung der *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*' *As. Stud.* 18–19, 1965). BIARDEAU has applied the philological method to the study of 'Ahaṁkāra: the Ego prineiple in the Upaniṣads' (*Contributions to Indian Sociology*, 1965, Vol. VIII, pp. 62–84). T. A. BISSON has presented a paper on 'Some parallels in Upaniṣadic and Taoist writing: Could India have influenced classic Taoism?' to the XXVII International Cong. of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, 1967 (Program p. 41). 'Vedic concept of waters' has been discussed by E. ANANTACHARYA (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati 1967, pp. 9–17).

Vedāṅgas

In the field of the Vedāṅga studies, V. VENKATARAMA SARMA has written a note on the *Śaunakīya Śikṣā* which is studied in Kerala and which is recently published (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 43–44). In August 1966, C. G. KASHIKAR delivered lectures on 'A Survey of the Śrautasūtras for the MM. Dr. P. V. KANE prize endowment at the Bombay University. These lectures have very recently been published in the *Journal of the Bombay University* (1968, Vol. XXXV, No. 2). The lectures have covered not only the Śrautasūtras, but also the Pitṛmedhasūtras, Pariśeṣasūtras, Pravarasūtras and the Śulbasūtras. *Jaiminīyaśrautasūtravṛtti* of Bhavatrāta has been edited by PREMANIDHI Śastri (Delhi, 1966). As the edition leaves much to be desired, ASKO PARPOLA has planned to prepare a new critical edition of the *Jaiminīya Śrautasūtra* along with Bhavatrāta's commentary with the help of the materials collected by him ('On the *Jaiminīyaśrautasūtra* and its annexes', *Orientalia Suecana*, Uppsala, 1968, Vol. XVI, pp. 181–214). KLAUS MYLLIUS has undertaken the important task of translating with critical

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notes the *Āśvalāyana Srautasūtra*, and has published his work on the first Adhyāya. ('Der erste Adhyāya des *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*', '*Zeitschrift für Missionwissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*', Heft 3–4, 1967, pp. 246–258; 340–373). According to the author, Āsvalāyana belonged to the eastern part of India. He is older than Pāṇini and later than Śāṅkhāyana. The author is of the view that the commentator, who lived 1400 years later than the Sūtrakāra, cannot be said to have understood the text correctly. He has, therefore, closely followed the text. This view of the author requires to be scrutinised. More commentaries than one are available even at present, and it is likely that many more commentaries might have been written in a still older period, even though they are not available at present. It will also have to be seen whether any very important differences in meaning might have taken place in the matter of sacrificial rituals strictly fixed in literary traditions. The author has based his translation on the Calcutta edition; he does not seem to have consulted the Anandaśrama edition. The translation is generally correct; at times it is subject to correction. It is hoped that the author will succeed in rendering accurately the subsequent portions, particularly the latter half. The study of the different views of ritualistic teachers is an interesting line to be pursued. Following this line, we have a paper by ASKO PARPOLA entitled 'On the quotations of ritualistic teachers in the *Śrautasūtras* of Lāṭyāyana and Drāhyāyaṇa' (*Raghu Vira Memorial Volume*, New Delhi, 1967). The author has also presented the correct text of the introductory part of Agnisvāmin's bhāṣya on the Lāṭyāyana Śrautasūtra together with an English translation and notes (*ALB Raghavan Felicitation Vol.*, Madras, 1968, pp. 554–566). P. D. NAVATHE has recorded the views attributed in the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra* to different teachers ('The Ritual Teachers cited in the *Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra*', *Journal of Poona University*, 1968, No. 27, pp. 137–144). According to him, these citations were extracted from the Kalpas bearing the names of those teachers. The different views, however, represented different traditions within one and the same school. Similarly, some teachers mentioned by their family-names need not be regarded as the founders of some Vedic schools, as is held by him. In his 'Notes on the Rājasūya Section IX. 1 of the *Mānava Śrautasūtra*' (*Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* No. 23, 1964, pp. 1–34, No. 25, 1967, pp. 121–143), N. TSUJI has presented a close study of the Rājasūya portion of the *MānŚS* in comparison with several Yajurveda texts. C. G. KASHIKAR has described the details of 'A rare manuscript of the Vārāha School' (*Kavirāj Abhinandana Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 14–16). An edition of the Vaitāna-sūtra of the Atharvaveda together with Somāditya's commentary has been published by the V. V. R. Institute, Hoshiarpur (1966). On

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account of the scanty and defective Mss of the commentary, the editors were required to adopt conjectural readings in the commentary at numerous places. A close study of the available materials and the discovery of new materials would help in improving the text of the commentary.

V. VARADACHARI has taken a survey of the Gṛhyasutras and their contents (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 23–34). SUNDAREŚA Śastri has edited 'Āśvalāyanāparaproyogaḥ' (*JTMSSM*, Tanjore, 1965–66, Vols. 18–19) and has also edited the 'Āpastambasmārtaprayogaḥ' (*JTMSSM*, Tanjore, 1961–63). KRISHNA LAL has made 'A critical study of *Gṛhya Mantras* with special reference to their ritual application' (*Delhi University Diss.* 1965). He has also studied the 'Mantras employed in the Gṛhyasūtras for placing the fuel-sticks in fire in Upanayana ritual' (*JOI*, Baroda, 1967, Vol. 17, pt. 2, pp. 129–136). J. GONDA has written 'A note on the Vedic student's staff' (*JOI*, Baroda, 1965, Vol. 14, pts. 3–4, pp. 262–272). S. IWASAKI has written a paper on 'Rudra and the Śūlagava sacrifice in *Gṛhyasūtra*' (*JIBS*, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 814–820, 1964, in Japanese). YUDHISTHIRA Mīmāṁsaka is trying to bring out the character of the *Kātyāyana Gṛhyasūtra* as different from the *Pāraskara GS*. According to him, there are slight variations between these two texts.

V. RAGHAVAN has published (*ALB*, Madras, 1966, Vol. XXX, pts. 1–4, pp. 141–175) the text of *Kanakāvalī* compiled by Narayaṇacharya belonging to the Āpastamba school, resident of Śrimuṣṇam near Chidambaram, S. India. The work deals with the Vedic Śākhās and particularly deals with the story of Yājñavalkya and Vaiśampāyana. The *Śulbasūtras* form the ancient handbook of Mathematics, and on this subject we have the following works: 'History of Hindu Mathematics: A source book' by B. DATTA and A. N. SINGH, (Parts I–II, Bombay, 1962); 'Śulbasūtra (Vaidik Rekhāgaṇit) ki ek Jhalak' by Nayaraj Pant (*Pūrṇimā*, Kathmandu, 1967, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 55–82); 'Bhāratīya Jyotiḥśāstra kā gaṇit-vijñān' by KEDAR DATTA JOSHI (*Prajñā*, 1963, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 174–180), the author has tried to find out mathematical rules in the Vedic texts; 'Prācīn bhāratmen rekhāgaṇit' by GUNAKAR MULE (*Tripathagā*, Lucknow, 1965, Vol. 10, No. 7, pp. 65–70). Swami BHARATI KRISHNA TIRTHA has written a work called '*Vedic mathematics or sixteen simple mathematical formulae from the Vedas*' (Varanasi, 1965) in which he has drawn specimens from the unique vedic methods of multiplication, division, decimals, fraction, square and cube roots etc. It is not clear why the methods have been called as 'Vedic'.

In the field of the Nirukta, M. A. MEHENDALE has been pursuing his studies and has published 'Nirukta Notes: Series I' (Poona, 1965). In a

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Note on 'Ardhanāma' (*Indian linguistics*, Vol. 26, pp. 203–206) he has explained that word in a different way. While *sarvanāma* shares both the characteristics of *nāma*, namely, declension and accent, *ardhanāma*, according to him, shares with *nāma*, only one characteristic viz., declension. In another note (*Kavirāj Abhinandan Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 17–19) he points out that *Vibhakti* does not mean 'case-inflexion', but 'division' of a word. In his paper on 'The basis of Pāṇini 8. 1. 59, 65 in *Ṛgveda*, (*Kavirāj Abhinandan Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 282–288) V. P. LIMAYE has examined Macdonell's statement in his Vedic Grammar on accentuation of *ca*, *vā* and *eka*, and *anya*. RAM GOPAL has drawn attention to the necessity of tracing the Vedic quotations in the *Kāśikā* and *Siddhāntakaumudī* (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, pp. 227–230). M. V. MAHASHABDE is tracing in his dissertation the Vedic quotations in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. S. BHASKARA RAO has discussed 'the Vedic metre' (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 35–39).

Philology

In this important field of studies we have L. RENOU's 'Sur l' utilisation linguistique du *Ṛgveda*' (*Bull. Soc. Ling.* Paris, 1966, Vol. 61, No. 1., pp. 1–12) in which he has discussed word-haplology. J. GONDA has several works to his credit. In his *Loka : World and Heaven in the Veda* (Amsterdam, 1966), he has made a comprehensive study of the Vedic word *loka*. His chief aim in undertaking the present study and other similar studies is to institute semantic investigations and to trace the development of ideas which form the preliminaries of a scientific attempt towards a correct understanding of the Vedic texts, and ultimately towards a correct assessment of the Vedic religion and culture. Reference may be made to the following of his papers : 'Adhvara and Adhvaryu' (*VIJ*, Hoshiarpur, 1965, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 163–177); 'Devayant and Devayu' (*JOI*, Baroda, 1966, Vol. 15, Nos. 3–4, pp. 307–313); 'Bhuvana' (*VIJ*, 1967, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 42–57); 'The historical background of the name *satya* assigned to the highest being' (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, pp. 83–93); 'The meaning of the Sanskrit term *dhāman*, (Amsterdam, 1967). The word *vidatha* has been studied by J. P. SHARMA and also by H. W. BAILEY (*JRAS*, 1965, Nos. 1–2, pp. 43–56). The latter has studied the Vedic root *art* (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, pp. 71–73), and *garūtmant* and *śyená* (*ALB Raghavan Felicitation Vol.*, Madras 1968, pp. 8–11). *Pājas*, according to S. D. ATKINS, means a body with particular reference to breadth, thickness, solidarity and weight. K. L. JANERT has traced the cultural history of the word *sphya* ('Zur Wort- und Kulturgeschichte von, Sanskrit *sphya*, Pali *phiya*' *Kz*, 1964, Vol. 79, pp. 89–111). J. MANESSY-GUITTON has studied the words *pradhi-*, *upadhi-*, *pratidhi-*, and *pavi* (*Orbis*, 1965, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 386–392). The same author has also

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studied nouns ending with *-nas* (*IIJ*, Vol. 8, pp. 171–196). There is a paper 'Zu dem Freundling im *Ṛgveda*' by R. F. G. MULLER (*WZKSOA*, 1966, Vol. 10, pp. 1–5). C. HAURI has made a comprehensive study of the Inst. sing termination *-ena* of *a*-stems (*Zur Vorgeschichte des Ausgangs-ena des Instr. sing der a-Stemme des Altindischen*, Göttingen, 1962). According to S. INSLER (*Indogerm, Forch.* 71 Band, 3 Heft, 1966, pp. 221–235) tvāyā is not an adverb, but a locative and dative of *tvam* formed following the acc. *tvām* following the model of the feminine *ā*-stems. Locative *tvāyā* reflects the archaic *m*-less form of these feminines that persists in Iranian, and most probably also existed in the Ur-text of the *ṚV* with one relic surviving in *kanāyā ṚV* X. 61. 5. Dative *tvāyā* is most probably from *tvāy+ā*. J. NARTEN has made a study of 'Ai. malimlu and malimluca' (*IIJ*, 1966, Vol. 9, No. 3, pp. 203–208). H. WAGNER has compared the ballad-poetry of Ersä-mordwin, and has sought to point out the relation between the Aryans and Finno-Ugrisch by comparing *niṣka* the golden ornament worn by Maruts and the celestial god Nischke-pas of the Finno-Ugrisch ("Altindisch niṣka-'goldener Halsschmuck' und der mordwinische Himmelsgott Nischke-pas, *Müncher Studien Zur Sprachwissenschaft*, 16 Heft, 1 Teil, Munchen, 1964, pp. 95–117). W. v. SODEN has compared *magha* 'present' with New Arabic *maggānija* 'freedom from dues' (*Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap*, Ex Oriente, Lux 18, 1964, pp. 339–344). P. THIEME has presented a study of the words *kṛṣṭi* and *carṣaṇī* which, according to him, mean 'Grenze'. The exact distinction between these words cannot be found out. In his view it cannot be maintained that the Ṛgvedic people knew agriculture (*Zeit. vergl. Sprach.* 81 Band, 3–4 Heft, 1967, pp. 233–244). V. PISANI takes *kariṣyās* of a single occurrence in the *ṚV* to be 2nd sing. optative of the Aorist and not subjunctive future (*ALB Raghavan Felicitation Vol.*, Madras, 1968, pp. 12–13).

H. D. VELANKAR has made a detailed study of the Ṛgvedic *manas* and *hṛd*, and has concluded that the former is a seat of thought and the latter is the abode of feeling (22nd AIOC, Gauhati, 1965). According to D. N. BASU, *vrāta* means the 'multitude' of men, gods, horses or dice according to the context (*Bull. Phil. Soc.*, Calcutta, 1965, Vol. V, pts. 1 & 2, pp. 25–32). A VENKATASUBBIAH has studied the words *vṛjana* (*ALB* XXX, Pts. 1–4, 1966, pp. 44–104), and *svasara* (*VIJ*, 1964, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 73–78). M. A. MEHENDALE agrees with OLDENBERG in taking *sūre* (*ṚV* I. 34. 5) as loc. sing., and with him and BERGAIGNE in separating syntactically *sūre* from *duhitā*. *Sūre* stands for *sūre udite* (*BDCRI*, Poona, 1966, Vol. XXV, pp. 71–76). RAM GOPAL has studied the word *jani* (*IA* III series, 1967, Vol. II, Pt 1, p. 42). According to R. C. HAZRA, *paśutṛp* (*ṚV* 7. 86. 5) means a

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thief who, for attaining freedom from bondage, satisfies his captor by giving him cattle (*VIJ*, Vol. IV, pt. 1, pp. 34–38). N. B. MARATHE has discussed the correctness of the terms *gautama* and *gotama*, and has concluded that the latter was the original term (*Sūryodaya*, Varanasi, 1968, Vol. 44, No. 3, pp. 68–69).

J. MANESSY-GUITTON has discussed simple adjectives with *-as*-in the *ṚV* (*IIJ*, 1964, Vol. 7, pt. 4, pp. 259–283). J. NARTEN has made a comprehensive study of the sigmatic aorist (*Die Sigmatische Aoriste im Veda*, Wiesbaden, 1964). In his study of the Vedic precative forms (*Münch Stu. Sprach* 1967, Heft 20, pp. 25–37). K. HOFFMANN has pointed out that Pāṇini knew the regular precative forms, but he did not know the stems *jñeṣ*, *deṣ*, *stheṣ*. These may be looked upon as an indication of local dialectical difference in the Brahmanical standard language (*Münch. Stud. Sprach.*, 1967, Heft 20, pp. 25–37). He has also made a comprehensive study of the verb-forms of *añc* (*KZ*, 1965, Vol. 79, pp. 171–191). J. NARTEN has studied the occurrences of the verb-forms of *mīv* in Veda (*Münch. Stud. Sprach.* 1965, Heft. 18, Teil 3, pp. 53–60). B. R. SHARMA has tried to show that there are three homophonous roots *man*-in Sanskrit, while in the other IE languages one of them is lost (*BDCRI*, Poona, 1966, Vol. XXV, pp. 135–143). In an interesting paper ('Vedisch vichāyati und govyacha', *Münch, Stud. Sprach.*, 1966, Heft 19, pp. 61–72), K. HOFFMANN has defined the meaning of the root *vich* as 'to drive' (for being slaughtered). The point whether *stṛ* (aniṭ verb) with *nu* vikaraṇa and *stṛ* (seṭ verb) with *nā* vikaraṇa are two different roots or one root, has been disputed by J. NARTEN (*Münch. Stud. Sprach.*, Heft 22, pp. 57–66, 1967) and H. WAGNER (ZCPh 30, 1967). K. P. JOG has written a paper 'On the Ṛgvedic denominative *adhvarīya* (*JUP*. No. 27, 1968, pp. 27–35). An accentual study of the words *vikaṭa* and *hāyana* (*IL*, 1965, Vol. 26, pp. 18–26, *BDCRI*, 1966, pp. 43–58) and *amāvāsyā* (*JUP*, No. 27, 1968, pp. 1–25) has been presented by M. D. BALASUBRAHMANYAM. The author has also made an exhaustive study of the system of *kṛt*-accentuation in Pāṇini and the Veda, and has come to the conclusion, among other things, that a large majority of Pāṇini's Vedic and general rules are in perfect accord with the vedic system of *kṛt*-accentuation. K. HOFFMANN has defined the meaning of the word *vanākakṣaḥ JBr* II, 207, 148, as 'woods and bushes' (*IIJ*, 1966, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 199–202). M. A. MEHENDALE has traced the etymology of the word *pālāgalī* (*JOI*, Baroda, 1966, Vol. 15, Nos. 3–4, pp. 403–405), and has also pointed out the meaning of *madhye lagnam* BaudhŚS IX. 3, as 'bent in the middle' (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume*, 1968, pp. 193–195). H. S. ANANTANARAYANA has studied the 'Perfect terms in the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (*BDCRI S. J. Volume*, 1966, pp.

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32–41). C. G. KASHIKAR has tried to define the relation between the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and the Śrautasūtras (F. B. J. *Kuiper Festschrift*, 1968, pp. 404–414). C. G. HARTMAN has studied the '*Emphasizing and connecting particles in the thirteen principal Upaniṣads* (Helsinki, 1966). R. L. TURNER has presented a study of the word *buddhi* (*Morgenstirne Comm. Vol.*, 1964, pp. 173 ff). The etymology of the word *āścarya* has been studied by P. TEDESCO (*JAOS* 1965, Vol. 85, No. 1, pp. 86–88). V. PISSANI has presented 'Some etymologies' (*JOI*, Baroda, 1965, Vol. 14, Nos. 3–4, pp. 315–316). K. MAHADEVA Śastri has pointed out that the grammatical structure of the Sanskrit language is simplified along the lines of the Dravidian (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 59–61).

Religion and Mythology

Let us now turn to the work done in the field of religion and mythology. There has appeared a work entitled 'Sacrifice : its nature and function' by HUBERT, HENRI, MAUSS and MARCEL (London, 1964). In a paper 'Brahmin, Ritual, and Renouncer (*WZKSOA*, 1964, Vol. VIII, pp. 1–31) J. C. HEESTERMAN has attempted to show that the reason for the pre-eminence of a Brahmin in the Vedic period was not his priesthood, but his renouncing. In another article ('The case of the severed head', *WZKSOA*, 1967, Vol. XI, pp. 22–43) he has tried to discover the symbolism of *yajñasya śiraḥ*. In his paper 'Gifts and giving in the *Ṛgveda*' (*VIJ*, 1964, Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 9–30) J. GONDA has pointed out the bond between the giver and the recipient. H. K. DECHAUDHARI has drawn attention to the mystical significance of *yajña* (*Bhavan's Journal*, Bombay, Nov. 1967, pp. 19–23). The part played by rituals in developing the spiritual life has been pointed out by S. S. MURDESHWAR (*Vedānta-Kesarī*, Aug. 1965, Vol. 52, No. 4, pp. 210–213). CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI has drawn attention to the necessity of recording the prevailing ritual-practices in comparison with the prescribed ones ('Interesting developments in Vedic rituals', *Kaviraj Abhinandan Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 1–2). 'Some Thoughts on Methodology in the study of Indian religions' have been recorded by PAUL YOUNGER (XXVII Inter. Cong. Ori. Ann Arbor, 1967, Program p. 39). S. K. NANDY has offered 'A critique of some aspects of Max Weber's study of religion and society in traditional India' (XXVII Inter. Congress Orientalists, Ann Arbor, 1967, Program p. 39). E. BENVENISTE has to his credit a paper 'Sur la terminologie iranienne du sacrifice' (*JA* 1964, Vol. 252, pp. 45–58). S. N. BISWAS has dealt with 'the concept of Impure and the methods of its purification in the Zoroastrian and Vedic religion' XXVII Inter. Cong. Ori., Ann Arbor, 1967, Program p. 14).

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A resume of the 'Vedic religion and mythology' of the views of Western scholars is given by R. N. DANDEKAR (*Poona University Journal* No. 21, 1965, pp. 1–53). A report on a Seminar on 'Myths and Legends' prepared by M. S. GOPALKRISHNAN and others is published in the *Bulletin Trad. Culture*, Madras, Part–1, 1967. H. LOMMEL has presented 'Altbrahmanische Legenden' (Stuttgart and Zurich, 1964). 'Vedic mysticism' in the rituals is studied by K. P. S. CHAUDHARY (*Vishvabharati Quarterly*, Volume XXXI, No, I, pp. 35–48). The 'Conception of Vedic divinity' is discussed by SAMIRAN CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI (*Cal. Review*, 1965, Vol. 175, No. 1, pp. 31–44). There is a paper on 'the Heroic theft : Myths from *ṚV* IV and the Ancient Near East' by D. M. KNIFE (*Hist. of Religions*, Chicago, May 1967, Vol. 6, No. 4). In his '*Varuṇa* and *Dhṛtarāṣṭra* (*IIJ*, 1966, Vol. IX, No, 4, pp. 245–265), G. JOHNSEN has drawn attention to the necessity of studying the epic mythology for solving the problems of the Vedic mythology.

In the field of the mythology of individual Vedic divinities, Agni may be taken up first. M. MAYRHOFER has drawn attention to the god *Akni* of the Hittites with whom the word for 'fire' is a different one. He has, therefore, inferred that, in view of the close affinity of *Akni* with the Vedic *Agni*, the Hittites might have adopted the divinity from the Indo–Aryans ('Der Gott Akni in den hettitischen Texten und seine indoarische Herkunft' *OLZ*, 1965, Vol. 60, parts 11–12, pp. 545–552). J. C. HARLE has described two images of Agni and Yajñapuruṣa found in the Jambukeshwar temple near Tiruchirapalli in South India (*JRAS*, 1962, pp. 1–17). Another image of Agni from Bihar has been described by BHAGWAT SAHAI (*J. Bihar R. S.*, Patna, 1966, Vol. 52, Nos. 1–4, pp. 108–111).

A. VENKATASUBBIAH has criticised Lüder's views on Indra's conquest of Vṛtra and the overthrow of Vala (*ZDMG* 1965, Vol. 115, No.1, pp. 120–133). N. J. SHENDE has studied the mythology of Indra as found in the Brāhmaṇas of *ṚV* (*Bhar. Vidya*, 1964, Vol. 24, Nos. 1–4, pp. 46–58). K. D. BAJPAI has depicted 'Indra in early literature and art' (*Bull. anc. Indian Hist. Arch.*, Saugar, 1967, pp. 21–24). Regarding the identification of the Aśvins and Dioscuroi, we have a paper by J. BERNOLLES ('Le symbolisme du damier sur les poteries de la haute epoque asiatique et la mythe solaire des Aśvin-Dioscures' (*Review Hist. Rel.* 1965, Vol. 168, pp. 117–154). In a paper 'The Riddle of the Aśvins (*JOI*, Baroda, 1965, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 203–218) R. K. PRABHU, who believes in the Arctic theory, regards the Aśvins as the twin stars *a* and *b* Jeminorum (*punarvasū*). K. P. JOG has published his work on 'The Aśvins in the *ṚV* and their traces in the later literature' (*Journal of Bom. University*, 1964, 1965). V. C. SRIVASTAVA holds that the Aśvins represent the sun in his two aspects of fertility and light.

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According to him, the deity goes back to the IE period, but the name is purely an Indian formation (*JAHRS*, Rajahmundry Vol. 30, pp. 51–62).

As regards the solar divinities, we have a paper by G. DUMEZIL ('Le dieu scandinave Vidarr', *Review Hist. Rel.*, 1965, Vol. 168, pp. 1–13), in which he has shown the identification of the functions of the Scandinavian god Vidarr with those of Viṣṇu. According to B. B. CHAUBE, the three steps of Viṣṇu respectively represent the rising to culmination, culmination to sunset, and going below the earth (*Ind. Phil. Cul.*, Brindavan, 1965, Vol. 10, Nos. 3–4, pp. 81–85). V. S. AGRAWALA has presented a philosophical interpretation of 'the genesis of the Vāmana legend in Vedic literature' ('Vāmana aur Viṣṇu', *Raj. University Journal*, Feb. 65, pp. 1–7). W. LENTZ read a paper on 'The social function of the Iranian god Mithra' (XXVII International Congress of Orientalists, Ann Arbor, 1967, Program p. 12). K. CHATTOPADHYAYA has to his credit a paper on 'The progressive importance of Mithra worship in Zoroastrianism' (XXVII *Inter. Cong. Ori.* Ann Arbor, 1967, Program, p. 14). N. G. CHAPEKAR's paper on 'Savitā' has appeared in *Ind. Ant. III* (Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 24–33, 1967). N. J. SHENDE has collected data on the mythology of '*Āditya* and *Ādityas* in the *ṚV* Brāhmaṇas' (*Mirashi comm. Vol.* pp. 56–86).

V. S. BHANDARI has described Rudra as the supreme god in the *Yajurveda* (*Nagpur Uni. Journal*, 1965, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 37–42). In a paper 'La Sabhā de Yama' (*JA*, 1965, Vol. 253, No. 2, pp. 161–165) G. DUMEZIL looks upon Yama as the presiding deity of the entire process of creation and thus points out the similarity between Yama and Avestan Yima, and further says that this feature of Yama goes back to Indo-Iranian origin which has been lost sight of in the Vedic literature. According to A. P. KARMARKAR ("Yama the god of death of the Dravidians", *Indica*, 1967, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 7–10), the character of Yama betrays his non-Aryan Dravidian origin. K. V. SOUNDARA RAJAN has collected data about the 'Rites connected with death and after' (*Bull. Ind. Trad. cul.*, Madras, 1966, Part II, pp. 259–275). The significance of water in Indian rituals and ceremonies is pointed out by G. M. PANSE (*ŚPP*, Dwarka, 1968, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 18–25). G. RAMAKRISHNA has dealt with the concept of *ṛta* and the ethical element in the Vedic literature' *Vedānta Kesarī*, Vol. LIV, No. 3, 1967, pp. 154–160). The program of the XXVII Inter. Cong. Ori. Ann Arbor, 1967, p. 40, records a paper 'About Hiraṇyagarbha's mythology-psychological implications' by O. F. de GUBERNATIS. J. C. WRIGHT has presented a study of the Pururavas-Urvaśī dialogue (*BSOAS* 1967, Vol. 30, No. 3, pp. 526–547). According to him, the hymn constitutes a creation-legend. The sacrifice of the male is the central motif. The dialogue is between Narya's parents at the time

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of his birth. The Śunaḥśepa legend has beed studied in detail by H. LOMMEL (*ZDMG*, 1964, Vol. 114, No. 1, pp. 122–161). 'Three Vedic Legends as found in later literature' have been studied by DIPAK BHATTACHARYA (*J. Bihar Res. Soc.*, Patna, 1965, Vol. 51, Nos. 1–4 pp. 8–18). BALADEVA UPADHYAYA has traced the development of the Naciketa legend in later literature (*Purāṇa*, Varanasi, 1964, Vol. VI, No. 2, pp. 391–410). The rivalry between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra has been traced to the later literature by H. LOMMEL (*Oriens*, 1965–66, Vols. 18–19, pp. 200–227). The legend of Keśin Dārbhya has been studied by N. TSUJI (*Annals Ori. Rel. Stu.* Tokyo, 1966, No. 3. pp. 29–34), and E. R. SREEKRISHNA SARMA (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume* 1968, pp. 241–255).

Civilization and Culture

In this field of studies mention may first be made of D. D. KOSAMBI's work, *The culture and civilisation of ancient India in historical outline* (London, 1965). A paper 'On the geographical expansion of the Indian cultural sphere symbolised by the metaphor of the five rivers of India and metaphor of four rivers in Asia', by SHOSON MIYAMOTO is recorded in the Program (p. 41) of the *XXVII Inter. Cong. Ori.* Ann Arbor, 1967, V. S. AGRAWALA has written on the 'Vedic Folklore' (*Folklore*, Calcutta, 1965, Vol. 6, No. 1). There are two papers on the beginnings of the iron-age in India. One is by D. D. KOSAMBI (*Journal Econ. Soc. Hist. Ori.*, London, 1963, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 309–318) who fixes the period of the beginning of iron age in the Gangetic valley between 800–900 B. C. The second paper is by LALLANJI GOPAL (*JAHRS*, 1962–63, Vol. 28, Nos. 1–2, pp. 39–54) who has examined the Vedic evidence for the use of iron. In the field of social history, DEV RAJ CHANANA wrote his *Slavery in Ancient India* in 1960. We have a paper on the same subject by SANDHYA MUKERJEE (*Ind. Stu. Past and Present*, 1967, Vol. 8, pt. 2, pp. 211–214). SIVADATTA JNANI has written *Vedakālīn Samāj* in Hindi (Varanasi, 1967). On Gotra and Pravara there is a paper by RAMACHANDRA TRIPATHI (*Bhavan's Journal*, Bombay, 1966, Vol. XIII, No. 2, pp. 162–165). On Gotra-exogamy there are two papers : one by TESTUO YAMAORI (*JIBS*, Tokyo, 1965, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 378–380, in Japanese) and the other by KRISHNA CHANDRA MISHRA (*Prajñā*, 1965, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 155–162). PAUL HORSCH has made a comprehensive study of ancient Indian names (*Soziologisches zur altindischen Namenskunde*, Zurich, 1965). K. KRISHNAMURTHY has presented a study of 'Festivals in ancient India' (*JAHRS* 1963–64, Vol. 29, Nos. 1–2, pp. 40–47). 'Ethics of the family as described in Sūtra literature' have been discussed by KENKYO FUJI (*JIBS*, 1964, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 94–99, Japanese).

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In the study of polity we have a paper on 'The coronation ceremony in Vedic India' by JOGIRAJ BASU (*Vishwabhāratī*, 1965-66, Vol. 31, No. 3, pp. 238-250). J. P. SHARMA read a paper on 'Non-monarchical political communities in the Ṛv-period' in *XXVII Inter. Cong. Ori.*, Ann Arbor. 1967, Program p. 39. R. N. DANDEKAR has presented a study of *AV* III. 4 in which he has pointed out the Vedic practice of electing a King ("Sources of Ancient Polity : Election of a King" *AV* III. 4, *B. K. Barua Commemoration Vol.*, Gauhati, 1965, pp. 32-37). BUDDHA PRAKASH has written a book called *Political and Social Movements in Ancient India* (from the Vedic age upto the Maurya period) (1964). The relation between the priestly class and the ruling class is an enchanting subject, and mention may be made in that connection of two books : *Le pouvoir et sacre* edited by *Luc de* HENSCH (Brussels 1962), and *Kingship and Community in early India* by C. DREKMEIER (Stanford, 1962). There is one more book on the subject, *Political theory of ancient India : A study of kingship from the earliest times to circa 300 A. D.* by J. W. SPELLMAN (Oxford, 1964). S. C. BHATTACHARYA has written a paper on 'Hindu royal titles and kingship' (*All. Univ. Stu.*, 1963-64, pp. 61-64) in which he has made a study of the various appellations used for king in the Brāhmaṇas, and has concluded that absolute kingship was much advanced in the Br. period.

The history of Indian sword has been traced by G. N. PANT (*Marubhāratī*, Pilani, 1964, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 54-68). 'Antiqueness of forts in India' is discussed by K. KRISHNAMURTHY (*JAHRS*, 1964, Vol. 30, Nos. 1-4, pp. 1-10). 'Weights and measures in ancient India' (*J. Hist. Res.*, Ranchi, 1965, Vol. 8, No. 1, pp. 50-58) have been enumerated in an article in which weight-stones and seals from various Harappan sites have been enumerated, and capacity measures from Vedic and post-vedic texts have been recorded. BALRAM SRIVASTAV has collected information on "Balances in ancient India" (*VIJ*, 1964, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 131-134). A general review of 'Vedic economy' has been taken by M. S. PRAKASA RAO (*Vedasamīkṣā*) Tirupati, 1967, pp. 69-86).

P. THOMAS has taken a comprehensive review of the position of *Indian woman through the ages* (London, 1964). S. C. CHAKRAVARTI has collected 'Vedic evidences regarding the female inheritance' (*Cal. Review*, 1965, Vol. 174, No. 3, pp. 239-243). D. SATYANARAYANA has written a paper on 'Education in the *Ṛgveda*' (*T. T. Deva.* Tirupati, 1965, Vol. 16, No. 12, pp. 5-11). JOGIRAJ BASU has written on the same subject (*Vishwabhāratī Quart.* 1965-66, Vol. 31, pt. 2, pp. 186-200). A work on *Vedic numerology* by G. V. CHAUDHARI has recently appeared (Bombay, 1968). J. FILLIOZAT has shed important light on the astronomy in ancient Iran and India ('Notes

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d'astronomie ancienne de l ' Iran et de l ' Inde ', *JA*. 1964, Vol. 250, No. 3, pp. 325–50). D. ARKA SOMAYAJI has collected ' Astronomical references in the Vedas ' (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 40–45). The origin and development of alphabet is a vexed problem and a few papers on this subject have been written recently. T. P. VERMA has thrown ' Fresh light on the origin of Brāhmī alphabet ' (*JOI*, Baroda, 1964, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 360–371). Mention must be made of a German work, *Geschichte der Schrift unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer geistigen Entwicklung* (Heidelberg, 1966). ' Evidence of writing in the Vedic age ' has been collected from Pāṇini and the Aitareya Āraṇyaka by G. T. DESHPANDE (*Nagpur University Jour.*, 1966, Vol. 16, No. 2, p. 254).

In the field of economy we have a book, *An outline of agriculture in ancient India* (2000 B. C. to 700 A. D.) by J. R. KAKADE. A survey of the ' Agriculture in the Vedas ' has been made by T. K. GOPALASWAMI AIYANGAR (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 99–103). ' Horticulture in ancient India ' has been studied by K. KRISHNAMURTHY (*JAHRS*, 1962–63, Vol. 28, pp. 55–61). LALLANJI GOPAL has published a paper on ' Sugar-making in ancient India ' (*Jour. Econ. Soc. Hist. Ori.*, 1964, Vol. 7, pp. 57–72). V. K. KRISHNAN has collected information on ' Chemistry in India ' (*Vedasamīkṣā* Tirupati, 1967, pp. 87–91). D. P. JAGGI has written a work, *Scientists of ancient India* (Delhi, 1967). SURESH UPADHYAYA has traced ' the art of weaving in the *Ṛgveda* ' (*Saṁvid*, Bombay, 1964, Vol. 1, pt. 1, pp. 68–75). L. ALSDORF has contributed to the history of vegetarianism and cattle-rearing in India (*Beiträge Zur Geschichte von Vegetarismus und Rinderverehrung in Indien*, Wiesbaden, 1962). OM PRAKASH has written a work entitled *Food and drinks in ancient India* (Delhi, 1961). In the field of medicine we have a book called ' *A history of Medicine Vol. II : Early Greek, Hindu and Persian medicine* by H. E. SIEGERIST (New York, 1961). VRAJAMOHAN SINGH PARMAR has written a paper on the disposal of the dead in ancient India (' Prācīn bhāratmen śavavisarjan ' *Sodhapatrikā*, July 1963, Vol. 14, No. 3, pp. 230–232).

In the field of fine arts and entertainments H. RAU has written a work on the Indian art (*Die Kunst Indiens*, Stuttgart, 1965). A number of papers written by V. S. AGRAWALA have been published in book form under the title ' *Studies in ancient India* ' (Varanasi, 1966). The book contains, among other things, the citations from Vedic texts. In a paper ' The Indian games of Pachisi, Chaupar, and Chausar ' (*Expedition*, 1964, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 32–35), W. NORMAN BROWN has referred to the vedic play of dice. J. AUBOYER has collected information on sports and toys in ancient India (' Jeux et Jouets dans l ' Inde ancienne ', *Archaeologie*, 1966, Vol. 8, pp. 57–61). K. KUNJUNNI RAJA has collected information on the ' Games, sports, and

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amusements in the Vedic age' (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967 pp. 92–98). I. KARTHIKEYA SARMA has pointed out that the game of cock-fight was prevalent in India even in the Yajurveda period (*QJMS*, 1964, Vol. 54, No. 3, pp. 113–20). In his article on 'Musical instruments in ancient India (*Bull. Ind. Trad. Cul.*, Part II, Madras, 1965, pp. 255–259), V. R. MANI has tried to show that Vīṇā figures even in the *Ṛgveda*. Information on the 'Drums of India through the ages' (*Jour. Music Acad.*, Madras, 1967, Vol. 38, Nos. 1–4, pp. 72–82) has been collected by S. KRISHNASWAMI. In the UNESCO collection: 'A musical anthology of the Orient', A. DANIÉLOU has published a work entitled *Die Musik Indiens*, Platte I of which is devoted to Vedic recitations and chants. The view of the Vedas as depicted in Sangam literature is presented by N. SUBBU REDDIAR (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 111–124).

History

In the field of historical studies the foremost problem, which cannot be regarded to have been solved so far, is the original home of the Indo-Europeans. We have the following books and papers, among others, on this subject: 'Indogermanische Altertumskunde' (Seit, 1956); by ANTON SEHERER (*Kratylos*, 1965, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 1–24); "Woher stammt das Nomadentum? ('Kulturgeschichtliche Probleme des indianisches Vichzuchtertum')" by H. NACHTIGALL, (*Die Umschau*, Frankfurt, 1964, Vol. 64, pp. 47–50); "*Alteuropa und der Osten im spiegel der Sprachgeschichte* by M. P. SCHMID (Innsbruck, 1966); *Sacculum Weltgeschichte Band I: Ursprung und Fruhkulturen Primare Zentren der Hochkultur-Weltgeschichtliche Beruhrungszonen*, by H. FRANKE, H. HOFFMANN etc. (Freiburg, 1965); *Die Indo-Arier im Alten Vorderasien* (*mit einer analytischen Bibliographie*) by M. MAYRHOFER (Wiesbaden, 1966); The original home of the Indo-European peoples' by P. AALTO (*Sitz. Finn. Akad. Wiss.*, 1965, pp. 97–113); 'Methodische Vorfragen bei der Bestimmung der Urheimat' by W. DRESSLER (*Die Sprache*, 1965, Vol. 11, pp. 25–60); "Neues zu den vorindischen Sprachresten Vorderasiens" by V. BANATEANU (*Die Sprache*, 1964, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 198–201); 'Gliederung und Zerfall der Indogermania' by C. HARMATTA (*LB*, 1964, Vol. 9, pp. 41 ff.); 'Die Entstehung der Reiternomaden' by K. JETTMHAR (*Sacculum*, 1966, Vol. 17, Nos. 1–2, pp. 1–11); *Die indogermanischen Völker und Sprachen Kleinasiens* by R. HAUSCHILD (Berlin, 1964), "The original home of the Aryans and Indo-Iranian Migrations" by P. L. BHARGAVA (*ABORI Golden Jubilee Volume* 1968, pp. 219–226); 'The earliest abode of the Aryans' by R. K. SIDDHANTA, (*Cal. Review*, 1965, Vol. 175, No. 2, pp. 129–138); 'Mount Meru: the Homeland of the Aryans' by R. G. HARSHE (*VIJ*, 1964, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 135–161); 'Structuralism and substratum: Indo-Europeans and Aryans in the ancient near east' by O. SZEMERENYJ

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(*Lingua*, Amsterdam, 1964, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 1–29); 'Chinese and Indo-Europeans' by E. G. PULLEYBANK (*JRAS*, 1966, pts. 1–2, pp. 9–39); 'Traditionen der Steppen-kulturen bei indo-iranischen Bergvolkern' by K. JETTMAR (*JB. Sudasien Inst. Univ.*, Heidelberg, 1966, pp. 18–23).

The Indus Valley civilisation remains a subject of fresh study even at present. On this subject we have a book called '*Ṛgveda and the Indus valley civilization* by BUDDHA PRAKASH (Hoshiarpur, 1966). According to him, that civilisation was the culmination of the cultural development in the Indo-Iranian region, and its authors were the so-called Aryan people who lived there from the very dawn of humanity. In an article (*VIJ*, 1965, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 111–116) B. K. CHATTOPADHYAYA attempts to show that Mesopotemia was the first colony of the Vedic Aryans. B. R. SUBRAHMANYAM has tried to trace the beginnings of iron age in India (*JMSU*, Baroda, 1966, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 69–78). K. MYLIUS has made contribution to the problem of the chronology of the *Ṛgveda* (Beitrage zur Datierungsfrage des Veda (*Wiss. Zeits. Univ. Halle-Wittenberg*, 1965, Vol. 14, No. 7, pp. 509–511). There has been much discussion on the identification of the Vedic Sarasvatī river which was a great cultural centre in Vedic times. Even though there are other Sarasvatīs in Iran and Afghanistan, the Vedic Sarasvatī is generally recognised as the river in the Panjab which disappeared in the deserts since long. A. S. GUPTA has recently supported this view (Paper read in the 22nd Session of AIOC, Gauhati). Foreign influence in ancient India has been discussed by R. A. JAIRAZBHOY (London, 1963). There are two opinions on the issue whether the Ṛgvedic Indians were sea-farers. B. R. SHARMA holds that they were. (*Vedasamīkṣā*, Tirupati, 1967, pp. 104–110). The relations between Iran and India have been discussed by F. C. DAVAR in his book *Iran and India through the ages* (London, 1962). Dealing with a similar topic is the book *Pre-historic background* of Indian culture by D. H. GORDON (Bombay, 1960). D. D. KOSAMBI has traced the 'Living Prehistory in India' (*Ame. Rev.*, 1967, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 39–50). In his paper 'Ṛgvedic Studies' (*Cal. Rev.*, Vol. 174, No. 1, pp. 1–25), P. K. BHATTACHARYA has tried to show that some of the ṚV–Ṛṣis lived in the southern parts of Afghanistan. He takes the ṚV-period to be 3100 B. C. The sacrifices, according to him, were based on the activities of unification of different clans. He also holds that the Vedic culture was closely associated with the Assyrian culture.

In his article 'The Vedic five tribes' (*J. A. O. S.*, Vol. 87, No.1, 1967, pp. 33–39), D. D. KOSAMBI suggests that the word *pañca janāḥ* must be taken to mean human race in general. There is another article on the same topic by K. D. VAJAPEYI (*Pariṣad Patrikā*, Patna, 1964, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp. 57–60). W. RUBEN has traced the earliest steps in the development

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of the Śūdras (*Über die frühesten Stufen der Entwicklung der altindischen Śūdras*, Berlin, 1965). In a paper read in the 22nd Session of the AIOC (Gauhati, 1965), R. M. NATH has also tried to trace the history of the Vedic Matsya tribe whose name can be traced to its cult which developed in the Crete island about 5000 B. C. V. G. RAHURKAR has continued his historical studies of the Vedic seers (' Kaṇvas ', 22nd AIOC, ' Gṛtsamadas ', *Kaviraj Abhinandan Grantha*, Lucknow, 1967, pp. 29–31). Mention must be made of A. L. BASHAM 's *Studies in Indian history and culture* (Calcutta, 1964). In his paper " On the white Yajurveda Vaṁśa " (*East and West*, 1966, Vol. XVI, Nos. 1–2, pp. 112–125), R. M. SMITH has presented a study of the three Vaṁśas in the *Bṛhd Up.* with those in the *Jaim. Up. Br.* and the *Vaṁśa Br.* According to him, the *Vaṁśas* mentioned in *Bṛh. Up.* 2. 4. and 6 are more consistent and reasonable. From the comparison of the Vaṁśas in the Mādhyaṁdina and Kāṇva recensions of the *Bṛh. Up.*, he suggests that these two recensions split in the twelfth generation. In his work *Indian Chronology* (Bombay, 1963), D. S. TRIVEDA has traced the history between 8231 B. C. and 1963 B. C. For a correct and complete understanding of ancient Indian history a correlation of the literary and archaeological sources is essential. Vedists should, therefore, take note of B. B. LAL's *Indian Archaeology since Independence* (Delhi, 1964). In his ' Notes on some early Indian names ' (*Purāṇa*, 1964, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 420–442), R. M. SMITH has considered the names of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya persons occurring in the Vedas and Purāṇas (1500 B. C. to 200 B. C.). He has compared these names with Greek and Latin names. Acharya TULSI has tried to prove the ' Pre-Aryan Śramaṇa tradition ' (1964). H. D. SANKALIA has discussed ' Likely relations between Central India and Western Asia between 1800 and 1000 B. C. ' (XXVII *Inter. Cong. Ori.*, Ann Arbor, 1967, Program, p. 17).

In his paper ' General and regional geography in ancient India ' (VBQ, Vol. 28, No. 3, pp. 248–278), M. D. TRIPATHI has collected the Vedic references. Vedic evidence has been produced by A. D. PUSALKER in his paper ' Early history of Maharashtra ' (*ALB*, Vol. 25, Nos. 1–4, pp. 381–396). PUSHPA NIYOGI has collected information on ' Brahmanical settlements in different sub-divisions of Bengal ' (*Ind. Stu. past and present*, 1966–67, Vol. 8). T. BALKRISHNA NAYER has written a paper " Where did Dravidians come from ? " (*TC*, 1963, Vol. 10, No. 4, pp. 121–133). He has identified the Neolithic people of Deccan with original Dravidian speakers. There was a single culture pool in south–west Asia, Iran and India since the Neolithic age down to the period of Assyrians. During that period a wave of Dravidian speakers came from Baluchistan and Indus valley. The problem as to who entered Tamil Nad first and when, is discussed by K. K. PILLAY in his paper

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'Aryan influence in Tamilaham during the Sangam Epoch' (*TC*, 1966, Vol. 12, Nos. 2–3, pp. 159–169). For the knowledge of Aryan expansion to the eastern India, we have a book, *An early history of Orissa from the earliest times upto 1st century B. C.*, by A. C. MITTAL (Varanasi, 1962). There is a paper on the same topic by H. C. CHAKLADAR (Aryan occupation of eastern India' *Ind. Stu. past and present*, 1962, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 245–308). M. P. TRIPATHI has written an interesting paper on 'Survey and Cantography' (*JOI*, 1963, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 390–424) in which he has taken note of the measurements of sacrificial places.

(C) *The Work to be done*

The above retrospect has become unusually large. This became inevitable particularly in view of my purpose to draw attention of the Indian Vedists towards the commendable work done during the last few years in the West. Even though Vedic studies have been going on along modern scientific lines for the last hundred and fifty years, much remains to be done. A very useful tool for Vedic research has already been provided by L. RENOU through his *Bibliographie Védique* (1931) and also by R. N. DANDEKAR through his *Vedic Bibliography* (Part I, 1946, Part II, 1961). The latter is vigorously engaged in collecting further bibliographical material, and let us hope to have his Part III in the near future.

Efforts for the correct and full understanding of the *Ṛgveda* require to be continued, and I have already expressed my view in that behalf. It is true, the attainment of the goal would require a lot of time; but one need not be hasty about it. It will, of course, have to be seen that adequately trained scholars become available for this difficult task. This is primarily the moral duty of Indian scholars who have the special privilege of the Vedic heritage. It is hoped that the Government of India will play their part in providing all the necessary facilities for that purpose to the Universities, Research Institutions and even to individual scholars. As regards the capability for this difficult task, I would like to draw attention to the proper equipment necessary for Indian scholarship in general which has already been mentioned by S. S. BHAWE in his Presidential Address to the Vedic Section of the 20th Session of this Conference (Bhubaneshwar, 1959), and by N. G. KALELKAR in his Presidential Address to the Linguistic section of the 21st Session (Shrinagar, 1961). The latter has particularly drawn attention towards the linguistic courses at the European and American Universities through which every post-graduate student has to pass. Our Universities would do well to revise the courses of post-graduate studies, as was stressed by V. RAGHAVAN in his General Presidential Address at the Srinagar Session. The study of Avesta needs to be encouraged.

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The study of the *Atharvaveda* has again acquired prominence in recent years, since the discovery of new manuscripts of the Paippalāda recension of that Veda by the late Professor DURGA MOHAN BHATTACHARYA. The publication scheme of the Paippalāda *Atharvaveda* formulated and started by him has received a setback on account of his unfortunate passing away. It is hoped the scheme will be continued under new arrangements. About the Kāṭhaka and Maitrāyaṇī recensions of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, very little has been done since *Schröder* published critical editions of those works. Literary translations of these to Saṁhitās together with comprehensive and comparative studies require to be undertaken.

Among the Brāhmaṇas, a critical edition of the *Kāṇvīya Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* undertaken by CALAND has remained incomplete for a long time. A complete edition based on unused manuscripts requires to be undertaken. The study of the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa* of the *Sāmaveda*, which was started by CALAND by publishing its select portions, was significantly furthered by LOKESHCHANDRA by publishing a complete edition on the basis of the available manuscripts material. Attempts require to be made to hunt for more manuscripts of the text so that the text may assume a more definite form. Meanwhile, a close study of the text as is available at present would be beneficial. Welcome attention in this connection is being paid to this subject by some scholars. The Saṁhitā of the Jaiminīyas is already available in print; but the Gānas of that recension are not published so far. An edition of these Gānas is being printed at the Varaṇaseya Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya. One would hope that the available Gānas of the Jaiminīyas will be published therein. More light on the *Śāṅkhāyana* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas* requires to be thrown, and the text requires to be made available. The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* of the *Atharvaveda* requires to be studied more closely; an English translation of the same with critical notes would give an impetus to that study.

The study of the Sūtra-texts is receiving some attention. New editions of several Śrauta-sūtras and the editions of certain unpublished Sūtras are being prepared. The editing of the Śrauta sūtras requires a thorough understanding of the complicated rituals. Let us hope that the proposed editions prove to be as faultless as possible. Even though the English Section of the *Śrautakośa* being published by the Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona is expected to contain topicwise translations of almost all the Śrautasūtras, the mantras are not being translated therein, and certain portions of the Śrautasūtras are not being translated. Hence literal translations of all Śrautasūtras are a necessity. An allround study of each Śrautasūtra needs to be undertaken. All available commentaries on the Śrautasūtras should also be published. There are Prayoga-texts pertaning to the various rituals according

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to the different Vedic schools. Very few of them are published so far. These Prayoga works offer a rich field of study. Several works pertaining to the Vedic literature are still lying in Manuscripts Libraries. Their study and publication would be a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Vedic literature. Students desiring to work for the Ph. D. degree would do well to select such important Vedic manuscripts for their study rather than take up old stale subjects.

The Kauśika-sūtra belonging to the *Atharvaveda* is an important Sūtra-text. No significant contribution to its study seems to have been made during the last seventy years since a critical edition of the same together with extracts from Dārila's Bhāṣya and Keśava's *Paddhati* was published by M. BLOOMFIELD. Very recently a study of this Sūtra has been undertaken at Poona. It is proposed to publish a facsimile of a single manuscript containing Dārila's Bhāṣya in part together with a revised text. Another volume would present critically edited text of the *Kauśika Sūtra* based on the manuscripts not used by BLOOMFIELD together with Keśava's *Paddhati* printed in its entirety. A third volume may be devoted to the English rendering of the Sūtra-text. It is hoped this project, when completed, would give a new impetus to the study of the *Atharvaveda* as a whole.

Field Work

The Vedic studies are related, at least to a certain extent, to the field work. For instance, the system of Gotras and Pravaras is an ageold institution, because the names of the Gotra and Pravaras of the sacrificer are required to be uttered by the Hotṛ and the Adhvaryu in a specific rite forming part of the Full-moon and the New-Moon sacrifices. The Gotra system has undergone changes in course of time. The lists of Gotras and Pravaras are preserved in tradition and have been recorded to some extent. It would, however, be advisable to collect the information of Gotras and Pravaras by undertaking actual field work. This information, if properly and fully collected, would form a veritable source of sociological studies. D. D. KOSAMBI, while reviewing John Brough's work on the Gotras and Pravaras, had already drawn attention to this necessity.

The information about the existing Vedic schools also requires to be collected. It would considerably help one in tracing the migrations and expansions of the followers of the Vedic schools in different regions of India in historical period. V. RAGHAVAN has already collected some information in this regard (of his monograph, *the Present day position of Vedic recitation and Vedic Śākhās*, Veda–Dharma–Paripālana Sabhā, Kumbakonam 1962). The work, however, requires to be carried on on a wider scale without loss of time. Any delay in the matter may spoil the purpose for ever.

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Archaeological studies have considerably advanced in recent-years. The archaeological finds range from the neolithic period down to medieval period. The correlation of the information collected from literary sources with that collected from the archaeological sources is a great necessity. The Vedist must, therefore, maintain close contact with the advances taking place in the field of archaeology from time to time.

(*D*) *Concluding Remarks*

The Vedic lore is the privileged heritage of India. It is, therefore, the duty of Indian scholars to preserve the Vedic texts and traditions, to study the Vedic literature in all aspects, to arrange for the publication of unpublished texts, to interpret them, and bring out their value in the context of knowledge in general. While doing so, they have to keep themselves informed of the research work which is being carried on in Western and other countries, study it carefully, and express their considered views on it. I have also to request the Vedists to try their utmost in keeping alive the interest of the Indians in the Vedas. They must not remain passive, they must utilise every opportunity of maintaining contact with the public, and draw their attention to the high values of Vedic culture.

During the last few years attempts have been made to open the secrets of the Vedic learning to the general public. Several works bringing out the value of the Vedic literature and culture have been published in different Indian languages. Steps need, however, to be taken to publish annotated translations of Vedic texts in modern Indian languages. In this connection, I am happy to note that V. M. APTE is engaged for the last few years in preparing a Marathi translation of the *Ṛgveda* with critical notes. The work is almost complete, and will be published by the Maharashtra State Literature and Culture Academy. The work is expected to be an improvement over the earlier translations. Another scholar, M. R. JAMBUNATHAN, has already published the Tamil renderings of the *Sāmaveda*, the *Yajurveda*, and the *Atharvaveda*, and is now engaged in preparing the Tamil translation of the *Ṛgveda*. He has devoted about forty years of his life in carrying the message of the Vedas to the public. Several translations of the Vedas are already available in Hindi. Similar efforts with regard to other Indian languages require to be made if not already made.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have said what I had to say. I do not claim to have contributed anything to our present knowledge on the subject. I have simply placed before you my views which have been formulated in the course of a sufficiently long time. I thank you all for having given me a patient hearing, and conclude this address with the Vedic prayer

Tejasvi nāv adhītam astu.

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ISLAMIC STUDIES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

N. S. GOREKAR,

Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The presidentship of the section of the Islamic Studies of the All-India Oriental Conference is undoubtedly, a high academic honour. Personally I am convinced that this is the highest aspiration of a student of Islamics. I thank my colleagues on the Executive Committee of the Conference for the honour conferred upon me as the successor of my eminent and distinguished predecessors. With your indulgence and co-operation I am sure I will do my best to maintain the high level of this section in continuity with its earlier tradition.

To make the acquaintance of such a large and distinguished gathering of eminent scholars of Islamic Studies particularly from all parts of India who are here to pool the knowledge acquired by them since their last meeting, to correlate the results of their enquiries in different branches of learning, to teach us something of their science, and, I hope, to learn something from our beautiful country and from the ancient monuments and documents of which we are the fortunate custodians, is my special privilege.

Islam, firstly, in its technical sense, is a religion, based on beliefs and religious practices and rituals. Secondly, it means a state, the vast Arab state established as a result of early Muslim conquests. And thirdly, the word Islam means culture – the syncretism of Arabian, Persian, Semitic and Hellenistic cultural elements, constituting the Muslim civilization. Consequently, Islam unfolded itself in the Asian environment first as religion, then as polity, and subsequently as civilization. The demarcation of these phases however, remain historically fluid as all these had a tendency to coalesce and separate under the pressure of circumstances.

In the course of its expansion in Asia, Islam was impelled to come in contact with two great civilizations–Byzantine and Sassanid. In its earlier impact, the Arabs were the spearheads of Islam in Asia until the regime of the Ummayad dynasty which came to an end in 750 A. D. while in its later influence it brought in the era of the Abbasid caliphate from 750 to 1258 of the christian era, characterised by the consolidation of realms and the inte-

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gration of ideas. The Ummayads formed essentially an Arab State, whereas the Abbasids, a mixed governing class with the Arabs as one of the many component races, developed Persianised–Arab culture and diffused it throughout Asia. Islam obviously therefore, through the operation of its various political, legal and social influences, brought about an integration of cultures and peoples particularly in Western Asia.

The greatest foreign influence on Islam was ancient Greece. The Arabs were unable to appreciate Greek drama and sculpture and to understand the administration of the Greek city–state; but under Hellenic and Hellenistic influences, they had to their credit remarkable achievements in medicine and pharmaceutics, mechanics and astronomy, music and optics, logic and dialectics, ethics and metaphysics. In search of Greek and Syriac works and manuscripts and in the course of their efforts, the Arabs internationalized knowledge and provided a meeting ground for world thought and ultimately translated and transmitted abroad the achievements of the Greeks in the different spheres of learning. The Arabs also drew upon the Sanskritic lore of India and widened their knowledge particularly of mathematics, astronomy and chemistry, and communicated the Indian numerals and decimal system to the European frontiers.

The study of Islam goes under the name of *Islāmiyāt*, meaning Islamic Studies of Islamics which fosters the learning of the languages of the Middle East countries, modern and ancient, the literature, history, and culture of the peoples and develops professional, commercial and cultural relationship. It is treated as a complete subject and the special feature of this discipline is that the political and cultural history of Islam is invariably included as a background of the purely religious discipline. It could easily be divided into two sections : '*Ulūm'un–Naqlīyah*, meaning religious science which included the study of the *Qurān*, *Hadīth* and *Fiqh*, and '*Ulūmu'l–Aqlīyah*, meaning intellectual lore which comprised philosophy, mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry and medicine. It covers not only the usual religious science but also the introduction of the political history of the Muslim countries, the development of arts, sciences, and literatures of Muslim peoples and the progress of philosophic thought in Islam. The impact of Islam as a religious system and as a civilizing force in the life of humanity could be understood only by the study of literary, scientific, philosophic, artistic and intellectual developments, which have been more or less stimulated or rather directed by the Islamic ideals. To gauge the influence of Islam on civilization, one must not assess it merely as a *religion* but as a *culture*.

Culturally speaking, language was studied to understand the *Qurān*, mathematics to grasp inheritance laws, music to ensure the correct recital of

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the *Qurān*, astronomy to know the exact timings of prayers and fasting, polity to govern the state in accordance with the *Shari'ah*, and architecture to cultivate the art of building mosques and tombs.

The learned members of this Conference, I am sure, will admit that individually it is not possible to give a fresh orientation to Islamic Studies or conserve the preservation of its Islamic treasures. Only collectively the great tradition of the Islamics could be maintained. To repeat, I am of the opinion, that the vastness of the subject is beyond the reach of a single individual and therefore, I crave your indulgence for my inability to cover this far-flung field of ages of Islamic learning.

Some noted scholars have tried to interpret scientifically Islamic and Arabic literature and purge history of the superstitions of the past. While this group of scholars whose works were rendered into the Arabic language threw a new light on our history, the light of recent and scientific research, the other group of scholars approached the study of Islamic and Arab history with a patriotic bias. The latter tried to find inspiration in Islamic and Arab history for their yearning for freedom and independence. The third approach to Islamics is even more interesting. The writers go back to the ancient classics, analyse critically their virtues and weaknesses, and insist on directing the youth to creative work, through the study of the classics of the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic eras. In short, if what is classic is permanent, the study of Islamic languages, particularly, Arabic, Persian and Turkish are as imperative to the understanding of Islamic treasure as the study of Latin is necessary for interpretation of European civilization or the study of Sanskrit is essential for the appreciation of ancient culture of India.

An analytical and interpretative study rather than merely factual, of Muslim history is very essential if the youth is to understand the influence of Islam and the permanent values of the culture.

Muslim historians of earlier ages were hampered by circumstances which restricted their vision. But it is the duty of the modern historian to study and interpret the subject, shorn of all misconceptions, misinterpretations and personal inclinations.

The history of intellectual movements is at least as important as that of concrete institutions and organizations, if not more. A vivid exposition of the literary, aesthetic and ethical works and accomplishments which have inspired collective intellectual expression through the course of centuries, would enable us to get a correct picture of the historical features of the period.

A detached study of Islamic history would certainly unify progressively all Islamic learning. Islamic history should give us a picture of Islamic

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society as a mobile and continually evolving entity without overlooking the important fact that man makes history under special circumstances. There is need to write the cultural and scientific history of Islam and its contribution to world culture. The modern historian would enrich the contribution of Islamic culture if he correlated it with Islamic archaeology. In this connection, I wish that the orientalists before they attempt the interpretation of Islamic history, they should study the idiom of Islamic languages in their various functions.

Even in the life-time of the Prophet Islamic philosophers discussed controversial religious issues and this helped the assimilation by Islam of Greek and Indian philosophy. But later philosophers like al-Kindi, al-Farabi, Ibn-Sina, Ibn-Rushd and others, erudite and original, divested Islam of foreign influences as its guiding forces. The Greek and Sanskrit works were translated into Arabic and preserved for posterity for their historical interest. Interest in the progress of science and technique, as well as in the study of world religions could be the only way to peace and freedom for mankind.

History records that the great civilization of the Islamic period is embodied in its thought and emotion expressed and interpreted by the Islamic people. Poetry, anecdote, humour and wisdom have come down to us through generations. Unparalleled in the culture of the nations, Islam attracts scholarly fellowship. Philosophy, religion, history, literature, language, and art are co-operative culturally when they are free from the influence of politics and commerce.

Islamics, the historian must realize, is a permanent contribution to world progress. Islam co-ordinates world cultures. The historian, unbiassed, should appreciate the role Islam plays in world philosophy and also world polity.

India has assimilated many cultures and the Arab scholarship is closely researched by this country because of the closeness of Arab and Indian thought. Other countries may not have understood the culture of Islam but India cannot and will not deny that Islamic culture is a part of its composite culture.

The basic problem is the integration of cultures. Islam has been contributively associated with ancient culture of India. Scholars should in my opinion, seek the sources of integration and not superficially disintegrate the two philosophies.

The relationship between India and Islamic countries is admittedly ancient. Our scholars must give it a continuity emphatically on its cultural values. The parochial attitude to culture is neither scholarly nor historical.

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But since scholarship extends its hand, though researching locally, to an universal understanding, admittedly, the culture of Islam cannot be exorcised from our national life.

The history of culture and civilization is always a history of interpretation of impact of one culture or the other, of a gradually growing fraternity and unity. The study of Islam naturally, has a direct bearing on the cultural heritage of India.

We are the inheritors of a great civilization that had spread over the whole of the Asian Continent and that was nurtured by the skill, art, thought and work of the highest intellectuals of the East, and enriched by the various nations that have lived in this country for centuries, and left their permanent impress on the history of our nation.

Our knowledge of Islamic culture is very scant because our scholarship has not taken note of the hidden treasures, forsaken remains, neglected archives, unexplored collections, uncatalogued manuscripts and undeciphered documents.

I feel I am expected to review the progress of Islamic studies since the last session of the Conference whan we met at the Campus of the Aligarh Muslim University. But as there is not very much achieved in this particular field, may I request you to allow me to tax your patience by giving expression to a few discursive thoughts on the progress of the Islamics?

From time immemorial, India has been a great civilization, the home of sublime ideals, of profound philosophy and of wide-spread learning. It has therefore, attracted the attention of great minds and thinkers of different nations at different times. The record of activities of this country is full of epoch-making events in the history of Eastern civilization which has resulted in a synthetic culture, unity in diversity, intermingling of races and ideas, impact of various cultural movements and social institutions, resulting in homogeneity-unique in certain respects.

In Islamic Studies India has no competitor. Indian scholars have contributed materially to the study and exposition of their culture, both in traditional and modern way of thinking, and have kept the torch of learning alive in India. The major Universities in India like the Aligarh, Agra, Allahabad, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad, Madras, Patna, Nagpur Universities and other academies have post-graduate departments in Islamic Studies. Recognized experts and scholars have been associated with academic work in these universities and other academic bodies such as Dāru'l-Muṣanfeen Shibli Academy (Azamgarh), Nadwatu'l-Muṣanfeen (Delhi), Da'irutu'l-Ma'-arif (Hyderabad, Deccan), Islamic Research Asso-

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ciation (Bombay), Institute of Islamic Studies (Aligarh), Islamic Culture Board (Hyderabad), Indian Institute of Islamic Studies (Delhi), Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Arabic and Persian Learning (Patna), Indian Institute of Advanced Studies (Simla), Iran Society (Calcutta), Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture (Bombay) and Indian Council for Cultural Relations (Delhi), are bringing out a series of volumes and critical studies in modern style. These great institutions have been sustained and reoriented by the research and scholarship of erudite and profound scholars like Prof. Humayun Kabir (Calcutta), Prof. A. A. A. Fyzee (Bombay), Dr. Z. A. Siddiqui (Calcutta), Dr. A. Aleem (Aligarh), Dr. M. Nizamu'ddin (Hyderabad), Dr. A. M. Khan (Hyderabad), Prof. Ḥasan 'Askari (Patna), Maulana Sayeed Aḥmad Akbarabadi (Aligarh), Maulana Ṣabaḥu'ddin 'Abdu'r-Reḥman (Azamgarh), Dr. Mukhtaru'ddin 'Aḥmad (Aligarh), Dr. M. Isḥaque (Calcutta), Dr. Syed Maqbool Aḥmad (Aligarh), Prof. M. Y. Kokan (Madras), Dr. Nazir Aḥmad (Aligarh), Prof. Syed Ḥasan (Patna), Dr. Syed A. 'Abidi (Delhi), Dr. Syed Rafi'u'ddin (Nagpur) and a host of other scholars.

The research in Islamic Studies in India in the last few years has not been very encouraging or progressive enough. The Islamic languages in India particularly Arabic and Persian seem to be gradually surrendering the high academic stature they have been occupying for centuries in this country alongside other sister oriental languages. Some scholars are of the opinion that scholarship in this field is not only discouraged but even misinterpreted. Added to this is the anxiety that scholars committed to the advancement of Islamic learning and languages may be shut out of great educational institutions. But I am optimistic. A great culture does not seek its own demise. And the Islamic culture which has enriched the Indian culture and become a part of its heritage cannot go down the drain.

The cultural contact of Islam has proved a great civilizing force. The contribution of Indo-Muslim thought in the social, literary and intellectual renaissance both in the medieval and modern India has been considerable in literature, art, music, architecture and science. In other directions, the impact of Islam in the course of centuries has given rise to a literary and scientific spirit, mystic and philosophical thought, and new political ideals. It has opened up new fields for the advancement of learning and knowledge, particularly in history, including epigraphy, numismatics, fine arts, literature, philosophy and religion. Having taken stock of the situation as it exists, we must find fresh formulae to activate our efforts towards a new vision. There are other activities, equally or more important, which we certainly must develop with the least possible delay, for which the means are lacking or

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inadequate and must be supplied. It is imperative that we should have better facilities for publication, and considerable funds for the purpose. We need more and better fronts of Islamic studies for our books and journals. We need an Islamic Review which is perhaps, the most urgent. The attempt should certainly be made. Keeping our standards high will be the surest way of gaining continued support from without.

Let us be frank. We must be conscientious, too, in awarding doctoral degrees. We must do our utmost to continue the promising scholars longer in the educational institutions. And we must be extremely careful in recruiting men for the teaching profession. Should we lean on this as our basic orientation we would certainly be richly rewarded. Neglect of fundamental principles would be disastrous for all of us, such a small minority that already we are.

May I at the end of my address make a few suggestions? First, there should be a very close collaboration and exchange of information among scholars of Islamics in the various Indian Universities and other educational institutions. This would eliminate unnecessary duplication, and mutual advice and consultation would bring about an improvement in the general tone and quality of their work. The advancement of knowledge rather than the acquisition of personal fame should be our aim, for no progress is possible without selfless work. Secondly, if we are going to promote Islamic Studies, let us seek the aid and co-operation of our elders in the field whom we are somtimes inclined to ignore. A wise combination of the rich experience of the old and the energy and enthusiasm of the young, may bring about a tremendous improvement in the general level of research work and utilize a vast amount of literary talent which lies concealed in our country. Thirdly, we must do all we can to make Arabic, Persian and Tukish studies as popular as possible and to provide adequate facilities for research work. These ends could be achieved by a thorough over-hauling of our present courses of study and by adequate improvement of our libraries. Thousands of manuscripts have perished due to neglect but many more still lie beneath the thick coatings of accumulated dust in private and unknown libraries. Many works of rare literary value by Indian scholars are still unknown and remain unpublished. They have to be dug out from their places of concealment and displayed to the literary world. And fourthly, our educational institutions, colleges and Varsities should encourage the study of Islamic languages, literature, history, philosophy as disciplines of greater practical value. Science today may threaten the humanities, yet the hope exists that classical and oriental studies may serve mankind practically and usefully. At this stage of human progress and civilization, the study of Islamic disciplines would certainly

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contribute to the broadening of the human vision and throw the peoples of the world together in understanding sympathy and above all in oneness of the human race. All this and much more we can do if we shake off our present mood of complacency and *laissez faire* and by our joint efforts overcome all difficulties that may come our way. Then only we shall be able to keep alive Islamic Studies in India and impart to these a fresh vigour and new strength.

Now let me end with the hope that the Islamic Studies in our country be continued in the future, with the help and collaboration of our friends here and abroad, in order to cultivate and nurture a deeper understanding and finer brotherhood, and the scholars and historians, behind the esoteric veils of dates, facts, wars, and revolutions, succeed in catching a glimpse of that single-learning light of God who in the words of the *Qurān* is neither Eastern nor Western.

Finally I thank the learned audience for giving me a patient hearing, and the organizers of the Conference for giving me the opportunity to put across my humble suggestions.

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PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

A. C. BANERJEE

Kindly allow me, at the outset, to express my sincere thanks to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour conferred upon me by electing me President of the "Pali and Buddhism" Section of this conference this session. There are so many others much more distinguished than myself in this field, who could have borne the heavy responsibilities of this office far better than I. But I feel strongly that this honour is rather a gesture of goodwill, aflection and friendship of the authorities, concerned towards me. I firmly hope and believe that with your guidance, help and kind co-operation I shall be able to discharge the onerous duties entrusted to me and would further request you to excuse me for my shortcomings.

We meet today in one of the holy and well-known cities of ancient India-the city of Varanasi which is regarded as one of the very sacred places of pilgrimage even today. It played an important part in the social, political and cultural life of India. It also flourished as an important centre of religious learning in ancient India. "No where in the world has any city retained its intellectual and spiritual eminence for such a long time". The frequent mention of this place in the ancient literature, specially in the Jātakas and other Buddhist texts, shows its greatness and importance in those days. Here at Isipatna (Sarnath). Buddha commenced his first ministry with the conversion of a group of five monks *(pañcavaggiya)* who were his quondam associates. He delivered to them his first discourse known as the *Dhamma cakkappavattana sutta* (Turning of the wheel of Law) which embodies the truths discovered by Buddha under the Bodhi tree at Bodh-Gaya. It explains the Four Noble Truths *(cattāri ariyasaccāni)* -suffering (dukkha), cause of suffering (samudaya), cessation of suffering (nirodha) and the way to the cessation of suffering *(nirodha-gāminipaṭipadā)* and the Noble Eightfold Path *(ariya-aṭṭhaṅgika magga)* consisting of eight good practices[1] which are further classified under three heads: moral *precepts (sīla)*, mental development

1. *Sammādiṭṭhi* (right view), *sammāsaṅkappa* (right resolution), *sammāvācā* (right speech), *sammākammanta* (right action), *sammāājīva* (right living), *sammāvāyāma* (right exertion), *sammasati* (right recollection) and *sammasāmādhi* (right meditation).

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(*citta* or *samādhi*), and knowledge (*paññā*). It is also called the Middle Path (*majjhimā paṭipadā*) which advocates neither self-mortification nor a life addicted to pleasures of senses (*kāmesu kāma-sukhallikānuyoga attakilamathānuyoga*). As a consequence thereof the five brahmins were converted to the new faith. Thus was laid down the Buddhist Saṅgha. From the *Mahāvagga* we learn that Buddha sent out his disciples from this place to different directions with the words :– " Go, Ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the World. Let not two of you go the same way. Preach the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, middle and end, in the spirit and in the letter, proclaim a consumate, perfect and pure life of holiness ".[2] It is further interesting to note that it was here at the XII Session of the All-India Oriental Conferenee Hindu University, 1943, a separate section was for the first time assigned to Pali and Buddhism, previously included in the Prakrits and Jainism Section. Since then it has been holding its session separately and Buddhism has been given the distinct place which it pre-eminently deserves. In these days of stress, strain and uncertainty through which we are passing let us all hope that the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya, our host today, will soon turn the wheel of Law (*Dhammacakka*), as was done in Isipatna (Sarnath), for the harmony, peace and joy of the world.

I have been reading for the last few days reports of the Proceedings of the Conferences and I have noticed that it has been the practice with the Presidents of the sessions sometimes to make a broad survey of the progress achieved in the particular subject during the two years intervening between the last and current sessions of the conference or to make general observations and discuss any problems relating to the subject connected with the session. It may be observed here that I am emulating mainly the practice of my distinguished predecessors in this respect.

As the time permitted for the address is limited, I would like to deal briefly with the topics as far as practicable.

As president of the section, I have to make a survey of the progress achieved in the Pali and Buddhist studies for the last two years since we met at Aligarh. I must frankly confess here that my survey is rather incomplete. I tried to contact in my humble way to get information about the publications from the scholars and institutions concerned. But the response is lukewarm. Due to paucity of information I am giving here a bare

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2. *Caratha bhikkhare cārikam bāhujanahitāya bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāya atthāya hitāyı sukhāya devamanussānam. Ma ekenadve a gamittha. Desetha bhikkhave dhammam ādikalyāṇaṁ majjhekalyāṇaṁ pariyosānakalyaṇaṃ suttha ṃ savyañjanam kevalaparipuṇṇaṃ parisuddhaṁ brahmacariyaṁ pakāsetha.*

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outline of the works, publications and the articles. During the period under my survey some books and articles dealing with different aspects of Buddhism have of course been published. The K. P. Jayaswal Institute, Patna, has published the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (being the 15th section of Asaṅgapāda's *Yogācārabhūmi*) edited by Dr. N. Dutt on the basis of the manuscript discovered by the late Pandit Rahula Sankrityayana in Sha-Lu monastery of Tibet. It throws a flood of light on the Mahāyāna doctrines. The Nalanda Pali Institute, the Mithila Sanskrit Institute and the like as also other distinguished scholars in this field are all engaged to carry on their proposed schemes of work to fruition. The Varanesaya Sanskrit Vishwavidyalaya has not only provided for teaching of Pali and Buddhism, but has also made arrangement for Tibetan studies and researches. Several learned Tibetan Lamas have been appointed to teach and guide those interested in Tibetology. In Calcutta the Royal Danish Academy, Denmark, has opened a centre in the Government Sanskrit College where scholars are engaged in collecting Pali words and writing meanings thereon for *A Critical Pali Dictionary* to be published by the Academy. UNESCO 's advisers (a panel of experts concerned every other year by the International Council for Philosophy and Humanistic Studies) have recommended that many worth-while translations published during the 19th century and now impossible to find except in a limited number of libraries, should be brought back into print in low-priced editions. This point of view was warmly endorsed by the Indian National Academy of Letters (Sahitya Academy) and the Indian National Commission for UNESCO. It is in the spirit of these recommendations that some Buddhist works including '*The Questions of King Milinda*, from the famous series '*Sacred Books of the East*, are now once again being made available to the general public as part of the UNESCO collection of Representative works. The Maha-Bodhi Society of India has already made arrangement for starting an Institute styled the 'Dharmapala Institute of Culture' in Calcutta–the foundation–stone of which was laid down by His Holiness the Dalai Lama and His Holiness the Panchen Lama–to popularise the study of Indian culture of which Buddhism is the most widespread. Mention may be made here of an illuminating article entitled 'Introduction of Pali studies in India', by Dr. N. DUTT, a great luminary in the Buddhist world, published in the *Maha-Bodhi* (Vaisakh Number, 1967). Apart from dealing with the importance of the Pali languge and literature, it gives a brief account of early European scholars responsible for the discovery of the same and the Indian Universities in which Pali is taught as an independent subject of study. A monumental work '*Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*' already undertaken in Ceylon under the editorship of Dr. G. P. MALALASEKERA is making steady progress. Four fascicles

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of the first volume have already appeared in print. It will, when completed, contribute substantially to the stock of our knowledge of Buddhism. In 1967, the Royal Asiatic Society of London reprinted the '*Pali literature of Burma*' by M. H. BODE, which was long out of print. Besides maintaining its tradition of publishing original texts, the Pali Text Society, London, has already undertaken to reprint the Pali texts and English translations thereof, which are now out-of-print. Among the recent works published by the Society may be mentioned the *Maṇicūḍāvadāna and Lokānanda* by R. HANDURUKANDA and '*Pali Metre*' by A. K. WARDER. The latter is indeed a contribution to the history of Indian literature. Researches on Buddhism are now being carried on in Leningrad at the Manuscript Department of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the U. S. S. R. Academy of Science and in Ulan-Ude at the Buryat Complex Research Institute. Very recently a translation of the Buddhist terminological dictionary entitled '*The Source of the Sages*' has been published from the U. S. S. R. In Moscow Buddhism is taught at the Institute of the people of Asia, U. S. S. R. The Soviet School of Buddhist Studies has yet been maintaining the tradition of its illustrious predecessors in regard to Buddhist studies and researches. The Nauka (Science) Publishing House has also published the Russian translation of the famous '*Dhammapada*'. A work on the system of management of ancient Buddhist monasteries of Ceylon mainly based on the Ceylonese epigraphy as also another book dealing with modern Buddhism have also appeared in print from the U.S.S.R. Both of them have created a stir in the world of Buddhist scholarship. A centre of Buddhist studies at Halle (Saale) in German Democratic Republic has been established under the leadership of Dr. HEINZ MODE of the Martin-Luther University. It has already published two books '*Buddhist Yearly 1966*' and the '*Bibliography of literature on Buddhist topics published on the territory of G. D. R. since 1945*'. Lastly, teaching along with research in Pali is indeed assuming importance. Knowledge of Pali is helpful to research scholars in various branches of learning, such as, Sanskrit, Modern Indian languages, Linguistics, History, Sociology and Buddhist studies. Research workers in the field cannot refer to standard works and other original sources of information without an adequate knowledge of the language, for which they have to depend on secondary sources. A number of Universities, Viz. Andhra, Banaras, Baroda, Bihar, Bombay, Calcutta, Gujarat, Magadh etc. have provided for the teaching as an optional subject at the B. A. pass level. The Universities of Banaras, Baroda, Calcutta, Kurukshetra, Nagpur, Varanaseya Sanskrit Viswavidyalaya and Visva-Bharati offer post graduate teaching and research in Pali. From the above, it is evident that this is a very hopeful and encouraging sign for the progress of Buddhist studies in India and abroad.

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Buddhist literature is vast. It is preserved in Pali, Prakrit, Sanskrit (Pure or Mixed), Tibetan and Chinese the last two being translations from Sanskrit.

Gautama Buddha delivered his discourses in the local dialects and on the basis of which a literary grammatical language, now known as Pali, evolved. Buddha's speeches, conversations, sayings etc. were collected together and put to a literary form. As writing was not prevalent then, his discourses were handed down from a teacher to his pupil. It was during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī in Ceylon in the first century B. C. these sayings were first written on palm-leaves. Since then Pali has been preserving the teachings of Buddha, which is regarded as a sacred language–the language of the Buddha–Vacana (Buddha's sayings) in the Buddhist countries. Pali literature which contains the canonical literature–the *Tipiṭaka–Sutta, Vinaya, Abhidhamma texts*–the non-canonical works, commentaries and other later texts and works on grammar, rhetoric and prosody is a vast store-house of Buddhsit literature. Mention has already been made of the texts published so far by my predecessors while making a survey of the progress in the Pali and Buddhist studies in their respective addresses. There are few texts extant in Prakrit and in pure Sanskrit. Notice has also been taken of them in their addresses by the previous presidents.

Let me now deal with Mixed Sanskrit or Buddhist Sanskrit which covers a greater part of the Buddhist literature. 'Buddhist Literature', writes Winternitz, 'is, however, by no means exclusively Mahāyānist.[1] It contains works of both the *Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna* Schools. It may be recalled that within a few hundred years of the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha eighteen or more schools arose in Buddhism, all claiming to have preserved his original teachings. But in course of time almost all the schools with the exception of the Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, Mādhyamika and Yogācāra disappeared shortly after their appearance. We hear only of these four schools for a considerable period of time. But in course of time they also coalesced into two–*Hīnayāna* and *Mahāyāna*. Buddhism that is current today has these two main branches.

As regards the Buddhist Sanskrit, it may be observed here that there was a class of Buddhist writers of Sanskrit, who paid more attention to meaning than to correct form. 'It regards as well as disregards the elementary canons of grammar, metre and even vocabulary. A sweet melody seems to be its chief aim and for this it is ready to sacrifice other essential conditions of a language.' And the consequence was that their writings abounded in grammatical and other irregularities. Thus we see that it is partly Sanskrit and partly Prakrit (or Middle Indian dialect) assimilated to Sanskrit.

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Of the various schools of Hīnayāna Buddhism mention may be made of the Sarvāstivāda School which had its sphere of activities extending from Kashmir to Mathura and was responsible for the introduction of Buddhism into Central Asia. It had an enormous Buddhist literature in Sanskrit. Like the *Tipiṭaka*, extant in Pali, even today it has *Tripiṭaka* in Sanskrit–a complete copy of which is still a desideratum. Some of them exist in fragments of manuscripts and others are lost beyond recovery. Fortunately, a few fragments of the Āgamas answering to the Pali Nikāyas and a large portion of the *Vinayapiṭaka* have been discovered in Central Asia and Gilgit (Kashmir). Some of them have already been edited and published. There are further several other manuscripts that are already to hand not belonging to the Sanskrit canonical literature. But unfortunately, no manuscript fragment of any of the seven Abhidharma texts in Sanskrit excepting that of the *Saṅgitiparyāya* has as yet been discovered. A small fragment of this treatise has been discovered from the caves of Bamiyana in Afganistan. The *Jnānaprasthānasūtra* of Ārya Kātyāyiniputra which occupies the most important place among the Abhidharmma treatise, of the Sarvāstivāda school has been retranslated from Hien-Tsang's Chinese version by Shantibhiksu Shastri, it, however, contains two sections only. Among the works now available of this school mention may be made here of the later texts, viz. *Divyāvadāna*, *Avadānaśataka*, *Avadānakalpalatā*, *Abhidharmmakoṣavyākhyā* and the like.

We have discussed so far the Buddhist Sanskrit literature of the Hīnayāna School. We must now turn to those works which belong to the Mahāyāna whose contribution to Indian thought is indeed unique. It had also an extensive literature of its own. Of the numerous Mahāyāna works, nine books 'so called nine Dharmas', which are held in great reverence deserve to be specially noted inasmuch as they trace the origin and development of Mahāyāna as also point out its fundamental teachings. They are : *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, *Lalitavistara*, *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*, *Gaṇḍavyūha*, *Tathāgataguhyaka*, *Samādhirāja* and *Daśabhūmīśvara*. They are also known as *Vaipulyasūtras*. The Prajñāpāramitas belong to the earliest Mahāyāna Sūtras and are considered to be the most holy and the most valuable of all Mahāyāna works. They are further of great importance from the point of view of religion. Of the different recensions of the *Prajñāpāramitās*, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* is probably the earliest. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* is the most important *Mahāyāna sūtra* and as a work of literature it stands foremost. It deals with the characteristic peculiarities of Mahāyāna and is more devotional. It is the main scripture of a few sects in China and Japan. The *Lalitavistara* is a biography of Buddha more superman than man. It exhibits all the remarkable features of Mahāyāna. From the

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points of view of the history of religion and literature it is of immense value to us. The *Laṅkāvatāra* which is one of the latest books of this group presents us with valuable materials for the study of early Yogācāra system. It teaches Vijñānavāda. According to it nothing exists but thought. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra* is also one of the later Mahāyāna works. A few fragments of this work have been discovered in Central Asia. It is both philosophical and ethical. Tantric rituals are further referred to herein. It is very popular in Mahāyāna Buddhist countries. The *Gaṇḍavyūha* which is not yet available in Sanskrit corresponds to the Chinese translation of the *Avataṁsaka* which comes just after the *Śatasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* and *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā*. It depicts the wanderings of the Youth Sudhana who attained the highest knowledge through the advice of Bodhisattva Samantabhadra. It is quoted several times in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. At the end of the *Gaṇḍavyūha* there are a few verses which are used even at the present day for purposes of worship in all the Mahāyāna Buddhist countries. The *Tathāgataguhyaka* which probably belonged in the 7th century A. D. contains Mahāyāna teachings mingled with elemcnts of Tantricism. It is regarded as one of the authoritative works on the earliest Tantras. The *Samādhirājasūtra* which is also one of the works of later Mahāyāna sūtras lays the greatest emphasis on meditation for the attainment of the perfect knowledge. It also enumerates the practices necessary for developing the mental state. The *Daśabhūmīśvara* contains an exposition of the ten stages of spiritual progress essential for the attainment of Buddhahood (enlightenment). Apart from these works, the Buddhist literature was further enriched by the valuable contributions of Nāgārjuna, Āryadeva, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Sthiramati, Dignāga, Vasumitra, Dharmapāla, Dharmakīrti, Śāntarakṣita and others. These works were mainly on Buddhist philosophy and logic. Some of them are available in Sanskrit and others are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translations. In course of time Mahāyāna Buddhism again underwent profound changes giving rise to a new form of Mahāyāna, commonly known as the Tantric Buddhism. This later form of Mahāyāna gave rise to Mantrayāna. Later, there appeared Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna from this school. A vast literature on Tantricism also grew up. It is still popular and exerts great influence over the spiritual life of the people of some portions of India and Asia.

We have seen before that Tibetan preserves an enormous Sanskrit literature, Buddhist and classical, originais of which are lost. It is contained in the Kanjur and Tanjur, the two principal divisions of the Tibetan literature. The study of Tibetan is therefore, a necessity for a proper understanding of our glorious heritage. It is gratifying to learn that Tibetan has of late become an important subject of study. Those who want to know the history

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of literature and culture of ancient India can in no way neglect these Tibetan translations. These have only been partially laid under contribution–a large volume of wealth still lies buried in the translations which the scholars have not yet explored–a careful study of which will be a valuable contribution not only in the field of Buddhist literature but also on Indian history and on Indian and Tibetan civilization and culture.

We must now turn to another vast store of Buddhism the Chinese canon which preserves in translation many works of the various schools of Buddhist thought. The works embedded in the Chinese canon are of course of a very varying nature. Although it consists of works of very unequal merits and translated at different periods, its value as a store–house of Buddhism cannot be doubted. An idea of the number of texts contained in the canon can be had from the catalogues of Nanjio and Hobogirin.

Buddhism moulded thoughts, ideals and literatures not only of Ceylon Burma, Siam (Thailand) and Cambodia, but also extended its horizon northwards to central Asia, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Korea and Japan. The history of Buddhism is also a story of cultural contacts between different groups of people in the south, southeast, north and northeast. Pāli which embodies the original teachings of Buddhism provides opportunities for the study of their cultural contacts between all these different regions. Its intensive study is a necessity in strengthening further our cultural ties with these neighbouring countries. Moreover, Pali literature is a treasure house of materials of various kinds. It contains not only the sayings and discourses of Buddha and his eminent disciples, but also historical, economic and valuable facts for reconstructing the ancient history of India. The importance of Pali can neither be gainsaid nor exaggerated. The study of this is, therefore, a necessity for a proper understanding of Buddhism and Indian civilization. Those interested in Buddhist studies can in no way neglect this ancient and sacred language.

Lastly, it may be observed here that after the attainment of independence the study of Buddhism has gained international importance, particularly in Asia. In Buddhist countries like Ceylon, Burma, Thailand and Cambodia Pali occupies the same position as Sanskrit in India. It is very much desirable that more serious and sincere attention should be devoted by the Indologists and the Indian Universities to promote the study of Pali which played a very important role in the cultural history of our country. I would, however, suggest in this connection that there should be an integrated course of study of the three classical languages–Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit–which form but one unified culture, *i. e.* Indian culture, of which Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism are but different aspects and arrangements be made accordingly for inclusion of this course in the curricula of the different Universities.

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PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

PRSIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

NATHMAL TATIA

Friends,

I am deeply indebted to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for inviting me to preside over the Prakrit and Jainism Section of this, the twenty-fourth Session of the Conference, being held in Varanasi, the eternal city of Lord Viśvanātha. I turn, on this occasion, to my illustrious predecessors for inspiration, and if I fall short of your expectations in discharging adequately the onerous duties of a Sectional President, I know that my learned audience will be indulgent to me and their benevolence will assist me in tiding over my failings.

1. At the outset, I have on your behalf to place on record our deep sense of grief at the premature and sudden death, on December 23, 1967, of the great patron of Jaina learning, Narendra Singh Singhi of Calcutta. A Master of Science with a First in the First class in Geology from Calcutta University, a celebrated industrialist, and lover of art, Shri Singhi enhanced the lustre of a family already reputed for its extraordinary collection of rare antiquities, and as the founder of the *Singhi Jaina Series* published from the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, under the General Editorship of Muni Shri Jinavijayaji. He had a passion for beautiful things and his desire for knowledge was insatiable. His death is an irreparable loss to the patronage of culture and learning.

We have also to record our grief at the passing away on May 12, 1968, of Hirakumariji, Vyākaraṇa-Sāṁkhya-Vedāntatīrtha, who dedicated her whole life to the study of Prakrit and Jaina philosophy.

The death of Acharya Vijaya-Prema-Surisvaraji Maharaj, on May 22, 1968, is a sad news to the world of Jaina scholars.

May these departed souls rest in peace.

2. We felicitate Pandit Dalsukh Malvania, Director, L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, on his appointment as Visiting Professor to the Department of East Asian Studies at Toronto University, Canada. Pandit Malvania, who belongs to the class of scholars headed by Pandit Sukhlalji

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and Professor Dr. Satkari Mookerjee, combines in himself the qualities of a lovable teacher and dispassionate scholar. He will no doubt promote the cause of Prakrit and Jaina philosophy during his sojourn at the foreign centres of study and research.

The Research Institutes

3. As early as 1937, the Parshwanath Vidyashram was established at Varanasi through the efforts of Shri Harjas Rai Jain on the advice of Pandit Sukhlalji. By 1945, the Vidyashram had developed into a centre of higher studies and research in Prakrit and Jainism, and the present speaker had the privilege of preparing his doctoral thesis at its Library named as Śatāvadhānī Ratnachandra Pustakālaya. At present the institution is known as the P. V. Research Institute with Dr. Mohanlal Metha as its whole-time Director. Guidance of doctoral research, organization of extension lectures, and publication of researches done by their scholars are the main activities of the Institute.

Another centre of Post-Graduate teaching and research in Prakrit and Jaina learning was established by the Government of Bihar in 1956. This is now known as the Research Institue of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa and is functioning at Vaishali, the birthplace of Lord Mahāvīra. Specialized Post-Graduate teaching in Prakirt Literature, Jaina Philosophy and Jaina Logic and Epistemology, admission of research scholars for Ph. D. and D. Litt. degrees, publication of research works and critical editions of unpublished texts are some of the main functions of the Institute. Foreign scholars from the South-East Asian countries and Japan also come to Vaishali for Post-Graduate studies and doctoral research in Prakrit and Jainism.

A third research and publication centre came into existence in 1959 at Ahmedabad. This is the L. D. Institute of Indology, which has a very fine library of manuscripts as well as printed books. Collection and preservation of manuscripts, works of art, paintings and sculptures, publication of Catalogues of Manuscripts and unpublished texts written by Jaina authors and critical studies and translations prepared by competent men are included in the programme of the Institute.

A band of dedicated scholars, all of whom are monks, under the Pontifical authority of Acharya-Shri Tulsi, constitute a mobile centre of learning, whose scholarly activities are now well known. Their devotion to learning is deep and concentred, and the researches conducted by them deserve special attention. Their patience and perseverance which is the *sine qua non* of scholarship is extraordinary. The research scholars will do well to look up to them for inspiration and emulate their example.

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Seminar in Prakrit Studies etc.

4. The organization of a Seminar in Prakrit Studies by the Shivaji University, Kolhapur, with the support of the U.G.C., under the Directorship of Professor Dr. A. N. Upadhye was a momentous event. It was held from May 22 to May 25, 1968, and attended by more than forty scholars working in the field of Prakrit learning. The message from Dr. G. Roth, received on the occasion, emphasized that the scholars in Prakrit should "sit together to co-operate in the field which, in many ways, is undiscovered new land, which deserves much more attention." Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee directed attention to the Gandhari and Sinhala Prakrits, while Professor H. W. Bailey referred to the importance of Niya Prakrit. Dr. Tucci averred that research in Prakrit studies would no doubt lead to a deeper knowledge and understanding of modern languages. The consensus of opinion at the seminar was that the study of Apabhraṁśa be more intensively cultivated to grasp the essential unity of the modern Indian languages, and that the Prakrit literature stood on an equal footing with Sanskrit and Pali. For the promotion of Prakrit studies, the seminar suggested a number of concrete steps which include enrichment of the contents of the Pre-University syllabus, prescription of a specialized course in Prakrit at the graduate level, and introduction of a research-oriented course for Post-Graduate teaching, fostering the ability for doctoral research. A number of research projects are also suggested, which include a Middle Indo-Aryan Dictionary, an Encyclopaedia of Prakrits and Jainology, critical monographs and comprehensive bibliography.

Another heartening news is of the annual Reports published by the Jain Śwetāmbar Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā, Calcutta, which embody the research papers read at the Jain Darśan aur Saṁskṛti Pariṣad held every year in the presence of Acharya-Shri Tulsi. Scholars engaged in the field of Prakrit and Jainology all over the country are invited to participate in the deliberations of the Pariṣad and ventilate their views on the subject.

The third significant occurrence of the period under review is the appearance of the *Jain Journal*—a quarterly on Jainology, published by the Jain Bhawan, Calcutta. The Editor Shri Ganesh Lalwani is an able scholar of wide interests, penetrative power and critical acumen. The background and aims of the quarterly are laid down as follows (Vol. I, No. 1) :

> "There is no dearth of Jaina Journals, particularly in vernacular in this country, but there is hardly any that claim the modern outlook, still less the modern technique of journalism. This Journal intends to fill up this long-felt gap. Its various sections devoted to Jaina art, literature, philosophy, religion, book-reviews and digests, current

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notes, etc., are carefully prepared under expert supervision so that everyone, no matter whether he be the follower of the Jaina path or not, may benefit from its reading. The outlook is strictly rational."

The Journal is steadily, though slowly, moving towards its avowed objectives which it is bound to achieve.

The Jaina Agamas

5. A number of schemes of publication of the Jaina Agamas are afoot. Shri Mahāvīr Jain Vidyālaya of Bombay deserves our congratulations for their Ten Year Plan to publish the Jaina Agama texts in 17 volumes with the active assistance of Muni Shri Punyavijayaji.

The Jain Śwetāmbar Terāpanthī Mahāsabhā of Calcutta sponsored, as early as 1956, a scheme to publish the entire Jaina Agama, critically edited, annotated and provided with scholarly introductions. A Council of scholars, all of whom are Jaina monks, headed by Acharya-Shri Tulsi as the Vachana-Pramukha and Muni Shri Nathmalji as the editor-in-chief, have started, in all earnestness, the work of collating the texts contained in the manuscripts that are available to them from different parts of the country and made successful progress. Five such texts, critically edited, have already been published by the Mahasabha under the Managing Editorship of Shri Shreechand Rampuria, a reputed author and prolific writer of books and journals. These texts are:

1. *Dasaveāliyaṃ.*
2. *Uttarajjhayaṇāṇi.*
3. *Āyāro taha Āyāra-cūlā.*
4. *Nisīhajjhayaṇaṃ.*
5. *Ovavāiyaṃ.*

In editing these texts, the editors have been cautious about all the possible sources of manuscript corruption, which are enumerated as six by the Agamic Scholiast Abhayadeva Suri, in his *Thāṇāṅga* commentary, viz. (1) absence of a genuine tradition, (2) lack of right reasoning, (3) ignorance of one's own as well as other's *śāstras*, (4) loss of memory, (5) conflicting versions of texts, and (6) corrupt manuscripts.

The editions are enriched with introductions, detailed contents and appendixes including an appendix specifying the *loci* of full texts which usually appear abridged by means of *jāva* (up to), and exhaustive word-indexes which are done for the first time and will provide a solid basis for compilation of the much needed Prakrit lexicon.

Of the above five texts, the first two are each supplemented by five accessory volumes of (1) critical study, (2) the text with learned prefaces,

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Sanskrit rendering, Hindi translation and index of verses or *sūtras*, and (3) annotations based on the *Nijjuttis*, *Cuṇṇis* and *Ṭīkās*, exploited for the first time for such purpose. (4) The story-contents of the texts are published in a fourth volume, (5) an abridged edition of the text with excerpts classified topicwise constituting the fifth. These volumes are already published, and similar accessories to the other texts are under preparation.

The annotations, critical studies, and translations, as also the skill with which the appendixes are compiled reveal the depth and devotion of the monks and nuns, the profound scholarship of Muni Shri Nathmalji and the genius of Acharya-Shri Tulsi as the learned Vachana-Pramukha. The annotations are prepared with extreme care, clearing many a term of its hoary obscurity. The critical studies are each worth a doctorate.

Publications

6. The outstanding publication of the period is the *Dvādaśāram Nayacakram* of Achārya Shri-Mallavādi-kṣamāśramaṇa with the commentary *Nyāyāgamānusāriṇī* of Shrī-Siṁhasūri-gaṇi-vādi-kṣamāśramaṇa, Part I, edited with critical notes by Muni JAMBUVIJAYAJI. It is published by Shri Jain Atmanand Sabha, Bhavnagar. The editorial art renovated by Pandit Sukhlalji and sedulously pursued by the late lamented Pandit Mahendra Kumar Nyayacharya and Pandit Dalsukh Malvania in editing manuscripts and restoring the lost texts, has attained a new dimension in the hands of Muni Shri Jambuvijayaji, which has compelled even the western critics to bow to the scholar in recognition of his learning. In his Introduction to the edition, Dr. Erich Frauwallner, Professor of Indology and Iranian Philology at the University of Vienna, appreciates the intractable difficulties of the work and the Herculean labours of the Editor in reconstructing the original text from Siṁhasūri's commentary, and commends his achievement in the following words which bear out my appraisal :

> " I am very happy to say that the editor of the present edition, Muni Jambuvijaya, has mastered to perfection all these difficulties, and has given us a text as best as can be achieved at the present time. Clarity has been gained on the extant manuscripts and Muni Jambuvijaya's notes to the text give reliable information as to the tradition so that a stable basis is supplied for further research. His reconstruction of the original makes it possible to follow Mallavadi's trends of thought also in passages, where absolute certainty cannot be achieved....At any rate, the text of the commentary is reliable and has been made legible by means of various corrections. Above all, this text gains greatly by numerous notes and cross-references

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to related texts, thus aiding in the comprehension of the original itself. Here special mention should be made of the *Bhoṭapariśiṣṭam*, which contains the relevant passages from Dignaga's *Pramāṇa-samuccayaḥ*. Thus the author's painfully accurate labours have opened a way of approach to such an extraordinarily difficult text. The warmest thanks of all interested in Indian philosophy and specially in Jaina doctrines are due to the editor who has taken such a tremendous amount of work upon himself".

The *Sugandhadaśamī-kathā* published by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Varanasi, bears a stamp of mature editorship of Dr. HIRALAL JAIN who provides it with an excellent introduction embodying his vast studies in world literature.

The Hindi translation of the *Āptamīmāṁsā*, by the nonagenarian savant Acharya JUGALKISHOR MUKHTAR is a work of perfect scholarship.

The *Leśyā-Kośa* compiled by Sri MOHANLAL BANTHIA will inspire the scholars of Jainism for a critical study of the subject, leading to a clear formulation and evaluation of the doctrine and its bearing on the metaphysical speculations of ancient India.

The *Gaṇadharavāda* by Dr. ESTHER A. SOLOMON, published by the Gujrat Vidya Sabha, Ahmedabad, is based entirely on Maladhari Hemachandra's commentary on the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya*.

Dr. HARISATYA BHATTACHARYA'S *Reals in Jaina Metaphysics* published by the Seth Santi Das Khetsy Charitable Trust, Bombay, has been reviewed in the *Jain Journal* (Vol. II. 1). His another work, the English translation of the *Pamāṇa-naya-tattvā-lokālaṁkāra* of Vādi-Devasūri with a commentary, mainly following the *Ratnākarāvatārikā*, published in 1967 by the Jain Sāhitya Vikās Maṇḍal, Bombay, is a work of great industry.

The texts with English translation and notes of Haribhadra's *Yoga-bindu* and *Yogadṛṣṭisamuchchaya* and Dr. NAGIN SHAH'S *Akalāṅka's Criticism of Dharmakīrti's Philosophy : A Study*, are important publications of the L. D. Institute of Indology.

Pandit DALSUKH MALVANIA'S *Āgam Yuga kā Jain Darśan*, published by the Sanmati Jnana Pitha, Agra, is an attempt to reconstruct Jaina philosophy in its original shape.

Dr. DEVENDRA KUMAR JAIN'S *Apabhraṁśa Bhāṣā aur Sāhitya* and Pandit KAILASH CHANDRA SHASTRI'S *Jain Nyāya* are published by the Bharatiya Jnanapitha, Varanasi.

The P. V. Research Institute has published the first three volumes of *Jain Sāhitya kā Bṛhad Itihās*, written by Pandit BECHARDAS DOSHI, Dr. J. C.

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JAIN and Dr. MOHANLAL MEHTA. The first two volumes of the series have been critically reviewed in the *Jain Journal* (Vols. 11. 3 and III. 1) and the 3rd awaits review in the January 1969 issue of the same Journal. The Institute has also published *Studies in Hemachandra's Deśīnāmamālā* by Dr. H. C. BHAYANI, *Jain Āchār* by Dr. MOHANLAL MEHTA, *Bauddha aur Jain Agamo me Nārī-jīvan* by Dr. KOMAL CHANDRA JAIN and *Yaśastilak kā Sāmskṛtik Adhyayan* by Dr. GOKUL CHANDRA JAIN—the last two being doctoral theses approved by the Banaras Hindu University.

The publication of Presentation, Commemoration and Jubilee Volumes, which has become an important activity of the intellectuals, is now attracting the attention of the Jainas also. I have before me three such volumes published during the period. The first is *Shri Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, sumptuously produced, in two parts by the Vidyalaya itself. The other two volumes are the *Babu Chhotelal Jain Smṛti Granth* and *Marudharkeshari Muni Shri Mishrimalji Maharaj Abhinandan Granth*. These publications provide a useful opportunity to the scholars working in the field of Prakrit and Jainism to make their researches available to the people interested in the subject.

We are familiar with the literature on Jainism published in the English, French and German languages, but very few of us know the valuable work done by the Japanese scholars in the field of Prakrit and Jainology. It might not therefore be considered redundant if I add here the following list of Japanese publications on the subject, arranged authorwise:

S. MATSUNAMI : (1) *A Study on "dhyāna" in Digambara Sect*, 1961.
(2) *Ethics of Jainism and Buddhism*, 1963.
(3) Critical translation of *Isibhāsiyāim* into Japanese, 1966.
(4) Critical translation of *Dasaveyāliyasutta* into Japanese, 1968.
(5) Buddhistic Variants of two Portions of the *Isibhāsiyāim*, 1961.

E. KANAKURA : (1) *Introduction to the Original Jainism*, 1939.
(2) *Study of Spiritual Culture of India*, 1944. Contains translation of *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* and that of *Nyāyāvatāra*.

SHIGENOBU SUZUKI : Japanese translation of *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* and *Kalpa-sūtra*, 1921.

A. UNO : *Karma Doctrine in Jainism*, 1961,

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A Japanese scholar, TAIKEN HANAKI, is preparing an English translation of the *Aṇuyogadāra Sutta*, with annotations and introduction at the Research Institute of Prakrit, Jainology and Ahimsa, Vaishali. The work is proposed to be published in the near future.

Prakrit and Jainology

7. Prakrit and Jainology are evidently two different subjects. But sometimes the latter is mistaken for the former with the result that researches in Jainism are often carried within the limits of the Prakrit texts which constitute only a part of the literary heritage of the Jainas. The illusion, created by the overlapping characters of the two, is too elusive to permit the scholar with a bias towards Prakrit to appreciate the depth and vastness of the contribution of the Jainas to Sanskrit. In fact, the entire literature on Jaina logic developed after the systematization of Jaina thought in Sanskrit language by Umasvati and his successors. The Jaina thinkers had to learn the language to defend their philosophy and logic against the onslaughts of the Buddhist logicians headed by Dignāga. The Jainas as well as Buddhists derived inspiration from Akṣapada's *Nyāyasūtra* composed in terse Sanskrit in forging their logical weapon. A wonderful Sanskrit literature, embodying the best in logical thinking of the country, was the consequence. Vidyananda's *Aṣṭasāhasrī* is an example in point, which met the challenge of Dharmakīrti and Kumārila with whom Indian logic attained its adolescence. Yaśovijaya enriched Jaina logic with the latest achievements of the neo-logicians headed by Gaṅgeśa, thus continuing the tradition created by Mallavadi who compassed and presented, in his *Dvādaśāra Nayacakra*, the complete range of thought that had emerged before his advent. The Jaina philosopher's intense love for new knowledge, irrespective of the language of its revelation, enabled him to bequeath a glorious heirloom of logical literature to posterity.

Language is after all a means to expression and not an end in itself. The early Jaina literature, though mainly written in Prakrit, was the storehouse of all sorts of knowledge. The *Aṇuyogadāra Sutta*, for instance, though primarily concerned with the possible ways of exposition discusses topics like weights and measures, atoms and molecules, music and musical instruments, grammar, epistemology, logic and a motley of other subjects which are apparently unconnected with its central theme. Likewise, there are other Prakrit texts such as the *Viyāhapaṇṇatti*, *Ṭhāṇāṅga* etc., which deal with a number of problems only distantly connected with religion and philosophy. The contents are thus unrestricted, though the vehicle of their expression is limited to Prakrit which appears to have been the popular medium of education. But the growing demand of the intellectuals was also to be satisfied.

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The Jainas, therefore, had to switch over to Sanskrit much in the same fashion as the Buddhists had to change over to Sanskrit when their Prakrits (Pali being only one among them) had failed to serve their purpose. The Jainas had to write Sanskrit commentaries to explain the Prakrit texts—a phenomenon which reveals the inadequacy of the Prakrits to satisfy the needs of the intellectuals of those days. There is no doubt that, at some stage, the best thought of the time crystallized in Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa texts. But the necessity to explain even such texts through Sanskrit at a later period shows that those texts had no appeal to the common man. Sanskrit enjoyed constant patronage on account of its being intelligible to the intellectuals of the different parts of the country and being able to function as the lingua franca acceptable to the people engaged in higher learning in art and science. While the Prakrits functioned as regional languages, Sanskrit provided the linguistic norm for the propagation of the essence of our thinking among the people at large. The relation between the Prakrits on the one hand and Jainology on the other is to be appreciated in the context of this wider perspective. The study of Jainism without the knowledge of Prakrits is as much impossible as the researches in Buddhism in the absence of a grounding in Pali, though the relation between Pali and Buddhism is slightly different from that obtaining between Prakrits and Jainology. While the entire Pali literature is Buddhist, all Prakrits do not owe allegiance to Jainism, though the latter comprises the major portion of it. Jainism, like Buddhism, goes to Sanskrit in order to fulfil a larger interest and satisfy the demands of a higher stratum of the society. Studies in the Prakrits and researches in Jainology will benefit immensely by being viewed from this *naya*, to use a Jaina *terminus technicus*, which means "a way of approach and observation".

The Pressing Needs

8. The most pressing need of the workers in the field af Prakrit and Jainology is a comprehensive Prakrit Dictionary of the nature of the P. T. S. *Pali-English Dictionary*. An Encyclopaedia of Proper Names in Prakrit and Jaina literature is another urgent need.

The dearth of properly qualified students interested in Prakrit learning is vitiating the quality of research in the field. A student without a sound schooling in the Sanskrit language and the fundamentals of Indian thought and culture is incapable of any sort of education in Prakrit and Jainism. But sometimes this axiomatic truth is forgotten and we land ourselves in embarassing situations by admitting students who, because they lack these basic requirements, are incompetent to conduct higher research independently.

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It is futile to expect a flowering where there are no branches, or to expect branches where there are no roots. Advanced research in the very nature of things is the apex of a pyramid : the base must be a widespread interest in the language and the literature concerned. This base has, for Prakrit and Jainology, now almost ceased to exist and only a proper and adequate recognition of it in the curricula can restore it.

Industry and perseverance, which are the pre-conditions of research, are difficult to cultivate. The seeking of knowledge for the sake of knowledge, the relentless pursuit of truth at the cost of comfort, of gain, of convenience—these were the essence of the Indian tradition of scholarship. Alas, we must now turn to other lands, say to Japan and to Germany, for examples of such diligent scholarship and such devotion to truth. Our inability to compile a Dictionary or produce an Encyclopaedia which are the basic needs of the field under review is, I suggest, a manifest instance of our inactivity.

May I thank my learned audience for their patient attention, and resume my seat in the hope that the opinions I have offered and the contentions I have set forth will be received with tolerance.

We who are assembled here, and countless others in our fraternity of scholars, must sail together on these uncharted seas of knowledge assisting each other, often necessarily criticizing each other, but conscious of the worth of our endeavour and the necessity of co-operation specially in a troubled social milieu often lukewarm to all learning and hostile to all culture.

Thank you, once again, ladies and gentlemen, for your kindness and your patience.

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HISTORY SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

BUDDHA PRAKASH

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I feel honoured by being called upon to preside over the History Section of this session of the All-India Oriental Conference. Our approach to history is undergoing rapid transformation in the context of the growing knowledge of the factors and forces governing the life of man in process of civilization. Our view ranges over vast perspectives of social life revealing the interplay of numerous forces which shape the thought and action of large numbers of men and women. For us the so-called great men in history are not self-contained units, but, to use an expression of Morris R. Cohen, "the points of intersection of great social forces" (*The Meaning of Human History*, pp. 220-21). "What we are wont to call great men are those among many more individuals of above average ability who happen to get born in a time and place and society the patterns of whose culture have formed with the sufficient potential value and have developed into sufficient ripeness to allow the full capacities of these individuals to be realised and expressed." (A. L. Kroeber, *The Nature of Culture*, p. 128). Hence in and through a great man or a famous man, we identify greatness with fame, we see social forces in their crystallized form. From this point of view true history is that of the people as a whole rather than particular individuals. In regard to Indian history this approach has already been suggested by a number of thinkers. Rabindranath Tagore said that the real history of India will be that of her social and cultural evolution (*Rabindra Racanavali*, Vol. XIII, pp. 451–2). K. M. Munshi holds that "to be a history in the true sense of the word the work must be the story of the people inhabiting the country." (*History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, *The Vedic Age*, p. 8). K. M. Panikkar thinks that 'the history of India has to be a history of social growth and development and not primarily a political history.....It is time we also discarded this attempt to build our history on monarchs and dynasties and viewed it from the point of view of the evolution of the Indian people." (The *State and the Citizen*, pp. 104–5). D. D. Kosambi observes that "history is the presentation, in chronological order, of successive developments in the

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means and relations of production.....The more important question is not who was king, nor whether the given region had a king, but whether its people used a plough, light or heavy, at the time." (*An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, pp, 1–2, 10–13). But he warned against the wholesale adoption of Marxian ideas in the interpretation of Indian history for "what Marx himself said about India cannot be taken as it stands and remains misleading." Nevertheless the blind acceptance of some concepts has resulted in a doctrinnaire approach which has led to many distorted views. We must beware of this tendency and let the conclusions follow from the facts rather than twist the facts to suit the conclusions.

I

Inspite of the urge to write a People's History of India we are not yet free from the notions which lead to an opposite direction. We often vaguely periodise Indian history as ancient, medieval and modern or break it up according to royal dynasties as the Maurya period, Gupta period, Mughal period etc. or we divide it from the religious point of view into Hindu period, Muslim period, Sikh period etc. or we treat it regionally as Panjab History, Bengal History, History of South India etc. Sometimes we import such concepts as slavery, feudalism, capitalism etc. to brand the different stages of our historical evolution. Valuable as these concepts are they do not always adequately reflect Indian conditions and even give perverse views of them. Of course, some sort of conceptual framework is necessary for spreading out the facts of history, but it should be so elastic and resilient as to allow them to be unfolded in their fullness.

Here I beg to suggest a new scheme of periodisation for understanding the history of the Indian people in the true sense of the term. I propose to divide it into ten periods; (1) the Period of Socio-Cultural Formation, (2) the Era of Socio Economic Convulsion, (3) the Age of Centralized Control and Bureaucracy, (4) the Epoch of Individualist Economy, (5) the Heyday of Urban Bourgeoisie, (6) the Ascendancy of Rural Aristocracy, (7) the Geneses of the Commercial Middle Class, (8) the Emergence of the Westernized Elite, (9) the Growth of the Nationalist outlook, and (10) the Dawn of Development and Modernization. Let us examine the characteristics and chronlogical limits of each of these periods.

II

The Period of Socio-Cultural Formation extends from the earliest time to roughly the seventh century B. C. It consists of what archaeologists call the pre-historic, proto-historic and historic ages, each having various chronological strata corresponding to successive stages of economic develop-

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ment, a comprehensive account of which is found in H. D. Sankalia's *Pre-History and Proto History in India and Pakistan* and recently Allchins' *The Birth of Indian Civilization* (Penguin, 1968). Though archaeology has unravelled many material aspects of Indian cultural growth, the Vedas remain the earliest literary embodiment and manifestation of its main tendencies. Several attempts have been made to reconcile archaeological finds with Vedic data, but, being clouded by certain preconceptions, mostly of a tenuous type, they have yielded few satisfactory results. In particular the supposition that the Aryans came to India from outside and their ideas are embodied in the Vedas, which, accordingly, represent an alien culture, that supplanted the native cultural development culminating in the Indus Valley Civilization, has led to the notion that archaeological finds and Vedic data are irreconciliable. But the moment we get rid of this notion we begin to see that the ideas of the Vedas have a fundamental affinity to those underlying the urban development in northern India. In any case we can be sure that Indian cultural evolution passed through various phases, some rural, others urban, often of a conflicting tendency, in that early period. We leave, for the time being, this complicated and controversial subject and concentrate on the lineaments of social growth that these early records bring to our view.

Early Indian social development moved from a tribal-cum-territorial conception to a functional-cum-organic organization. At first people were classified according to tribes or territories, but, in course of time, they began to be grouped according to vocations or professions. Thus the conception of the five peoples (*panca janaḥ*), which seems to have had a tribal character in the beginning, received a professional orientation at a later stage as Sāyana's identification of them with Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra and Niṣāda shows. In identifying a person or determining his category or specifying his status a reference to his tribe or habitat was not as important as the mention of his profession or vocation. People of all tribes and territories could be grouped into one professional group of functional category having its own social identity. The network of these groups and categories had an organic quality in as much as they complemented and supplemented each other in such a way that one could not exist without the other. Thus society meant the organic relationship among a number of economic imperatives. This set up is implicit in the imagery of the four functional groups of priests and teachers, soldiers and administrators, traders, artisans and peasants and labourers forming the mouth, arms, thighs and feet of the collective being, laid down in the *Ṛgveda* (X, 90, 12), the *Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (VI, I, 6–11) and other texts, and aims at resolving the multiplicity of tribal and territorial units into an organisation of functional and professional

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categories. Through it the diversity of kinship ties, blood relationships and regional associations were ordered into a pattern of functional divisions, vocational groupings and economic pursuits. In short the work done by a man was deemed more important than his birth in a particular clan or at a particular place. This sociology of what came to be known as Varṇāśrama-dharma was a significant feature of the cultural crystallization of the Indian people.

However this order of functional groups or economic callings had a tendency to harden into hereditary categories and rigid divisions in the cosy conditions of India. Though the functional divisions were conceived on an organic basis they also embodied a clash of interests and congealed into exclusive classes. As a result the ideal of organic unity revealed the reality of class conflicts. Every group behaved as a closed caste to which only those born into it had the right of admittance. Thus a vocational category tended to relapse into a sort of kinship group which it was originally intended to supplant. When this tendency made headway, opposite forces also became assertive. This clash and conflict constituted the rhythm of early Indian social history.

As said above the essence of the functional-cum-organic organisation of society was mobility and resilience. In it every one was free to follow the profession of his taste and choice. But shortly afterwards the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas began to brand the Vaiśyas and Śūdras as impure and unrighteous. (*Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, XXXI, 3; *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, IV, I, 3; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 1, 5, 28) and bar their entry into their groups by making heredity the basis of profession. While the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas crystallized into an elite, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras coalesced to form the proletariat. In the ranks of the elite also there were serious rifts: the Brāhmaṇas claimed the exclusive right to preserve the sacred lore and perform the religious rites and gave themselves out as gods among men or gods in the guise of men (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 2, 2. 6), but the Kṣatriyas challenged their elaim and dubbed them as robbers and performed their rituals themselves (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, II; VII, 27; *Kauṭiliya Artha-śāstra*, I, 3). These tensions and conflicts between the forces of heredity and tradition and the elements of functionalism and mobility shaped the trends of social development both in its ideal and real aspects. Behind them was the growth of agriculture, the proliferation, of crafts, the vogue of metals, particularly iron, and the expansion of usury, commerce and urbanisation.

III

As a result of the above developments a stage was reached where the character of social institutions contradicted the possibility of economic

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development and therefore underwent a radical change. Agriculture and industry immensely progressed and concentrated wealth and prosperity into the hands of the *setthis* and *gahapatis*. The institution of private property was the order of the day. Some persons owned large landed estates of the size of 1000 karisas each worked by as many as 500 ploughs (*Jātaka*, Vol. IV, 279). Land was transferred for a price as is clear from the story of Anāthapiṇḍaka of Śrāvasti who is said to have outwitted the prince Jeta by accepting his offer to purchase his grove by spreading gold coins on it so that their edges met each other (*kotisanthara*) (Vinaya, *Mahāvagga*. VI, 4,9; *Jātaka*, I p. 92). The *setthi* class combined farming with financing and commerce as can be gathered from the dowry of 500 carts full of ploughs, ploughshare and other farm implements and numerous bullocks given by Dhanañjaya to his daughter Viśakhā on the occasion of her marriage with Pūrṇavardhana the son of the famous setthi of Śrāvasti Mṛgara (*Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, IV, 8; *Anguttaranikāya Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 7, 2). But they were mostly absentee landlords, some of them even not knowing the origin of rice (*Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, I, 135), displaying a dislike for manual work and disparaging the profession of yoke and sickle. Their farms were worked by labourers, wage-earners and slaves (*Jasa-bhṛtaka*) who tended to form one class.

While Brāhmaṇas like Kāśī Bhāradvāja and *setthis* like Dhanañjaya were acquiring large landed estates through reclamation or purchase the small peasant was squeezed out into a wage-earner and, like Punna of Rājagṛha, ploughed the field of his employer from morn till night forgetting even the rejoicing and festivity of a holiday. In this way the polarisation of social classes based on the distinction of the rich and the poor overshadowed the traditional divisions of society. The grouping of the śreṣṭhins, kutumbins and gṛhapatis on one hand and that of karmakāras, bhṛtakas and dāsas on the other became more meaningful than that of the brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas and śūdras. The professions of the vaiśyas and śūdras became so dominant as to attract both the brāhmaṇas and the kṣatriyas. People could adopt these professions with remarkable rapidity and fluidity and merge into a complex of farmers, peasants, merchants, artisans, craftsmen, labourers and slaves, the categorisation of whom was determined by property and wealth rather than heredity and birth. Having the opportunity to rise from rags to riches through these professions one cared little for caste and tradition and the status connoted and conferred by them. Hence the social system progressively developed a professional and economic outlook with the result that in the third century we find the Greek envoy Megasthenes dividing Indian society into the seven classes of philosophers, husbandsmen, herdsmen, hunters, merchants and artsians, soldiers, overseers and councillors and

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assessors instead of the four orders of brāhmaṇa, kṣatriya, vaiśya and śūdra (M'crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 83, 214).

The progress of arts, crafts and industries following the growth of commerce along land and sea routes, as is clear from the caravans of 500 waggons going from Kāśmīra and Gāndhāra to Tāmralipti and Śūrpāraka and merchant vessels sailing up to Suvarṇabhūmi in the East and Baveru (Babylonia) in the West, led to the proliferation of śreṇis (guilds) of workers whose number is traditionally given as eighteen. These guilds were localised in different parts and sectors of towns and cities and functioned under their jetthakas (heads). They were also closely associated with the setthis (bankers and merchants) who advanced them money and traded their products far and wide. These setthis were also, as said above, landlords and farmers. They combined agriculture, industry and commerce and linked the farm to the factory.

The inevitable concomitant of the rise of the moneyed class, dominating over agricultural and industrial production, was the growth of an impoverished servile and slave class ranking no better than chattels. As the screw of exploitation took turn after turn the discontent of the labourer and the slave mounted and burst into revolts. In a picnic of Śākya ladies the slaves are reported to have become violent and robbed, ravished and kidnapped them (*Vinaya Piṭaka*, IV, 181; I. B. Horner, *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, Vol. XIII Part III, p. 115). Often the slaves lamented their lot and neglected their duties and became burdens on their masters (*Majjhima Nikāya*, 51, *Dighanikāya*, I, p. 52).

In this way society was divided into two broad categories based on property and wealth. Both of them attacked the old social order of birth-centred castes in their own ways. The attack of the haves took the form of the teachings of the Kṣatriyas. Buddha and Mahāvīra, and that of the have-nots came through the materialist philosophies of the slave prophet Purana Kassapa, the servant teacher Mankkali Gosala, the proletarian heretic Ajitakesakambalin, the frustrated sceptic Sanjaya Belathiputta and the humpbacked commoner Kakuda Kaccayana. It is significant that whereas among the oligarchies the dominant class of the Kṣatriyas reduced the social system to a pigeon-box of stiff and rigid compartments, in the monarchies group frontiers were more flexible and social mobility more pronounced which explains why the monarchical system swept off the oligarchical orders so swiftly (D. R. Chanana, *Slavery in Ancient India*, pp. 39, 107).

As a result of the aforesaid socio-economic developments the rational and secular trend of thought gained momentum. The ministers, Dirgha Carayana in Kosala and Varshakara in Magadha, extricated the science of

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law, polity and economic organization from the bondage of custom, tradition and religious lore and put it on an independent footing. A number of schools contributed to the growth of the new discipline of Arthaśāstra. The Auśanasas held that only polity (*daṇḍanīti*) was the key science, the Bārhaspatyas added economics (*vartta*) to it, the Mānavas did not exclude the Vedas (*trayī*), Kauṭilya gave due importance to philosophy and logic (*ānvīkṣikī*) and Bhāradvāja dismissed religion and ethics and even counselled a clever minister to dispose of the dying king and occupy the throne, *Arthaśāstra*, V, 6, 25–31). At the back of these views was the realisation that social problems need social solutions rather than religious rituals and ceremonies, for instance, to eradicate poverty it is necessary to give seed to the peasants, capital to the merchants and employment to the people instead of performing yajñas and other rites (*Kūṭadantasutta* of *Dighanikāya*, 5). This trend of thought culminated in most of the policies of Nanda and Maurya periods.

In this manner the period from roughly the sixth to the fourth century B. C. was marked by significant changes in the socio-economic set-up producing numerous stimuli and strains in the life of the people.

IV

The aforesaid changes in the social system and the ways of thought highlighted the need of controls and regulations. The *Nyagrodha Jātaka* states that the king appointed the *bhāṇḍāgārika* to settle the disputes of the śreṇis and the Dharmasūtras reveal that he also nominated the headman of the village. In course of time the state applied various curbs and controls to the economy in order to keep the growth of propertied class within limits and ensure social welfare and fairplay and also to strengthen its resources. The *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, a theoretical treatise on political economy, reflects the ideas and doctrines of the fourth century B. C. on the eve of the Maurya empire. It refers to an age when agriculture, industry and trade were increasingly coming under state control. In its scheme land was divided into four categories, (1) state land worked by the department of the *Sītādhyakṣa*, (2) land reclaimed and settled on the peasants who lived in newly founded colonies and worked on a strictly regulated pattern, (3) land belonging to the peasant proprietors (*kṣetrika*) from before and capable of being let out to the tenants (*upavasa*) or sold and purchased among the same categories of persons and subject to taxes and imposts and at some places also corvee, and (4) land granted to religious institutions or Brāhmaṇas which could not be mortgaged or transferred. In it the profit of the traders was fixed at 5% on native goods and 10% on foreign goods, rate of interest was prescribed as 15% per annum though it could go up to 60% in cases of special risk, tolls were laid down

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ordinarily at 1/10 of the outlay from 1/25 on some kinds of cloth to 1/6 on fruits and vegetables, servants and labourers were given the right of contract and their relations with their employers were regulated and protected through laws, slavery was curbed by making the mortgage and sale of the minor sons of the lower classes, going by the name of śūdra a criminal offence and giving the slaves some legal protections particularly the right to earn wealth in leisure time and pass it on to their successors, in short, a broad policy was envisaged to limit both the misers and the prodigals (*mulaharatadatvika-kadaryaṁśca pratiṣedhayet*) (*Arthaśāstra* II, 9; II, 36).

The Kauṭilīya conception of the state of a vigilance organization an information bureau and a *comite de sālut publipue.* In it there is an integration of society, administration and economic agencies. Marxist scholars have viewed it in their own conceptual perspectives. S. T. Oldenberg and I. P. Baikov see in it a ' feudal sociery ', Walter Ruben traces in it ' a slave-owning society ', D. A. Suleikin and V. I. Kalyanov read into it the record of ' the downfall of slavery society and the emergence of early feudal society '. (V. I. Kalyanov *Arthaśāstra ili Nauka Politiki,* Russian translation with notes and articles (Moscow-Leningrad, 1959, pp. 525–26, 540–45). These views do not bear scrutiny because the dominant outlook of the *Arthaśāstra* is opposed both to slavery and the heirarchy of land rights which manifests itself in different forms of feudalism as we shall see in a later section. The fact is that it adumbrates a totalitarian or etatist doctrine according to which all social and economic forces merge in an organic relationship which finds its superb expression in a centralized bureaucratic political organisation.

The trends of synthesising and integrating the various strands of economic growth reached their culmination in the Maurya polity. The stray hints about it that we get from Megasthenes show that it aimed at liquidating the concentration of wealth in the hands of individuals by interdicting private ownership of the means of production. To achieve this end the Mauryas nationalized land making the peasant a tenant and converting the tax be paid into rent amounting to 1/4 of the produce plus a cash impost or *bali* (M'crindle, *Megasthenes and Arrian,* p. 41) ' did away with intermediaries, contractors of assignees of revenues, avoided grants of land in lieu of services and evolved a direct administration to deal with the cultivators (*Ibid.,* p. 86). Secondly they abolished slavery and manumitted the slaves (*Ibid,* p. 38). and destroyed a strong base of the private ownership of the means of production. Side by side they finished off usury (*Ibid.,* p 72), controlled trade and commerce, weights and measures and manufacture of goods and fixation of their prices (*Ibid.,* pp. 87-88). They also prohibited private persons from keeping horses and elephants (*Ibid.,* p. 90) obviously to prevent the conce-

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ntration of military power in the hands of individuals. Thus the whole trend of the Maurya empire in the beginning was to subordinate the individual to the state and to check the accumulation of economic power in the hands of private persons.

Usually comparisons are made between the data of the *Arthaśāstra* and those of Megasthenes and it is shown that, since they do not tally, therefore, either the former must be of an age other than the Maurya period or the latter must be construed to be fragmentary and misconceived notes of a foreign observer ignorant of Indian conditions. But the truth seems to be that both of them are correct and reliable at their own places. The *Arthaśāstra* represents the theory of political organization on the eve of the foundation of the Maurya empire and the data of Megasthenes reflect the actual state of affairs of the Maurya period. Chronologically the *Arthaśāstra* is anterior to the record of Megasthenes in as much as the Maurya system, which it depicted, represented an advance over the views expressed by Kauṭilya and, in particular, carried the policy of controlling the mechanism of production a step farther than he envisaged.

The Maurya system, being the culmination of the totalitarian trend of curbing the private ownership of the means of production through comprehensive control and regulation, faced complex problems and had to bear heavy burdens, obviously because to run a centralized bureaucratic administration over a vast region extending practically over the whole of India including Pakistan and parts of Afghanistan in that age of pre-modern communications and pre-industrial techniques of production was enormously difficult, well-nigh impossible. A big government, like the Maurya, employing an army of salaried officials, required stupendous financial resources and, to acquire them, had to resort to squeezing and extortion, since the other alternative of stepping up production had a limited potentiality in view of meagre improvement in technique. Hence, naturally, some of its policies did not show adequate results as is clear from the fact that despite its anti-slavery drive slaves continued to exist here and there for whom Aśoka recommended humane treatment. Under these circumstances it became an engine of oppression and tyranny and the people groaned and writhed under its weight inspite of the soothing sermons of the pious Aśoka. Aśoka's policy was to add the appeals of piety to the force of law and mobilize the powers of persuasion to supplement the means of coercion. He desired to evolve an ideology of unity and solidarity and for that purpose considered Buddhism an effective agency and accordingly derived some ideas from it. But ideology without technology was of little efficacy and could not sustain the tottering structure of the empire for a long time.

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V

The fall of the Maurya empire representing the end of the age of centralized control and bureaucracy at the beginning of the second century B. C. must have been a tortuous process marked by great tension and travail. In particular the breakdown of totalitarian administration and controlled economy and the resurgence of individual ownership private and property in land and industry must have changed the complex of socio-cultural relationships. Hence we observe that the Smṛtikāras, particularly Manu, who seems to be the spokesman of this period, mention the lands, orchards, tanks and houses owned by individuals and provide for their protection against encroachment or occupation by others (*Manusmṛti* VIII, 264). That the rules of these *smṛtis* were followed by kings is manifest from several epigraphic records (Nasik Cave Inscription, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, No. 8, lines 1-5, Maliya Copper Plate of Dharasena II, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III no. 3S lines 4-6). Accordingly kings respected the proprietory rights of people and took care not to violate them. In order to make a gift of land Ushavadata purchased a plot from its owner instead of confiscating it arbitrarily. Like kings, owners of lands could grant or gift them for religious purposes. Their relation with the government consisted only of paying taxes which were construed as wages for according protection (*Nārada*, *XVIII*, 48; *Manu* VIII, 39 *Catuḥsatika*, p. 461). These taxes were fixed on the principle of moderation, convenience and leniency. The normal land revenue had been reduced to one-sixth of the produce from one-fourth of the Maurya period. In course of time *bali* merged with *bhaga* but an extraimpost *uparikara* took its place. The irrigation charge (*udakabhāga*) of the Maurya time was probably discontinued and in its place a watch and ward tax (*udranga*) was introduced. In central India there was also a plough tax or *halirakara*. Besides these there were also some customary levies like beds and food (*carasana and carasiddhika*) for touring officials (*Epigraphia Indica*, XXVI, No. 20). But emergency levies (*kara*), forced labour (*viṣṭi*) and compulsory contributions (*pranaya*) were scrupulously avoided in all circumstances. (Girnar Inscription of Rudradāman, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, no. 6, lines 15-16). In Western India assessments for fixed terms and at fixed rates seem to be indicated by the name of the office *dhruvādhikaraṇa*. Fiscal units varied from region to region. In eastern India a *bhukti* (division) was divided into *viṣayas* (districts), a *viṣaya* into *vīthis* and a *vīthi* into *grāmas*; in western India the *ahara*, *sthalī* or *pathaka* or *pravesya*, and *patta*, or *peth*, were units higher than the *grāma*. In this way land tenures, tax items and fiscal units varied from province to province producing an individualist outlook, regional approach and laissez-faire philosophy.

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The growth of private ownership in land accompained by a lightening of taxation gave an incentive to large-scale reclamation. As the description of *yugakṣaya* in the *Vanapaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, which seems to reflect the conditions in this age, shows, people brought the land along the banks of rivers widely under the plough (III, 190, 23). Even lowlands. pastures and ponds were cultivated and milch cows and young calves were yoked (III, 190, 27). Barley and wheat were the staple crops (III, 190, 44), though new plants, fruits and vegetables, imported from Iran and China, also began to be grown. That agriculture was commercialized is manifest from the remark that all regions would trade in foodstuffs (*attasulah janapadaḥ*) (III, 190, 52). The progress of irrigation is attested by the numerous tanks and reservoirs mentioned in inscriptions.

As in agriculture, so in industry, the growth of private property led to a development of guild life–a guild comprising people of different castes following one profession, guilds not only controlled industry but also banking. Kings and commoners deposited their moneys with them on which they paid interest regularly and punctually. Money market had eased a great deal with the result that rates of interest came down to 12% and 9% per annum. Trade, both native and foreign, made striding advance. The rise of the Roman, Parthian and Han empires with their intricate relations gave a fillip to commerce and thereby improved the standards of industries.

The rapid expansion of agriculture and industry and the increasing volume of trade resulted in the growth of gold currency. The Greeks were the first to introduce die-struck coins with portraits in India. Their king Menander received the support of the urban class (E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, p. 462). But after him decline seized their realm. The Kushanas restored normalcy and developed trade with Rome. Their gold dīnāra of 123.3 grains corresponded to the Roman aurei and its ratio to silver coins 1 : 12 agreed with that in the Roman world (C. H. V, Sutherland, *Gold*, p. 9). Later on the Kushanas developed good commercial relations with the Axumites and probably concluded a pact with them or even set up a centre in Ethiopia as the discovery of a number of gold coins of Kadphises II, Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva in an old monastery of Debra Damo in northern Ethiopia proves (D. Mathews, 'The Monastery of Debra Damo,' *Archaeologia*, Vol. XCVII (1959) p. 53). They seem to have done so to be nearer to Rome and avoid all the intermediaries who pocketed a great part of the profit. These international contacts reflected the cosmopolitan attitudes of Indian classes more interested in industry and trade than in narrow cultural complexes based on the distinction of native and foreigner. The religions that mattered in these conditions were Mahāyāna Buddhism, Śaivism, Vaiṣṇa-

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vism and other cults of devotion, charity and service having vast humanitarian perspectives.

VI

The trends of the fourth period led to the fifth, which we have called the Heyday of the Urban Bourgeoisie, in the fourth century A. D. It was marked by the rise of a prosperous wealthy class in cities which dealt in trade and commerce on a large scale. This class rose on the crest of the wave of trade with South-East Asia after the decline of the Roman Empire in the third century A. D. What facilitated this commerce was the advance in the technique of navigation, particularly, the building of large ships which could accommodate as many as 200 passengers with their merchandise and astern of which were small vessels to rescue passengers in the event of accidents. In the fourth and fifth centuries one took about 90 days to cross the Bay of Bengal, as the itinerary of Fa-hien shows but in the seventh century one could complete the voyage in 25 days, as the account of I Ching proves (P-Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese*, p. 42).

The feeder of the transoceanic trade was the inland trade carried on by large caravans of carts and waggons, full of all sorts of commodities, luxury goods and necessaries which regularly moved " across rivers as if over wells, through forests as if through gardens and over mountains as over their own houses " (*Raghuvaṁśa*, XVII, 64).

Trade flooded the country with gold and gave rise to the motif of the rain of gold from the sky found in current literature which justified the name of ' Golden Age ' often given to this period (*Raghuvaṁśa*, V, 29; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell, pp. 213-14; *Mahābhārata*, XII, 29, 22. 25, *Harṣacarita* ed. NSP, p. 134; *Caturbhāṇī*, p. 116).

Below this upper bourgeois class, rolling in wealth, revelling in art and literature, living with grace and ease and laying down the canons of classical culture was a lower urban class practising arts and crafts, forming guilds and corporations, enjoying a sort of territorial and professional mobility and taking some part in local administration.

Below the upper and lower strata of the bourgeois class, centred in cities and towns, were the peasants spread in the countryside. They had their plots of lands, carefully surveyed, demarcated and catalogued, which they could mortgage, alienate or sublet or use as they desired. Fallow lands, however, were the property of the state, and could be purchased, allotted or granted with the permission of the district authorities. So much was the pressure on land following the intensive reclamation of the earlier centuries that even fallow lands could be had only for a price. Though the peasant

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was the proprietor of his land he was subject to many items of revenue, like *Bhaga*, *uparikara*, *udranga*, and many customary liabilities such as being drafted for corvee, providing flowers and milk, and, of course, other food-stuffs, as well as cattle for transport purposes, to officials on tour and meeting the expenses of police officials and watch and ward staff (*cata-bhata*), corresponding to Roman *frumentarii* and *stationarii*, in course of their rounds. With the passage of time the demands on the peasants increased as we can gather from references to ploughtax (*kutaka*), water-charge (*jalakara*), cattle-duty (*gokara*), salt-levy (*lavaṇakara*), imposts on leaves and grass (*parṇakara*), the various dues (*prastha*) of local officials and contributions for charity or religious rites (*vatabhuta* and *dasabhandha*). Hence they grumbled and groaned as the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa shows, and sometimes burst into revolts also, an instance of which is given by Buston in his account of Śāntideva (E. Obermiller, *Buston's History of Buddhism*, II, p. 164).

The Gupta administrative system, though favouring the urban bourgeoisie, sowed seeds of a landed aristocracy. Firstly it tolerated vanquished adversaries, as vassals and even reinstated them in their kingdoms and later utilized their services. Secondly it sometimes appointed princes of the royal blood as provincial governors with the right to use their own seals and issue their own inscriptions and thus gave them an opportunity to aspire for independence. Thirdly it made some of its posts hereditary and often rolled up many offices in one post which stepped up the creation of vested interests. Fourthly it had a tendency towards decentralisation. Fifthly it permitted grants of lands to donees as permanent endowments for charitable, educational and religious purposes and thus set the tune of the further growth of landed interests. As time passed, these factors led to the rise of a class of landed chiefs, royal vassals, and grantees of land who, during the disturbed period of Huna invasions and internal troubles, when financial resources dwindled and it became difficult to maintain a salaried bureaucracy, stepped into the administration and dominated it. At that time normal trade naturally suffered a set-back which inclined the urban people to invest their capital in land. All these circumstances increased the lure of land and started the process of the progressive transformation of urban bourgeoisie into a landed aristocracy.

In the fifth and sixth century there was a struggle between the state and the landed aristocracy, with varying vicissitudes, but ultimately the latter triumphed and swept the administration. A notable landmark is the Gunaighar Inscription of Vainyagupta, dated 507 A. D., referring to the Mahāsāmanta Vijayasena, instead of a sandhivigrahika of earlier times, as in charge of a military campaign and thus the head of the administration.

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VII

From the seventh century A. D. the landed aristocracy remained in the ascendant. Government was in the hands of the landlords. The owning or holding of land was the equivalent of social status and the passport to political power. On acquiring interest in land one could aspire for some administrative job and look forward to a military career and even think of setting up a kingdom and founding a dynasty. Hence all classes of people tended towards landlordism. How Brahmanas became interested in land and the military and political career it ensured is clear from the history of a family of Kaundinya gotra revealed by the recently discovered Mera Vishnu Temple Inscription of 1175 A. D. (*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. 52, Jan-Dec. 1966, pp. 62-70). It shows that a member of this family Lokananda became a warrior, won many battles and was honoured by the king. His son Janananda erected a big Śaiva temple with gardens and arrangement for free distribution of food. He had three sons of whom the youngest Haridharman was very learned, powerful and endowed with martial qualities. He built a Śaiva temple, planted orchards of fruits for public use and also composed some literary works. He also constructed a Vishnu temple at Mera for the spiritual benefit of his mother Subhata and donated a village called Vasudhara for its maintenance. In this way this family of Vedic scholars had become a house of landowning military chiefs having an independent political status. As regards the transformation of merchants into landed aristocrats we may refer to an inscription from the Hazaribagh district of Bihar (*Epigraphia Indica*, II, no. 27, p. 343). which states that when the king Adisimha demanded his customary dues (*avalagana*, modern *lag*) from the peasants of the villages Bhramarasalmali, Nabhutisandaka and Chingala, they, being unable to pay them, requested the merchants Udayamana, Sridhautamana and Ajitamana, who were returning from Tāmralipti to their home in Ayodhya, to pay them to the king on their behalf, obviously on condition that they would reimburse or compensate them. One of the merchants Udayamana agreed to the proposal and the king also approved of it. Accordingly he acquired the right to collect those dues from the peasants and in token of it the king conferred on him the title of raja. Then he passed on that right to his brother who became a sort of *sub-raja*. In this way this family of merchants acquired an interest in land and became a house of *rajas* and *uparajas*. Not only Brāhmaṇas and Vaiśyas, but also Kayasthas and crafstmen and even ascetics, tried to acquire land to improve their status.

From the seventh century the practice of paying administrative and military officers with grants of land became common. Hsuan Chwang observed that " of the royal land there is a fourfold division: one part is for the

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expenses of government and state worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence and one for acquiring religious merit by gifts to various sects" (Watters, p. 176). "Ministers of State and common officials all have their portion of land and are maintained by the cities assigned to them" (*Ibid.*, p. 177). Later in the ninth century Sulaiman noted that Indian kings had numerous troops, who were not given any pay, but maintained themselves without receiving anything from the king (Elliot & Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 7).

Since the king depended on the armies controlled and maintained by those whom he had granted lands and his administration was run through the services rendered by those who held such assignments, his authority became a function of their grouping. As the alignments of donees, grantees and assignees changed, political trends and military drives also took different turns. Thus political unity or administrative stability wavered as the flickering shadows of the whirlgig of the alliances of landed interests. This explains why no dynasty could maintain unity over large parts of the country for long periods of time.

Some scholars have called this socio-economic development feudalism. Their views are found in the proceedings of a seminar published under the title of *Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India* issued by the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture at Calcutta University in January 1966. They have also been adumbrated in R. S. Sharma's *Indian Feudalism : cir. 300-1200 A. D.* issued by the same centre in August 1965. Prof. Sircar has ably refuted these views in his *Indian Epigraphy*, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* and *Landlordism and Tenancy in Ancient and Medieval India as revealed by Epigraphical Records*. The present writer has also expressed similar views in the pages of the *Digest of Indological Studies*, Vol. III, Part I, June 1965, pp. 337-342; Vol, IV, part I, June 1966, pp. 349-352. The essential feature of feudalism in Europe was the acceptance of the vassalage of the military chief by the proprietor of land and in token of it offering his holding to him and receiving it back from him as a fief (Latin *fevum*, *feodum*, German, *lehn*) and to render him personal service in order to secure his protection in a time of troubles. In legal terms it meant the transformation of *alodium* into *precarium* through *patrocinium fundorum*. Through it the freeman became a vassal and the proprietor became a tenant, both vassalage and tenancy partaking of the nature of contractual obligation being governed by personal fidelity (*obsequium*). The heirarchy of these relationships had various grades descending from the king to the cultivator each involving a combination of personal links with proprietory ties. In this sense even the whole of Europe was not completely feudalised. It was bet-

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ween the Loire and the Rhine and in Burgundy on both banks of the Saone and, after the Norman conquest, in England and southern Italy that this system assumed its characteristic form. All around this area there were regions where it did not exist (Marc Bloch, 'Feudalism as a Type of Society' in W. J. Cahnman and A. Boskoff, *Sociology, and History*, New York, 1964 p. 168).

In India this type of tenure never existed in any age. Here a grant of land meant the transfer of the right to collect revenue or other levies or imposts, to which the grantor was entitled, to the grantee. It involved a change in the persons collecting the revenue and other items rather than in the revenue and those items. The result of the grant was that the peasant paid his dues to the grantee instead of the grantor. In Mughal times the *amin* was enjoined to send his agents to every *pargana* to see that the grantees do not exact more than the sanctioned rates from the peasants, as we learn from the *Mazhar-i Shahjahani*. Numerous *farmans* and *dastur-al-amals* insist on the adequate protection of the rights of the peasants in respect of their lands against the encroachment of the Jagirdars or grantees (B. R. Grover 'Land Rights in Mughal India,' *Indian Economic & Social History Review*, Vol. I, (1963) p. 7). In medieval Karnataka the residents of an agrahara village saw to it that the gifts were utilised for the purpose for which they were meant. To ensure it they rewarded a person who pointed out a lapse with a part of the gifted property. In case the government failed to redress their grievances they punished the wrongdoers themselves. Every month they chose their heads, called *masa-veggades* to avoid jealousy among their local leaders (G. S. Dikshit, *Local Self-Government in Mediaeval Karnataka*, Dharwar 1964, pp. 85 ff). Thus it can be gathered that medieval landlordism in India was fundamentally different from feudalism. However, it cannot be denied that in practice it proved oppressive with the decline of the king's authority and the weakening of his administration and stifled the peasant into sullen indifference of what was going on about him. Industry and trade undoubtedly continued but were siezed by conservatism, stagnation and locality complex. Likewise arts, crafts & letters became stereotyped and hackneyed on account of a land-locked outlook.

In the thirteenth century the Turks replaced the Rajputs on the throne of Delhi but there was little change in the socio-economic system except that a Turkish nobility had been superimposed on the native aristocracy. The Turkish ruling class had two parts, the nobility (*umra*) and clergy (*ulama*). The *umra* had three grades, *khan*, *malik* and *amir* each carrying its distinctive marks, courtly rank (*shughl*) and assignment (*iqta*). They collected the revenues in their assignments and with them maintained armies. They were

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not hereditary but when the central administration weakened it was not easy to displace them. Theoretically they could not realize more than the fixed revenue and inspectors were also deputed to keep watch on their activities, but they were by and large unbridled in their exactions and amassed huge fortunes. For instance Malik Shahin, a sardar of *Firuz* Tughlaq left a fortune of 50,000 tankas or rupees (one tanka of 165 grains of silver) besides a big estate, another noble Bashir accumulated 16 crores and later Miyan Muhammad Kalapahar acquired 300 mds. of gold. From the nobility the ministers and secretaries were appointed on very high salaries ranging from 60,000 to 10,000. An ordinary soldier enjoyed a salary of 134 tankas plus an allowance of 78 if he was a *doasp*. These salaries should be judged in the light of the fact that in that age the purchasing power of the tanka was so much that a family could live with 5 tankas (one maund of wheat selling at 7.50 jitals or old paisas at the time of Alauddin, 12 jitals at the time of Muhammad Tughlaq and 8 jitals at the time of Firuz). These nobles were also extravagant and were mostly indebted to Multani bankers.

The Turkish ruling class, both *umra* and *ulama*, were class-conscious in the extreme and did not tolerate the intrusion of any other element in their ranks. Hence the Indian Muslims, who became converts either for fear of death, or to escape being enslaved, or to share in *mawajib* and *ghanaim* or on account of the preaching of Muslim divines & saints or due to superstitious belief of the superiority of the Muslims, as Muhammad bin Nasiruddin Jafar Makki al-Hussaini wrote in the 14th century, were inferior in their eyes and scrupulously kept away from important posts. The non-Muslim population, particularly the peasantry, called Hindu — this word came into vogue in the native literature in the 13th 14th centuries, as we learn from the poetry of *Jajjala* and *Ambadeva Suri*, to designate the non-Turkish people, and is used by some Persian historians in the sense of a cultivator—was considered the object of exploitation. Hence a theory was developed that the prosperity of the State was equivalent to the impoverishment of the peasant. (Ziauddin Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* p. 433). In fact, the Sultanate, like the Rajput regime, was a class-state in which the nobility thrived on the exploitation of the peasantry.

Ever since the Turks became dominant in the Muslim world the furtherance of their interests was identified with the progress of Islam. The doctrine of Nizamulmulk that "state and religion are like twin brothers" (*mamlakat wa din hamchu do biradar and*) (*Siyasatnama* ed. Muhammad Kazwini, 8, 13) and the saying of Al-Ghazali that "religion and government are twins one of which cannot do without the other" (*al-din wal-mulk tau 'aman fa-la yastaghni ahadu-huma min al-akhar*) (*Ihya-'ulum-ai-din* (Cairo,

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1927) II, 123) became the lodestars of Turk-ridden Dar-al-Islam. Accordingly the Turk ruling class made Islam the instrument of its interests wherever it went. So it is incorrect to call the period of Sultanate the age of Muslim rule, rather it should be called the age of Turk rule, as Professor Muhammad Habib suggested long ago.

Usually historians think that Hinduism and Islam are fundamentally irreconciliable with the result that Hindus and Muslims could not be integrated into one unity despite about a millennium of coexistence. But this view is not correct from the historical point of view for we find these two systems coming close to each other on the higher courtly and aristocratic plane, on the one hand, and the lower level of mass beliefs and behaviour, on the other. A Turk, Mughal or Rajput noble had more or less the same trend of thought just as the Hindu and Muslim artisans and labourers shared the same type of belief in saints and pirs and local godlings and supernatural powers. What really mattered was not so much the distinction between the Hindu and the Muslim as the clearage between the noble and the peasant or the gulf between the *sharif* and *razil*, to use the words of Barni. The nobility sought the alliance of Islamic orthodoxy to fortify its position vis-a-vis the peasantry the bulk of which was Hindu. Thus the dichotomy of these two classes accentuated and perpetuated the distinction between Islam and Hinduism. If these two faiths remained antithetical and even antagonistic to each other it was due to the clash of the interests of classes they were made to embody and express in course of time. It was economic interests, rather than religious beliefs, that divided the people into conflicting groups. It was not the temple and the mosque that played the divisive role, it was the court and the hut that drove the wedge. Hence as soon as we improve the economic bases of social adjustment and remove the causes of class conflicts we shall observe that Islam and Hinduism act as forces of unity and cohesion rather than elements of division and disruption.

VIII

The dominance of the landed aristocracy continued throughout the Mughal period and persists in some form even today but from the fifteenth century a commercial middle class also began to develop as a result of the new opportunities of trade opened by what Toynbee calls the da-Gaman revolution after the name of Vasco da Gama who landed at Calicut in 1498. Whereas Gujarati traders had some business in East Africa the Red Sea ports, the Persian Gulf area and parts of the Pacific Archipelago the Chettis of Coromandel and the Vaniks of Bengal traded with the countries of South-East Asia. The dominance of the Portuguese in the 16th century gave way

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to the rivalry of many European nations in eastern commerce in the 17th. Taking advantage of this situation they intensified their commercial activity in South-East Asia, and even the Philippines and posed a serious threat to the Europeans. The merchants of Surat resisted European encroachment on their commercial sphere in the Red Sea region by stopping the supply of Indian textiles to them which acted as the medium of this trade. In the 18th century the English East India Company triumphed over other European competitors and gave an incentive to the rise of the Indian middle class.

In the Mughal period the banjaras, shroffs, money-lenders, commission agents and merchants, made rapid progress. The Agrawal, Oswal, Porwal, Shrimal, Maheshwari, Vijayavargi and other people of Marwar, the Gujarati, Parsis, Khojas and Bohras of western India, Chettis and Serkails of the South and Gandhavaniks of Bengal netted the whole economy and revealed a remarkable mobility. If Nathji of Benaras wielded much influence in Gujrat, the Jagatseths of Marwar swayed the economic life of Bengal and the Nathu Kothari Chettis of the South spread their commercial activity over Ceylon, Burma, Malaya and the Philippines. The Mughal court recognized and encouraged these interests to some extent but the landed aristocracy dominating it sought to stifle and stunt them. On the other hand, the Europeans, particularly the English, took them into association as contractors, *dadni* merchants *banians*, dallals, sarrafs, *paikars*, dobashs etc. Under them some Indians also took up technical jobs as engineers, overseers, supervisors, managers, inspectors, *vakils* etc. In this new class, not only Vaiśyas, but also Brāhmaṇas, Kāyasthas, Vaidyas and Sadgopas figured and produced a new social complex.

The members of this middle class had much to gain by allying themselves with English commercial interests and nothing to lose by opposing the Mughal aristocracy. Hence we observe that they preferred the English to the Mughals. Though the jagatseth Fatehchand was zealous of his right of minting money and had some hard time with the English he normally helped in removing the misunderstanding of the Nawab and the English and his familymen advanced a loan of 12 lakhs to them in 1749. Just before the Battle of Plassey in 1757 the dealings of the Jagatseths and the English had increased. In 1782 the family of Gopaldas eclipsed the Jagatseths as bankers of the Company and his son Bhavanias supplied considerable goods to them during the invasion of Mysore in 1799 in token of which the sword of Tipu Sultan was presented to him as reward. Likewise Khayaliram of the Rai family of Benaras helped the English and in return won an estate and the title of raja bahadur from Clive. These instances show how quickly the middle class was hugging the English in preference to the Mughals.

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Mughal rule in India is noted for many splendours like the *Taj* and the *Takht-i-Taus*. Its arts and crafts and literature reveal a rare refinement and charm. Its nobility presented a model of grace and dignity. But its relation with the peasants was one of stark oppression and its attitude towards the artisans was that of condescending patronage. Hence in the later part of the seventeenth century widespread revolts of the Sikhs, Sathamis, Jats and Marathas embodying peasant unrest erupted in large parts of the country, as shown by Reisnee, Irfan Habib & others. From these turmoils the middle class emerged and brought about a new age.

IX

After 1757 the middle class began to grow into a westernized elite. Its members started living in European style. Their residences and garden-houses were built on European models. They used sofas, drawers and desks of European type. Some had as many as two hundred to three hundred chairs and could arrange big dinner parties. They had a liking for tea and brandy and watches and moved about in coaches and phaetons. One even engaged an English coachman.

Some of the middle class people, like Madan Dutta, Ramdulal Dey, Dwarka Nath Tagore, amassed huge fortunes and rose to great affluence. Ramdulal had close connections with many business houses and acted as the sole agent of the biggest English firm in Calcutta, Fairlie Fergusson & Co. besides many concerns of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. From England and China to America he earned a name for his activities. The families of Lakshmikant Majumdar, Naba Krishna Deb, the Tagores and others prospered in the same manner.

Under the impact of western ideas some of these people like Ram Mohan Roy, Dwarka Nath Tagore, Kali Nath Roy Choudhury emerged as reformists, others like Radha Kanta Dev, Gaur Mohan Vidyalankara and Bhavani Charan Banerjee struck a conservative attitude, and a group of men like Krishna Mohan Banerjee, Dokshina Ranjan Mukherjee and Rasik Krishna Mullick stood for the eradication of every thing going by the name Indian; their views being clear from a letter of Madhava Chandra Mullick to the editor of *Bengal Hurkaru*, published on October 3, 1831 that " if there is anything under the sky which I and my friends hate most, it is Hinduism ". In any case all these people had imbibed some European ideas, behaved in liberty and laissez-faire and free trade, resented the restrictions placed on trade, demanded the termination of the East India Company in 1833 but supported the activity of Indigo planters and endorsed the view of Ram Mohan Roy, published in the *Bengal Hurkaru* of December 16, 1829 that

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" the greater the intercourse with European gentlemen, the greater will be our improvement in literary, social and political affairs ".

In the first part of the 19th century the charter Act of 1813 opened the East India trade to private enterprise and encouraged the import of English goods to India. If in 1813–14, 91,800 *sicca* rupees worth of cotton goods came to Bengal from England, in 1822–23 their import was valued at 76, 77, 279 sicca rupees. At the same time the export of Bengal textiles to England fell from 46,00,000 in 1812–14 to about 3,00,000 in 1822–23 and in 1827–28 virtually came to nil. Accordingly the cloth factories of Santipur, Dacca and other places were closed in quick succession and even Indians began to prefer European products.

The ruin of Indian industries, as a result of the Industrial Revolution of England and the policy of the British rulers to exploit India for promoting it in their country, channelled the growth of the Indian commercial elite towards landlordism. The decay of industry, paralleled by the lure of land, enhanced by the Permanent Settlement of 1792, inclined the businessmen to invest their wealth in zamindaris and other types of real properties. Hence we find that the commercial entrepreneurs of the previous century became rentiers and moneylenders leading a life of extravagance in cities. This new landlord class was, however, different from the landed aristocracy of Mughal times inasmuch as its estates were not in lieu of service but as investments for purposes of income. But very soon it became stagnant and began to detest trade and commerce and look to favours and titles from English rulers. By 1857 their change was complete.

X

From 1858 the palmy days of *pax Britannica* began. In 1853 the first railway train left Bombay for Thana and by 1869, 5015 miles of railway line had been spread. In 1852 telegraph line began to be laid, within three years it was available for 3255 miles and by 1890 had been extended tenfold. Foreign trade rose from 24.81 crores in 1842 to 150.07 crores in 1882. Joint stock companies began to be quickly formed so that by 1881 their number was 177 in Bengal, 100 in Bombay, 96 in Madras, 54 in Mysore, 24 in U. P., 12 in the Punjab and 2 in C. P. In 1851 the first cotton factory was installed at Bombay but by 1876 their number had reached 47, by 1882, 62 and by 1902–3, 201. Education made rapid progress as can be gathered from the fact that in 1873 there were 55 colleges with an enrolment of 4499 students but by 1893 their number rose to 156 and strength of students 18571. These developments had important bearing on the growth of new ideas.

In 1851 the zamindars had formed the British India Association. In 1876 some of them set up the India Association. In 1885 A. D. Hume

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organized some of the zamindars in the Indian National Congress which he founded as a counterstroke to the Indian National Conference of Surendra Nath Banerjea. The Indian government considered it a safety-valve for the release of those forces which were finding expression in the radical organisation of Surendra Nath. Hence Dufferin gave its delegates a garden party. Its first presidents harped on the benefits of British rule. But its members opposed land reform and wanted the extension of Permanent Settlement over the whole country.

Side by side the educated class of a lower rung clamoured for jobs and services and claimed equality with English officers. From this salaried people came new leaders like Brahma Bandhava Upadhyaya, B. G. Tilak, B. C. Pal, Lajpatrai etc. who identified nationalism with the eradication of British rule.

At the same time an industrialist and merchant class, which began to rise in the last quarter of the century, wanted a free field for their enterprises and supported the Swadeshi campaign organized by the Congress in 1905.

But all these elements could not work together for a long period whereas the zamindars, lawyers, industrialists and professionals—it is noteworthy that of the 13839 delegates, who met at the annual sessions of the Congress from 1892 to 1909, 5442 were lawyers, 2629 were zamindars, 2091 were businessmen and the rest doctors, professors & journalists—formed the liberal camp, the middle class youth rallied round the extremist group which received some incentive from the economic misery caused by famines and epidemics and other causes.

From 1905 to 1918 the extremists eclipsed the liberals as leaders of the nationalist movement. Their attitude was militant and defiant but they looked to ancient India rather than the west for cultural inspiration.

The upper sections of the Muslims, mostly the remnants of a decrepit landed aristocracy, did not like the resurgence of the middle classes representing a revival of Hindu cultural ideals as the basis of national liberation and accordingly formed the Muslim League in 1906 as a separatist body.

From 1885 to 1905 the nationalist movement was in an upper class phase and from 1905 to 1918 it was in the middle class phase, but from 1918 began its mass phase. The socialist revolution in Russia exercised a profound influence over the people. So much was the enthusiasm created by it that in 1920, 80 Indians trekked through mountains, deserts and gorges to see Lenin in Moscow and received the revolutionary inspiration from him. Hence a ferment started in the labouring class and also seeped in the peasantry. Side by side the bourgeois industrialists, strengthened in the war period, also yearned for greater opportunities of development and effectively supported

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the swadeshi movement of the Congress. The middle class also saw more avenues of progress and advance in a free and united India projected by the Congress. The need of the hour was to unify and organize all these forces on a national footing and this Gandhi did. Inspite of the attempts of some outstanding modern historians to be little his role and even to malign work by dubbing him conservative, irrational and obscurantist, it can hardly be gainsaid that he significantly succeeded in bringing the bloated capitalist and the indifferent peasant, the high-browed professional and the indigent labourer the ivory-tower intellectual and the illiterate pedestrian on a common footing of national unity. How many scholars he brought out from their studies, how many lawyers he dragged fresh from their chambers, how many doctors he pulled from their clinics, how many mill-owners he drew from their mansions and how many peasants and labourers he moved from their huts and hovels and fields and factories—and turned them all into fearless fighters, social workers, national heroes, constructive reformers—is only amazing to recount. In this atmosphere various youth and Independence Leagues proliferated and social organizations sprang up and movements launched and all canalized towards the national struggle led by Gandhi. The Civil Disobedience Movement of the thirties was a solid demonstration of mass solidarity the like of which was seldom seen in the country.

The next phase of the nationalist movement lasted from 1934 to 1939. In it dissentient voices began to be heard. The Congress Socialist Party and Forward Bloc emerged as splinter groups. Both communism and communalism made headway. Peoples of states rose to demand their rights. The clamour for linguistic states increased. Behind all this there was a dash and clash of various economic interests. But it was hushed for the time being by the louder slogan of national freedom, which eventually came in 1947.

XI

From 1947 the dawn of development and modernization which had shimmered in nineteenth century began to enter into its noontide. The first government of free India took up the difficult but laudable task of brining about democratic socialism through a process of adjustment. Hence, naturally, it encountered a number of baffling problems of reconstruction and transformation on all planes. First, it undertook to give the *goup de grace* to the moribund landed aristocracy by asking the states to abolish landlordism. But even after the enactment of various Zamindari Abolition and Land Reform Acts and the removal of 22.5 lakh intermediaries, about one fifth of India's rural households, some 14 to 15 millions, owned no land, half of the rural households owned less than an acre, their share of land being 2% while at the upper end of the scale the uppermost 10% of the households

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owned 48% of the total area. (*National Sample Survey Report on Land Holdings*, Delhi 1958, IV, 16, pp,. 14—15). As Daniel Thorner observed in 1960 " the bigger people have held on to a lot of land and they are getting others to cultivate it for them." Daniel and Alice Thorner, *Land and Labour in India*, London 1962, p. 5). Thus there is a huge rural proletariat which is a problem before the government.

In 1950 the government set up a Planning Commission. The first Five Year plan 1951–56 had an accent on agricultural development and the Second Plan (1956–1961) was orientated towards industry while the third (1961–66) laid emphasis on transportation and communication. Though ideals always lag behind realities it would be uncharitable to state that they all fell to the ground and achieved nothing. Indusrial production rose from 100 in 1956 to 158.2 in 1963 and per capita income registered a slow but steady growth of 2% an year from 1951 to 1961. (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1964 *Yearbook*, pp 168–174). Yet it is undoubted that the growth is insignificant as compared to 102% of Japan. The snags have been the poor results of community Development Programmes and the abandonment of collective farming scheme as well as a 80 million increase in population in the decade 1951–61.

The government also paid heed to social change and progress and enacted several laws to step it up. The Hindu Marriage Validating Act of 1949 removed the bonds of caste from the field of marriage. The Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 provided for the registration of marriages instead of old ceremonies, perpetuating communal differences, made polygamy an offence punishable at law and gave the facility of divorce in certain circumstances. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 made the right of inheritance of daughters equal to that of sons and removed all limitations from it. Modern taxation policies tend to break up the Hindu joint families into small units. However, these changes are slow and in some cases illusory.

India is undoubtedly far from socialism being wedded to the policy of gradualist change, voluntary adjustment and mutual understanding which are the essence of democracy. Whether socialism and democracy act as happy partners or uneasy bed-fellows remains to be seen.

XII

In this address I have laid down the scheme of dividing Indian history into ten periods representing distinctive tendencies in the socio-economic evolution of the people. This scheme must of necessity be tentative, sweeping and broad intended only to highlight the rhythm of social development in India. The periods comprising it many times overlap and the tendencies

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they represent cut across chronological limits and vary from region to region, for to generalize about a country of such tremendous diversity as India is not only baffling but also sometimes unrealistic. Yet to map out a field of study some landmarks have to be fixed and some prominent features spotted, howsoever elusive they may be. At times we have to choose between several sets of landmarks and their respective features : In the present attempt, which is illustrative rather than exhaustive, one set of landmarks and features has been selected to emphasize a particular approach which is the crying need of the day. It is hoped that scholars would improve on it by devoting themselves to the investigation of what is really the history of the Indian people.

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ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

PRSIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

B. B. LAL

Dear colleagues,

I am indeed beholden to you and to the organizers of the All-India Oriental Conference for asking me to preside over the Archaeology Section of the current session. In fact, being a very infrequent conference-goer, I feel all the more that you have done me a very signal honour by extending the invitation to me. For this I shall ever remain grateful to you. I sincerely wish I were worthy of this high distinction and capable of discharging the responsibilities entrusted to me. However, I have every hope that, generous as you have been, you will forgive my draw-backs and extend your utmost co-operation for making our deliberations a real success.

From the concerned publication I find that my predecessor in this chair gave you, in 1966, a general account of India's past, from the Stone Age down to the early historical times. I will not, therefore, go in for a similar exercise. But I am sure you will be interested in being told something about the more outstanding archaeological discoveries made since 1966, particularly because not much has been published about them during these two years. I would, therefore, attempt a brief account of such discoveries, bringing out, as far as possible, their significance. In this context, it may straightway be added that these discoveries are not the result of the efforts of any single organization but of many, individually or jointly: Archaeological Survey of India, State Departments of Archaeology, Universities and Research institutes, and some foreign expeditions. For obvious reasons, however, it would not be possible to refer to the concerned organizations individually in the brief summary that follows.

To begin with the Stone Ages. During the years under review, Early Stone Age tools were found in two altogether new areas, viz. Assam and Kutch. In Assam, they came from a place called Rongdu in District Garo Hills and comprised choppers and scrapers which, incidentally, fit very well into the sub-Himalayan tradition of palaeolithic tool-typology. The Kutch tools, falling in line with the peninsular handaxe-cleaver tradition, come from a gravel-deposit of the Bhuki river, near Angia, 50 km. west-north-west of

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Bhuj. All this shows that palaeoliths may still be expected in areas where they have not been found so far, provided, of course, the raw material was locally available to the Stone Ageman.

This man, however, has been eluding us all these years, but the day may not be far off when we may be able to say a 'hello' to him. An intensive search for him is underway in the sub-Himalayan region of the Punjab and Himachal Pradesh. In this very area attempts are also being made to correlate the tool-bearing river-terraces with glacial and interglacial phases known to have occurred during the Pleistocene. When this work is completed, the sub-Himalayan Stone Age industries would be placed in an international time-sequence. A noteworthy discovery in this region was that of the handaxe-cleaver industry which, may it be recalled, did not occur at sites yielding the typical chopper-chopping-tool complex.

In Uttar Pradesh, many new sites, variously of Early, Middle and Late Stone Ages, were discovered, besides painting-bearing rock-shelters. The most noteworthy, however, was the discovery, in the Belan valley, District Allahabad, of a large number of fossil remains of animals, many of which are now extinct. These lay in Pleistocene deposits which also yielded Stone Age tools. Further work in the area is likely to solve many a knotty problem of the Stone Age.

Near Nevasa, on the bank of the Pravara in District Ahmadnagar, Maharashtra, a very laudable attempt has been made to dig up horizontally an Early Stone Age site. The work is expected to yield much-needed information on the living conditions and habits of the palaeolithic man.

To pass on to the protohistoric period. Continued excavation at Kalibangan, District Ganganagar, Rajasthan, revealed two noteworthy features of the Harappan settlement. It may be recalled that, as at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, the settlement at Kalibangan is broadly divisible into two parts, a western one called the 'citadel' and an eastern one called the 'lower town'. While at Mohenjodaro and Harappa a defence wall was noted around the citadel, at Kalibangan a further feature, in addition to the defence wall, has been observed. It is now clear that the citadel was partitioned into two almost equal sectors, northern and southern. Of these, the southern sector contained a series of mud-brick platforms with passages in between them all as also between them and the enclosing defence wall. These platforms seem to have been used for specific purposes: in one case, the presence on the platform of a well, a few baths and a series of 'fire-altars', each with a vertical stele, indicated ritualistic use. Remnants of what looked like an air-duct in another case suggested the possibility of there having been once a granary. In the northern sector of the citadel there were no platforms,

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but blocks of houses. It is likely, though not proved, that in these houses dwelt the elite or the religious personnel who administered this provincial capital of the Indus empire.

The other important discovery at Kalibangan was that of a mud-brick wall enclosing the 'lower town'. No such wall, may it be stated, had been noted at Mohenjo-daro, whereas at Harappa hardly any excavation worth the name had been carried out at the corresponding town-site. Perhaps it may not be out of place to recall that during earlier years a fortified pre-Harappan settlement had also been identified and partially excavated below the citadel mound at Kalibangan, which threw back the antiquity of civilization in the sub-continent to the beginning of the third millennium B. C.

In the upper Gaṅgā valley a few more Copper Hoards were found. At one of the sites, Baharia, about 50 km. south-west of Shahjahanpur, a subsequent examination revealed the occurrence of the Ochre Colour Ware. Thus, though direct evidence of the association of this ware with the hoards may still be lacking, circumstantial evidence is mounting up to suggest that this may have been the case.

A detailed examination of several Ochre Colour Ware sites, E. G. Jhinjhana, Nasirpur, Noh, Hastinapura, Atranji-Khera, Ahichchhatra, etc., revealed some very striking features. At none of these sites did the deposit containing the Ochre Colour Ware show any sign of a regular habitation, viz. ash, charcoal, flooring, etc. Further, throughout the thickness of the deposit, which ranged from ½ to 1½ metres, the potsherds occurred only sporadically. Above all, the sherd-bearing yellowish-brown earth imperceptibly merged into the natural soil below it. All these factors indicate that the concerned deposits are not normal habitational ones. If that be so, what could be the agency of the deposition? In the case of Atranji-Khera it has been suggested by an expert geologist that a flood in the neighbouring river may have been responsible for such a situation. If this turns out to be the case in respect of the other sites as well, the flood is bound to be nothing less than a 'deluge' covering nearly 60,000 square kilometres of the-upper-Gaṅgā valley. Chronologically, this event may have to be placed somewhere in the first half of the second millennium B. C. As to what would be the repercussion of the occurrence of such a deluge on the traditional history of northern India it still remains to be seen.

Moving southwards, the excavation at Kaytha, District Ujjain, Madhya Pradesh, revealed a sequence of cultures going back to *circa* 2000 B. C. It would give to Kaytha the credit of being the earliest protohistoric site so far known in the region. The site has also the unique distinction of yielding, in

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a downward sequence, many of the well-known wares : Northern Black Polished ware, Painted Grey Ware, Malwa ware, painted black-and-red ware, and a black-painted sturdy red ware which may have 'something to do' with the Harappan ware of western India.

With a view to finding out the extension of the Harappa Culture further to the south, explorations vere carried out on the coastal plains of Districts Broach, Surat, Daman, etc. The survey brought to light not only some late Harappan sites but also a new Middle and Late Stone Age ones.

Further south, excavations at Paiyampalli in District North Arcot, Madras State, revealed a notable sequence of neolithic-megalithic cultures.

In eastern India, at Gauhati, Assam, a terracotta 'boat' measuring about 4 metres in length, a metre in width and about 1/3 metre in depth, was discovered on a hill-slope, about a metre below the surface. This is an altogether new kind of find and its cultural association and chronological horizon yet remain to be determined.

Though admittedly not much has been done in the realm of historical archaeology during the past two years, whatever little has been done is of significance. In the first place, mention must be made of the excavation at Antichak, District Bhagalpur, Bihar, which site is supposed to contain the remains of the famous university of Vikramaśilā. While the university-area has yet to be identified, the excavation brought to light a terraced *stūpa*, there being excellent terracotta plaques, depicting Buddhistic and other themes, along the walls of the lowermost terrace.

In central India, excavation was resumed at Tripuri, on the banks of the Narmada. Amongst the finds from the site, particular mention may be made of a round cast copper coin bearing the legend "Tri pu ri" in Brāhmī characters of the second century B. C., which evidently refers to the *janapada* of that name. The other finds include six sealings of clay, on which occur the names of two kings, Śivabodhi and Vasubodi, of a hitherto unknown dynasty. On palaeographic grounds, the sealings may be dated to the second-third century A. D.

At Pauni, District Bhandara, Maharashtra, have come to light some railings, evidently of a Buddhist *stūpa*, ascribable to the Suṅga period on the basis of the sculptures and inscriptions on them. The *stūpa*, when excavated, is likely to reveal valuable architectural details which, unfortunately, were not available in respect of the Suṅga *stūpa* at Bharhut.

Excavation was carried out at another place in Maharashtra, called Paunar, which is thought to have been the capital of the Vākāṭakas. Going back to a few centuries before Christ, the site did yield remains of the Vākāṭ-

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aka period also, but whether it was or not the capital still remains to be established.

As an epilogue to the foregoing may I repeat what I stated elsewhere some time ago, namely–

'What has been done is but a part
Of what remains - things all apart.
Let not a praise then make us burst,
Complacency the spade nor rust.'

Thus, while it may be true that the country's past is somewhat more intelligible today than it was, say, some twenty years ago, because of the efforts made by you all, it must at the same time be frankly admitted that what has been done cannot be regarded as more than a mere drop in the ocean. Indeed, the area of our ignorance is many many times more than that of our knowledge, and one may very easily spend the rest of the day in enumerating the items one does not know. I shall refrain from that, but would certainly like to draw the attention of this learned audience to one lacuna which has been agitating my mind for the past many years, viz. lack of correlation between our ancient literature and tradition on the one hand and archaeology on the other. Believe me when I say that I avoid disclosing my identity to my neighbours in a railway train or a 'plane, because of the fear that I might be put certain questions which it may be almost impossible for me to answer. If by any chance, through a baggage-tag here or a label on a book or a file there, the neighbour comes to know of my identity, he or she begins to enquire, and very rightly too: 'What were the types of weapons used in the Mahābhārata battle? Have you found any in your excavations?'.. 'I suppose you have succeeded in identifying the palaces where the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas lived. Have'nt you? And the lac-house wherein the former made an attempt to burn the latter?'.. 'Is the present Ayodhya the same as that mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa?* But I don't see anything there, except a few temples and a mosque all of which appear to me to be almost recent..... 'Just the other day I picked up the history-book which my daughter reads. It says that the Indus Civilization was destroyed by the Aryans who came to India from outside. Do you think this is correct? Are'nt the Aryans the sons of the soil?'.. 'And what about the script written on the Indus seals? It appears to be quite strange to me. But I suppose you are freely able to read it. Are'nt you?'..And so on. I sum up courage to answer now and then, but the whole burden of my humdrum reply remains: 'I am afraid not much work has so far been done in this direction.'.. 'Perhaps the literary descriptions are exaggerated.'.. 'May be some of the structures were of wood and

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have since perished.'..I am sure many of you have had similar encounters. And I am further sure that you too had to hang your heads in shame as I had to : in any case, I did have to.

Should this situation be allowed to remain as it is? Or should some bold and practical steps be taken to tackle the problem? Over a decade ago, I tried to work on one aspect of the problem, by exploring sites associated with the Mahābhārata story. Some headway was made. A culture labelled as the Painted Grey Ware Culture was identified in the lower levels of most of the Mahābhārata sites. But the attempt was mere flicker. What is needed is a steady light-a beacon light. For then alone can these 'Dark Ages' be lighted. This can be achieved only by the cooperative effort of those fully versed in ancient literature on the one hand and those capable of carrying out first-rate excavation and interpreting the archaeological evidence so obtained, on the other. The Archaeological Survey of India is saddled with multifarious functions and cannot at present be expected to tackle this problem on any large scale. Universities are in a somewhat better position. But even there the professors and lecturers are so much busy with teaching that they cannot give exclusive attention to this kind of work which is likely to take several years–may be half-a-century, who knows? What, then, is the way out? I have given the fullest thought to the problem and feel that it is high time that a separate project-maybe an Institute-was started avowedly for this purpose, viz. correlation of Ancient Indian literature and Archaeology. This does not mean, let it be made amply clear, that we should force a correlation, Far from it! Let us impartially sift the literary data, separate the chaff from the wheat and then project our explorations and excavations to check up the truth. Seeing is believing, and unless we produce tangible evidence regarding the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the Vedas, nobody is going to be convinced of what we may have to say, Let us hereafter march with the Vedas in one hand and spade in the other, and, of course, God overhead.

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INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

S. N. GAJENDRAGADKAR

MR. PRESIDENT AND FRIENDS,

I need not say that I deem it a great honour that I should be invited by the All-India Oriental Conference to preside over the Linguistics Section of the 24th Session here at Varanasi. Please allow me to express my sincere thanks to the members of the Executive Council for electing me to this post of honour and also responsibility. To say that I am not worthy of this honour is to stress the obvious. But the confidence you have placed in me and the assurance I have of your help and guidance prompts me to undertake this responsibility and I hope to acquit myself of duties fairly creditably.

Linguistics in the last 20 years has advanced at a relentless pace. It has also become truly international in the sense that significant contributions to it are being made from all continents. It has become much more inter-disciplinary than any other study from amongst the social sciences or the humanities. In addition to languages it touches on diverse branches of study like psychology, philosophy, mathematics, statistics. Such a development is in a sense quite natural because language is an activity with which all disciplines are concerned, directly or indirectly. This development is truly staggering. Newer approaches in the study of languages, different points of view in presenting various hierarchies of language like phonology and grammar have resulted in quite a large number of different theories in respect of the structure of language. For seeking greater precision in the formulation of grammatical theories and keener insight into the nature of language, the Linguist is gradually relying more and more on mathematics (modern) and statistics. *Algebraic linguistics* is now a recognized branch of study which treats language to a purely formal analysis relying on the criterion of Distribution. Actually linguistic studies have gone even beyond this. Some linguists were not satisfied with the taxonomic approach to describing a language because according to them it merely catalogued the data, re-ordered it and put it in different slots. It may explain the available elements in the data but cannot predict the maximum elements and sequences that are possible but are not found in the data. Theoreticians like CHOMSKEY, therefore, attempted a

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comprehensive theory of language. This resulted in Generative Grammar. So Linguists now have started taking interest in computer programming and are making a study of 'Regular Languages'. Formulation of theories and the development of necessary machinery for Finite state, context free and context sensitive grammars is now a matter of serious study for linguists also. Those who are interested in the field have to understand and master the complicated procedures involved in the working of technical devices, the processing of the data and reading the results of the experiments.

All this shows that the connotation of the term 'Linguistics' has gone much beyond what it was 20 years ago. At that time when the term science was applied to linguistics, it was only meant that this discipline employs a scientific method for theory construction and validation i.e. the theories proposed and the conclusions arrived at are free from internal contradictions and are valid for the available data. The linguists were mainly concerned with studying the natural languages in all their complexity and diversity, spoken all the world over from the synchronic, diachronic and comparative points of view. The aim was to study this vast material scientifically i.e. free from dogmatism and bias on definite principles and methodology rigorously applied and ever ready to change the conclusions whenever additional data demanded it. Here linguistics was essentially a social science and the only branch which needed laboratory experiments and precise measurements was phonetics, Articulatory and Accoustic. The intimate relationship of linguistics to symbolic logic and to psychology was readily agreed to by linguists then. Language is a part of semiotics. Similarly since Language is verbal behaviour, a psychological approach to it both in theory and technique came to be accepted as a legitimate activity. So psycholinguistics got its due place in Linguistics. One must also remember that both semiotics and psycholinguistics are social sciences and therefore the tools and the techniques of social sciences are generally speaking adequate here. These two new disciplines again do not need any special equipment which is beyond the capacity of a devoted student of social sciences.

But the case of Mathematical Linguistics, particularly computer programming is a different piece of cake. Therefore it is not inappropriate to enquire whether this study is a legitimate part of linguistics. This branch of study is mainly concerned with generating 'Regular Languages,' through computers. A study of this kind, it is obvious, needs a good equipment in Modern Algebra, some knowledge of physics and of the general working of computers. If such a study can help us in having a better insight into natural languages and in making precise formulations about them, it can claim a legitimate place in linguistics. Today it is mainly concerned with syntax but

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shortly it may deal with phonological problems also. There is no doubt that its findings give us a better idea about syntax in natural languages. It is also true that the difficulties and the problems which arise in such programming can have a reference to natural languages and to that extent our insight into natural languages will be clearer. Apart from fringe benefits like acting as a time saving device for collecting cognates, measuring frequencies etc. or clarifying and if needed rectifying our conceptions in phonetics (nature of a syllable, retroflex being a fricative and not a stop) computer programming might give us a good idea of the working of the human speakers' brain, observe the kinds of devices he uses to generate sentences from the language and to that extent predict the future linguistic behaviour of people. By generating infinite sentences you may also get some idea about the nesting and recursive properties of natural languages. One must, however, remember that the presentation of grammar rules is through algebraic notations and by way of theorems and corollaries i.e. it is mainly expressed in the framework of mathematics.

It seems that today at least mathematical linguistics is more an interdisciplinary study in which scientists trained in computer programming have a major role to play. The question is whether this study is a branch of linguistics as a social science or is to be considered as a separate science in which linguistics have an interest and in the rapid development of which they must play their part. This is not a doctrinaire or theoretical question. It is very practical and our answer to it must be reflected in the organisation of the syllabus in linguistics in various universities. It cannot be denied that almost all linguistics teachers belong to the field of Humanities and in all universities Linguistics is open, primarily if not only, to students from the Humanities or the social sciences. The courses are rarely geared to natural or physical sciences and hence if Mathematical Linguistics is a legitimate branch of linguistics, our courses have to be so organised as to offer such of the students who want it, adequate training in modern mathematics and basic ideas of such programming. May be the student material will have to be drawn from other faculties.

In the early stages of Linguistic studies there were two aspects of it which had caused some misunderstanding. One was with reference to the place of semantics in the study of Modern Linguistics and the other was the new Language Teaching Methods eloquently advocated by some modern linguisticians. The avoidance of semantic problems by American linguists particularly the structuralists, was much misunderstood. It was described by I. A. RICHARDS as 'panic stricken'. He in fact had said "the hostility and contempt shown for those who enjoy reflecting about meanings

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and the disdainful snoots they still emit against mentalism need rather more than accounting for." Such observations may be of a polemic nature but they indicate the amount of misunderstanding it had caused. Fortunately the situation has changed and semantics is now recognised by linguisticians all over as an important branch of Linguistics. Meaning now has become the concern of Linguistics. Various aspects of its study like stylistics, measurement of meaning are being seriously pursued. It may be true as CHOMSKEY believes that semantic criteria of analysis may not be pertinent or useful to grammar, still a return to the structural study of meaning is a welcome thing and will pay large dividends to Linguistics.

It is in the sphere of Language Teaching Methods that a dichotomy like Traditionalism vs. Modernism had particularly developed. While those who were teaching languages in the traditional methods considered this a fad, the lignuisticians who advocated the new methods tested through ASTP programming thought them as a panacea for all the weaknesses and ills of language teaching. Now that the initial flush enthusiasm is over and there is time for real evaluation of the new methods, it is gradually being realised that the new methods in Language Teaching are not so revolutionary after all. It is certainly true the new method (Audio-lingual) exploits in teaching, numerous lessons learnt from disciplines like philosophy, psychology and also utilises a great deal of additional knowledge available by structural and contrastive work done on Languages and use laboratory equipment and audio-visual methods on great scale. Though this is a distinct gain on old methods, certain elements in the traditional methods can be helpful. Some of the basic assumptions like ' speech is primary and writing secondary ' need not be accepted as gospel truth. After all whether it is so or not would depend upon the goal of Language Teaching. If the goal is merely to acquire ability to read and understand a foreign language—many of us want just that—then may be all the M. L. T. methods in their entirety need not be employed. Study of the phonology of that foreign language and its contrast with the mother tongue need not be undertaken. Then again from the point of literature, a possible defect of this Method is that it gives a superficial appreciation of literary values and does not make him sensitive to the beauties of literature. A Language Teaching Method which draws on both can truly be considered as an advance. Therefore there is no need now for Language Teachers and Linguisticians to walk on opposite foot-paths of the same road. They certainly can march side by side, hand in hand. The latest developments in Grammar theories also are bound to affect L. T. Methods. CHOMSKEY, the ächärya (founder) of the new school believes that the foreign language teaching which is going on now, particularly in the USA

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is based on the assumption that Language is really a habit-structure, it is a system of skills and ought to be taught by a drill and by formation of stimulus-response associations. He, therefore, feels that this is a wrong method of teaching language. Language is not a habit structure, it has a kind of creative property and is based on abstract formal principles and operations of a complex nature. He in fact goes on to say that if the present method of L. teaching works, it is an accident for some other reason. CHOMSKEY suggests that a teaching programme must give free play to those creative principles which humans bring to the process of language learning. An experiment based on this point of view has got to be tried and its value assessed. What is very interesting here is CHOMSKEY's view that the classical literary education—so much decried during last 20 years—was really on the right track and fits much more closely to his feeling about the nature of Language than does the modern Linguistic approach with its emphasis on habit and skill and pronunciation ability. I would like to mention in this context a controlled experiment called 'An extended class room experimentation with varied sequencing of the four skills in German Instruction conducted by GEORGE A. C. SHERER and MICHAEL WORTHEIMER to compare the Traditional Teaching Method (Grammar Translation Method) with the Audio-lingual one. Broadly speaking, the analysis of the results indicates that in writing, ability of students who have studied the traditional way exceeded that of the other batch at the end of first year and maintained superiority through the second. In reading, this ability was superior in the 1st year but the difference disappeared at the end of 2nd year. But for speaking and listening the Audio-lingual method was found to be better. The new method also appears to produce more desirable attitudes and better direct association.

One of the difficulties experienced by the students of Linguistics is the rapid growth in the formulation of different, at times even conflicting terminologies. In a subject which is advancing at such a speed and touching diverse fields of knowledge, it is expected that newer technical words need to be coined. This is all the more necessary to make the research techniques explicit and our findings precise. But even conceding this, one feels that there is quite an amount of duplication if not multiplication which can be avoided. One need not coin a new term only to show that one comes from a different region or a different school of thought unless there is a special reason for it. Why e.g. should sign and symbol mean different things to different linguists? The same can be said about 'Metalanguage', 'Expression and Content', 'Function' and 'Paradigm' etc. Both CHOMSKEY and HJELMSLEV use the term transformation but in quite a different sense. Differences of emphasis and approach could be accommodated by means of short

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necessary explanations. This raises another point which is quite relevant to us in India. Whatever be our wish in the matter, it is obvious that in coming years students are bound to rely more and more on books written in Indian languages. In some places at least, the equipment of students in English is not adequate enough to understand fully books on Linguistics written in English. Then again in a course of few years, the medium of instruction in many universities is bound to be the state language. It is therefore quite natural that research work and text books in particular in Linguistics have got to be written in Indian languages by competent scholars. Of course such an endeavour must not suffer in quality at the cost of the language. Here comes the question of technical terminology. Apart from perhaps a very few who believe that even in a book written in an Indian language the technical terminology should be English, the feeling, by and large, is that English terminology will not be helpful and can be substituted by the Indian one. This is not difficult because Sanskrit-based terminology is available for most of the branches of Linguistics, except the very recent ones. In fact books written in regional languages do employ such a terminology. But here also there is a case for uniformity. We do notice that different authors use different terms for the same concepts e.g. रूप, पदिम, मर्पिम for a morpheme, वर्ण, ध्वनिग्राम, स्वनिम for a phoneme etc. Even if each of these terms is equally legitimate and useful, it would be worthwhile if all or most of the languages adopt one set of terms. If the terminology which is prepared by the Government of India is accepted by all, it simplifies matters. If we feel it is not satisfactory, it should not be difficult for teachers of Linguistics to come together and adopt one set of technical terms. This will be a great help and make linguistic inter-regional communication easy and fruitful.

Present State of Linguistics in Indian Universities

Though the discipline in its modern form was introduced into our academic life comparatively late, its representation in our universities is growing very rapidly. This was principally due to the impetus given to linguistic studies by the Summer Schools and Winter Seminars made possible by the munificent grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and the subsequent interest taken in the project by the U. G. C. If 15 years back there were only two centres of Linguistic Studies in India, today most of the universities have linguistic departments of varying sizes—major or minor. Certain advanced centres of linguistic studies have also been established where research work in synchronic, diachronic and applied linguistics is being seriously pursued. In many language courses also linguistics is introduced by way of

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a paper or two. In some universities, this discipline is used to build bridges between linguistics and the study of literature, particularly between linguistics and the study of English as a foreign language. If linguistics is still a suspect here and linguistician a questionable creature—there is no doubt that it was so in early stages at least—such inter-disciplinary contacts and free mutual discussions will go a long way in clearing the air. Of course this phenomenon was not restricted to India alone. In the early period of linguistic studies in Europe also, the classical and modern language teachers and the teachers of modern linguistics took quite a bit of time to understand and appreciate mutual points of view. A convert to a new faith or a discipline is likely to be too zealous in the initial stage.

This is perhaps the proper place to examine the utility of summer schools in the present context. It is of course true that the summer schools held every year in different parts of India introduced modern linguistics to India in a big way, attracted quite a large number of teachers and students to it who studied the new science with devotion and sincerity and placed it on the academic map of India. Nearly all the teachers who man the departments in different universities have been associated with the summer schools for long and quite a few are in fact the products of it. A number of language teachers—classical and modern—also got their initiation into this science and thereby obtained a better insight into the structure of language. Now when linguistics, at least in its essentials, is taught in most of the universities, it is for consideration whether the summer schools should be held in the same way or some reorganisation of it is called for. It is pretty obvious that there is no need to introduce linguistics now to our academic community. The job is already done. The need now is not to teach it to large numbers but to consolidate and develop the studies which have already taken root. Like many other sciences, linguistics as said earlier is advancing at a staggering speed and even to keep pace with it, is a job. In view of this, would it not be more fruitful if we have in different parts of India a few centres where advanced training is given in various branches of linguistics? It should even be possible for each centre to choose for specialised instruction a particular branch or a point of view, depending on the availability of teachers and the nature of work going on in the neighbouring universities. One centre may concern itself with diachronic studies, another will give courses in mathematical linguistics. Modern trends in structural linguistics in Europe and America, and psycholinguistics can be some of the other subjects for such schools. Revival of the institution of winter seminars in which research papers on different aspects are read and discussed by competent teachers will go a long way in developing linguistic studies in India on proper lines.

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Research Work in Indian Universities

In the various universities where there are departments of Linguistics, research work is mainly being done in the following fields :

(1) Dialectology.

(2) Descriptive and contrastive studies in different Indian languages.

(3) Historical development of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages.

(4) Preparing Language Teaching Material and Readers in modern Indian languages.

The Annamalai Advanced Centre of Linguistics has undertaken a dialect survey of Tamilnad which includes a study of Tamil as well as non-Dravidian dialects spoken in the Dravidian area. DR. GHATAGE of the Poona University is engaged in a survey of Marathi Dialects on behalf of the Maharashtra State Board for Language and Literature. Four Monographs are already published. A similar survey for the Dialects of Marathi spoken in and around Bombay is planned by the Linguistics Department at Bombay and a Monograph on 'East Indian Christian Dialect' is ready for publication. A survey on similar lines for dialects of Kannada is being carried out at the Deccan College, Poona, and two Monographs in the series have been published so far. These surveys are being done on modern structural lines and when completed would be able to record most of the dialect material of the languages concerned. The Chicago University under the directorship of DR. ZIDE is making a study of Munda languages. Work in Tibeto-Burman family is being done at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study at Simla. The Punjabi University has planned a linguistic survey of Punjabi to record the linguistic variations of the language in the different areas. It proposes to publish a linguistics atlas with about 1000 maps and to bring out monographs containing phonological descriptions and structural grammars for each speech. It intends to take into account the phenomenon of caste dialects and language contact.

It is obvious that this work on dialects is both important and urgent. The linguistic survey of India completed by GRIERSON in 1927 has become hopelessly out of date. Quite a number of new dialects have now come to light which need recording and study. The census of 1961 points out that the linguistic material in the country is far richer than was envisaged by GRIERSON. It, in fact, records 1549 mother tongues as againsr 800 of GRIERSON. This matter is urgent because unless immediately recorded and studied some of these dialects are likely to be lost. A case in point is the Pathare

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Prabhu Dialect. It was spoken by the Pathare Prabhu community, one of the earliest settled in Bombay. The dialect has nearly died out and it is almost impossible to get an informant to record it. Then again GRIERSON's work suffered from some obvious limitations. It was planned and executed by Government agency and competent personnel trained in Dialectology and Phonetics was not available. It is natural therefore that a number of his generalisations do not stand the test of scientific methodology. It is therefore proper that a great deal is now being done to collect and scientifically record the vast dialect material. Though the general framework of the work in different universities is basically the same, there are bound to be material differences both in objectives and methodology. If different universities do it differently, there is likely to be a linguistic chaos. A centrally co-ordinated effort, I think, is a desideratum.

Preparation of authoritative dictionaries of regional languages is another activity undertaken by the different universities. That there is a need for such dictionaries prepared on modern scientific lines is obvious but it is the South which seems to be more alive to it. Annamalai University Advanced Centre has a bilingual dictionary project. Similar projects have been planned at the Kerala and Mysore Universities for Malayalam and Kannada respectively. Sri Venkateswara University is preparing an *English-Telugu Dictionary* and is expected to be published by 1970. In the Osmania University, work is in progress on a *Modern Telugu-English Dictionary*. This also is to be published by 1970. A *Telugu Dialect Dictionary of Occupational Terms*, Vol. II prepared by Dr. B. KRISHNAMURTI is part of the project of the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi. The Kurukshetra University has in hand the preparation of Bangru Lexicon. Graded conversational readers in modern languages are also prepared in some universities as contribution towards Language Teaching material. Tamil, Telugu, Marathi, Bengali are some of the languages in which such readers are already available.

One should not forget in this context the work which is being done by the Language Directorates set up in different States. They are primarily concerned with fixing up the terminology for the different branches of administration, preparing and publishing administrative lexicons in state languages, translations of standard works and teaching the state knowledge to those in service who do not know it. This work in many places is done with the co-operation of experts and linguisticians. A work of this kind can be considered as complimentary to the research done in the university departments and in fact a more close contact between the two would benefit both.

This is a very rough and may be incomplete sketch of the kind of work which is being done in various universities in India. If there are any

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serious omissions in this survey—possibly there are—they undoubtedly are due to my inadequacy and incompetence.

These monographs on different dialects and a large number of Ph. D. dissertations on languages are structural studies, employing either a standard four-level model or a transformational or Halliday one. This is done with the help of an informant or two and the assumption is that such a linguistic analysis in a structural form gives you a correct idea of the language/dialect. The informant technique is based on the supposition that the language under study is homogeneous which it most certainly is not and that other differences of tempo, caste, register, temper etc. are not significant. Another point for consideration is whether the same structural model should be utilised for all languages—those with a long rich literary tradition and others which do not have such a tradition. If in the study of a language which has a long written literary tradition, a certain amount of Historical and Comparative data is included, would it not give us a better idea of the language under study? In other words the linguists have to examine whether the structural analysis of the two types of languages should not be differently done. The purely synchronic-diachronic dichotomy and the strict adherence to former may not be quite appropriate in the case of a literary language.

A few general remarks about the research work done in India may not be out of place here. I would like to emphasise here that these remarks are purely personal and are likely to be wrong or ill-founded.

Most of the research done in India is in models and framework made known by the work done abroad. Our theoretical contribution to modern Linguistics is very little. Reasons for this are not far to seek. Linguistics in India suffers from the sharp distinction between Arts and Sciences. Nearly all the Indian Linguistics are from one of the Arts faculties (classics, modern languages or English). Even as an independent department, linguistics is organised as one of the 'Arts' and quite often within one or the other language department. Therefore the students of linguistics have no opportunity to get a basic training in allied sciences like Modern Logic, Mathematics, or Psychology. This, in my judgement, is a reason why we have not been able to contribute anything in inter-disciplinary studies like Social linguistics, Mathematical linguistics etc. Another reason is that our enthusiasm to substantially depend on the theoretical framework of foreign countries and our insistence on utilising more recent or modern models has made us ignore and not fully utilise the older models with the result that some of our work appears superficial. One way by which we can really contribute to linguistic studies is by making a serious attempt to build up our own approach to

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linguistic problems. These should be closely associated with the older traditions. A mere graft of new things is not likely to survive long.

Some suggestions to remedy the situation can be indicated :

1. Linguistics departments in the universities have to be properly formulated. Its independent status must be recognised without which linguistics cannot make a useful contribution.
2. Looking into the different ramifications of the subject and its close contact with disciplines spread over a large number of different faculties like natural and physical sciences, social sciences etc., a wider latitude should be given for the entrance to linguistic courses. It would be fruitful to have for the diploma courses students from all the faculties, consistent of course with the technical requirements of the university.
3. Shorter courses extending over 10-15 lectures should be organised by the Linguistics Departments for students from other faculties and we should legitimately expect other faculties also to institute similar courses suitable to our needs. Such inter-disciplinary contacts would be mutually beneficial.
4. Another way of putting in more life into Linguistic Studies and bringing them in contact with students of philology and literature, is to emphasise its close connection with stylistics and semantics. These two branches of linguistic studies are rather ignored in India and it is time we take these up. In fact there are already indications that modern linguistics abroad is extending the scope of Linguistic Studies to include this. Semantic theory in the field of grammar and stylistic variations as different kinds of language registers are engaging the attention of linguisticians. This is one field where Indian linguistics can make a useful contribution.
5. As is wellknown, India has a continuous grammatical tradition from hoary past extending over about 2000 years producing a phenomenally voluminous literature. We do have surveys of this literature and histories of some of its aspects. But all this work is done purely from literary or technical points of view. Very little has been done to look at this vast literature from linguistic point of view. To

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examine and assess this literature and rescue the grains of linguistic thoughts lying embedded in it is a task worth undertaking. It is bound to yield rich dividends.

An address of this kind is expected to include a brief report on the work done by Indian Linguists during the last two years. Publications on 'Indian Linguistics' by outside scholars also find a legitimate place here. This address, I am afraid, is getting unduly long and I have no desire to strain your patience to the breaking point. I may therefore be permitted to make this report as brief as possible principally confining myself to books. If there are any omissions in this review, they should be attributed to the limitations of my interests and lack of sufficient industry. By no means will it be wilful.

The present period is marked by a renewed interest in Pāṇinī. Students of Veda and modern linguisticians alike have come to realise the value of this 'monumental work of human intelligence.' Vedic scholars have been gradually realising the importance of *Pāṇini's aṣṭādhyāyī* for vedic exegesis and are utilising Pāṇini more and more for the interpretation of the *Ṛgveda*. It is from that point of view that one welcomes Dr. G. V. DEVASTHALI's *Anubandhas of Pāṇini* and the '*Phiṭ sūtras of Śāntanava*' published by the Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit, Poona University. Dr. S.M. KATRE's *Pāṇinian Studies I* which contains an alphabetical index of Pāṇini sūtras followed by a text of धातुपाठ, roots of धातुपाठ with the alphabetical order together with the definitions and his *Dictionary of Pāṇini I* are a distinct help to the study of Pāṇini. The latter book deals with the vocabulary of Pāṇini and includes actual words employed by Pāṇini in the framing of the sūtras including the technical terms, words which are formed directly from the elements supplied by the sūtras and forms quoted in the *Vṛtti* of *Kāśikā* along with the explanations in English. We are also happy to note that the work of editing the *Kāśikā Vṛtti* with *Nyāsa* and *Padamanjiri ṭīkās* is now complete. The 15th part of the 'Etudes Vediques et Pāṇineennes' by RENOU which was out in 1966 brings to a close the series of Monographic Studies started in 1955. The whole series is a tribute to the scholarship, industry and tenacity of that French savant. The Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institution, Poona, deserves our thanks for publishing the critical edition of शब्दरत्न (on प्रौढमनोरमा) by VENKATESH LAXMAN JOSHI Shastri. This work which is an important contribution to grammar in the navya-vyākaraṇa tradition is a good addition to the available literature in Sanskrit linguistics. A work on Pāṇini from a modern linguistic point of view is 'The Descriptive Technique of Pāṇini-An Introduction' by Dr. VIDYANIWAS MISRA. This is a study of Pāṇini in the framework of modern Descriptive Linguistics using

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the terminology of this science. The author examines Pāṇini's technique from this point of view and attempts to show how close it is to the model suggested by HOCKETT. This is a valuable contribution on Pāṇini and deserves careful study. '*Studien 24 Adhyāya III Der Astadhyay's Pāṇininie*' is another publication by ROBERT BIRWE. Of some interest to students of historical linguistics, particularly IE, is an article '*Einige uberinstimmungen Swischen dem Chinesischen UND Dem Indogermanischen*' by VON JAN ULENBROOK in Anthropos which seeks to establish a relationship between Chinese and IE. '*Emphasising and connecting particles in the principal upaniṣads*' by C. G. HARTMAN is another work belonging to this period. The use of each particle with different categories of words, its frequency are studied here. Last chapter discusses the position of the upaniṣadic language from the point of view of the particles. *Vaidic Vyākaṛṇa* by Dr. RAM GOPAL is a good help in Hindi for vedic students. *A comparative grammar of Sanskrit, Greek and Hittite* by SATYA SWARUP MISRA is a useful text book for students of IE language.

There have been a few publications in Dialect Studies. Dr. A. M. GHATAGE's monograph on *Cochin*, a dialect spoken by the community of Gaud Saraswats is out. The Deccan College has published two monographs in the Kannada dialect series. One is on *Halakki Kannada* by A. S. ACHARYA This is a dialect spoken by Halakki Wokkalas in talukas like Kumta, Karwar, Honawar. The other is on *Nanjanguda Kannada* by U. P. UPADHYAYA. This is a study based on the speech of Vakkaligas, a major non-brahmin community in Mysore. The Deccan College has also published a Descriptive analysis of Tulu, a Dravidian language spoken by people inhabiting the coastal part of Mysore and Kasargad Taluka. This is a study on the upper class dialect (Brahmins) of Udipi. The same institution has started a linguistic survey Bulletin under the directorship of Dr. D. N. S. BHAT and four numbers are out so far.

Amongst books on General Linguistics mention must be made of *Critique of Experimental Techniques, Methods of Analysis in the Study of Structures* of *Speech* by C. R. SHANKARAN and LEON HENRI STRONG. This also is a Deccan College publication and discusses the various types of techniques and methods current in the study of structure of speech. 'Linguistic Matrices' by PUNYA SHLOKA RAY of the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla attempts to show the use of matrices in the study of language. *History of Tamil Language* by Professor T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM, Vice-Chancellor of Madurai University also is a Deccan College publication. Dr. S. M. KATRE, Director of the Deccan College delivered a course of six lectures at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla on '*Problems of*

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Reconstruction in Indo-Aryan' which will very shortly be published in a book form. Though the lectures are primarily addressed to students of linguistics, as the author points out in the introduction, they have a bearing on current language problems in India. The question of making regional languages truly national, principles of coining new words and expressions giving due recognition to sub-standard usages are some of the points discussed here. *Kannada, literary and Colloquial* by Dr. H. M. NAYAK of the Mysore University is another publication which deserves a mention. It is a study in two styles on modern lines.

A few analytical studies on some modern languages on descriptive lines are recently published. Dr. P. B. PANDIT's ગુજરાતી ભાષાનું ધ્વનિ સ્વરૂપ અને ધ્વનિપરિવર્તન in Gujarati is a welcome addition to Linguistics giving as it does a good lucid account of Gujarati Phonology and its development. *A Gujarati Reference Grammar* by GEORGE CARDONA is a study of Gujarati grammar on modern structural lines and should serve as a useful book for teaching Gujarati to non-Gujarati students. Only it would need the guidance of a linguist. *Hindi Grammar and Reader* by EARNEST BENDER is a similar study of Hindi by an author who has taught Hindi at the University of Pennsylvania for many years. The book gives a good insight into phonological and grammatical features of standard Hindi. Both are Pennsylvania University South Asia Regional Studies' publications. *Bengali Language Handbook* by PUNYA SLOKA RAY, MUHAMMAD ABDUL HAI and LILA RAY is not a regular Language Teaching course book. It discusses not only the Phonology, Orthography and Grammar of Bengali but also deals with different forms of Bengali literature like poetry, novel etc. An interesting feature of the book is a note on the contrast of Bengali with American English. भाषाविज्ञानकी रूपरेखा by Prof. BHARADWAJ gives a broad outline of General Linguistics to Hindi students. A good handbook on modern lines for Nepali Language is *Nepali Transformational Structure-A Sketch* by FRANKLIN C. SOUTHWORTH published by Deccan College. Mention may be made of भाषैषणा by Dr. R. C. MAHAROTRA which is a collection of articles in Hindi on different aspects of language study. A few books in Language Teaching Methods also have been published. *Linguistics and English Language Teaching* contains the proceedings of a seminar held at the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Deccan College in 1964 to discuss the techniques and problems of language teaching. This seminar was attended by both the English Language Teachers and the Linguisticians. *A New Approach to Language Teaching* by A. CHANDRASEKHAR, published by the Linguistic Circle of Delhi, examines certain problems in the field of Language Teaching and emphasises the importance of context in preparing the teaching material. *Problem of English Language*

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Programming by Professor D. D. MAHULKAR of Baroda deals with organising the teaching as a programme. MASTER's translation in English of BLOCK's Indo-Aryan, long awaited by students of historical linguistics, is fortunately now out and will help the study of Indo-Aryan a great deal. Reference can also be made to the translation in Hindi of T. BURROW's *Sanskrit Language* by Dr. BHOLASHANKAR VYAS.

No review, however brief, could ever be complete without a mention of the *Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan* which now is complete. What a fund of information is now available to students of Indo-Aryan! Dr. RALPH TURNER's monumental work is really an essay in scholarship, dedicated work and tenacity.

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DRAVIDIAN SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDERAN

My esteemed Friends,

I am exceedingly grateful to the members of the Oriental Conference for electing me this year also as the President of the Dravidian Section. I am very sorry that I could not personally be present at the Conference to deliver this Presidential address since I have to be at Ashkabad, U. S. S. R. to lead a cultural delegation to the Tamil Festival to be held there.

The conference records its profound sorrow at the passing away of (1) Shri A. R. Krishna Shastri, distinguished Kannada author, critic and Sahitya Akademi Award winner, (2) Shri K. Shankar Bhat, distinguished Kannada poet, author and journalist, (3) Prof. T. M. Srikantiah, a great scholar in Kannada and Sanskrit who had also been the President of the Dravidian Section, (4) Thiru Mailai Sivamuthu, distinguished Tamil poet and writer for children, (5) Dr. A. Chidambarnatha Chettiar, a well-known scholar and writer who was a member of the Oriental Conference, (6) Thiru V. C. Natarajan, I. A. S., a scholar and writer in Tamil from amongst I. A. S. Officers, (7) Shri Y. Satyanarayana Rao 'Srivatsava', distinguished Telugu author, translator, and winner of Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi Award, (8) Shri Srinivas Siromani, distinguished Telugu scholar and translator, (9) Shri A. Naga Gopala Rao, distinguished Telugu poet and author, (10) Shri K. K. Raja, distinguished Malayalam poet, (11) Shri N. Gopala Pillai, distinguished poet, scholar and member of Sanskrit, (12) Shri J. Rukminitha Sastri, distinguished scholar and Telugu author, (13) Shri Bala Gangadhara Tilak, a modern Telugu poet of repute, (14) Shri Buccibabu, author of some very reputed novels and a critic, and conveys its sympathies to the members of the bereaved family.

"Coming to the developments the most important event is the second World Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies held at Madras in the first week of January 1968. It was a grand success. All people not only interested in Tamil Studies but also gentlemen in Dravidian Studies took part in this Seminar.

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International Association for Tamil Research may likely to be formed with the support of the UNESCO and the Madras Government. Mention must be made of the first volume of Index of words in ancient Tamil literature which was released at the II World Seminar of Tamil Studies. The Universities in Tamil land are continuing to do further researches on language and literature of that Tamil country. The teachers of the Tamil Department of Madurai University had published (1) Surnames in the Sangam age, (2) Pacippini maruttuvan, (3) Kandan iniyan, (4) Modern Tamil both 2 and 3 being collection of research papers. The Department has sent to the Press (a) collected papers on Tamil language, (b) Historical materials in the Sangam literature. The Annamalai University has continued to publish further volumes of its valuable edition of *Kambarāmāyaṇam*. The advanced centre for Linguistics had published the collected papers of Prof. Burrow and also that of Prof. Emeneau on Dravidian Linguistics. It also published the materials which it had been using for teaching spoken and colloquial Tamil to non-Tamils. The work on the Naccinarkinar's conception of Phonology and a Modern evaluation of Nannool from the linguistic point of view have also been published by the Centre. A book by Dr. S. Agesthialingom, the present Director for advanced centre for Linguistics, Annamalai University applying the transformation methods to the study of Tamil has been released under the title *The Generative Grammar of Tamil*. The first volume of the description of the World Languages had also been published.

A provision has been made at the time of the World Seminar of Tamil Studies for a Tirukkural Chair for researches in Tamil in each one of the 3 Universities of Tamil land viz. Madras, Annamalai and Madurai Universities. The Madurai University is organising a department of Languages where it will be possible for preparing bilingual or trilingual post-graduate students who will be in a position to translate from one Dravidian language to another in addition to be in a position to teach their language to others from a scientific and linguistic point of view. The Government of Andhra Pradesh had instituted a Professorship in Telugu in the Madurai University in connection therewith.

The Bibliography of printed works in Tamil upto 1910 is published in Tamil by the Madras Government.

The Ecole francaise d' Extreme Orient, and the Institut francais d' Indologie are interested in Tamil Studies in the field of researches. The former is making researches on the relations between India, specially south-India and the other countries of the far-east in both the fields of religions and arts. It has published articles on the mūrtis of Śiva in South India on the suicide of heroes according to the Tamil ancient literature and the Viṛakkals.

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The Madurai University has sponsored a programme to study and fix the archaeological site through the electro-magnetic investigation and Prof. Filliozat had kindly agreed to be the Honorary Professor of *Archaeology* and Indology of the Madurai University. The Ecole francaise d' Extreme Orient had begun the electro magnetic investigation. The French Institute of Indology, Pondicherry has published the following books: J. Filliozat and P. Z. Pattabiramin, *Parures Divines Du Sud Dc I' Inde* 1966.

R. Dessigane and P. Z. Pattabiramin, *La Legende De Skanda* (According to the *Kandapuranam*) 1967.

M. E. Adceam. *Contribution A L' Etude D' Aiyanar-Sasta* 1967.

J. Filliozat. *Un Catechisme Tamoul Du Xvie Siecle En Lettres Latines* (The First Printed Tamil Text in Roman Characters) 1967.

F. Gros. *Le Paripatal* (The Introduction, French Translation and Notes) 1967.

P. S. Filliozat. *Oeuvres Peotiques De Nilakantha Diksita* (*Sanskrit Texts of Tamilnad with French Translation and Notes*) 1967.

It is interesting to note that an enquiry on dialects in Tamil is also being carried out by this Institute.

Coming to Malayalam, the Kerala University has published a critical edition of *Chintaratnam*, the most outstanding work in Malayalam. It has also published a collection of linguistic and literary essays viz. 'Researches on the Description of the Language of Krishnagatha' and 'Early Malayalam Prose' have been prepared. A Fifteenth Century Malayalam classic entitled *Ramakathappattu* has been discovered and it is hoped it will be published with a commentary as far as possible. There is also an attempt to collect and edit the inscriptions and Copper Plates in Malayalam. Translations of Naladiyar in Malayalam had come. The first volume of Malayalam Lexicon has already been published and it is a monumental work.

In the Kannada field the Kannada Nighantu, has issued a monumental work. Six fascicules have also been released. The Deccan College is organizing a survey of six Kannada dialects. The Mysore University has established the Institute for Kannada Studies and has various projects like bibliography of Kannada works, the research on Haridasa literature, folk-lore, a revision of the *English-Kannada Dictionary* and preparation of the *Kannada Encyclopaedia* etc. *Lasyaranjana*, and *Kāvyāvalokana* of Nagavama have been already published. The folk-lore museum is taking shape. There is a translation Bureau also for translating English classics from other languages into Kannada. (1) "The cultural study of Kannada inscriptions for 450 A. D. to 1150 A. D." (2) "A Critical study of the works on Kumara Rana," (3) "Kannada-Literary and colloquial" and (4) "Veerashaiva Saints studies" have been published.

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Various other works surveying the culture, the folk-lore, literature, Riddles, vachanes and the works of Akkana have also been published.

The Madras University has republished the *Tulu-English Dictionary* and the part I of the revised and enlarged edition of Kittel's *Kannada-English Dictionary*. In connection with the 8th centenary celebrations of Sri Basaveśwara, a number of useful publications on Basaveśwara and Veeraśaiva literature have been published.

Coming to Telugu the following works have been published:

(1) *A study of Telugu semantics.*

(2) *A study of Compounds.*

Researches on the language of Nannichoda, 2. Historical Grammar of inscriptional Telugu of the 12th and 14th centuries, 3. Critical Study of Errapregadas, 4. A critique on Potana's Bhagavatamu have been successfully completed. There is a dictionary project for publishing the *English-Telugu dictionary* under the auspices of the Sri Venkateswara University. The Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Akademi has brought out two further volumes, 1. Telugu Dialect Dictionary dealing with Handloom Vocabulary and 2. Dialect of words of Fisheries and Boat-construction. It has also published Index of concordance for Srinadha whilst a concordance of Tikkana's *Mahābhārata* is in press.

The Telugu Department of the Osmania University has a project sanctioned for the preparation and publication of a Critical edition of Andhra *Mahābhārata* and its first volume has to be released on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the Osmania University. Dr. B. H. Krishnamurthi has prepared "A basic course in modern Telugu." It has also published a dictionary of inscriptional vocabulary. A Festschrift had been presented to Prof. M. B. Emeneau jointly by the centres of advanced Study in Linguistics at Annamalai and Poona. Researches on the Transformational Study of Telugu Nominals, on Urdu and Marathi Loan Words in literary and on inscriptional Telugu and on the Old and Middle Indo-Aryan Assimilated Loan words in Telugu have been successfully completed.

It is gratifying to note that there is an increase in the interest in Desi which is left to the collection and publication of songs, ballads etc.

More important event in the study of Dravidology is the publication of the supplement to the *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary* by Prof. Emeneau and Burrow.

Time has now come for these Departments and Dravidians meeting once in two years to co-ordinate and to frame a plan of work for at least two years.

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PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

N. K. DEVARAJ

१

मैं सम्मेलन के अधिकारियों का हृदय से कृतज्ञ हूँ, जिन्होंने मुझे इस अधिवेशन के लिए "भारतीय धर्म और दर्शन" खण्ड का अध्यक्ष चुना। मैं सचमुच ही अपने को इस पद के योग्य नहीं मानता, कारण यह है कि मैं, रुचि और कृतित्व दोनों दृष्टियों से, अपने को मुख्यतः दर्शन का विद्यार्थी मानता हूँ, न कि देशकालविशेष के दर्शन का। भारतीय दर्शन में भी मेरी अभिरुचि ऐतिहासिक न होकर विशुद्ध दार्शनिक रही है। प्रायः मेरे पूर्ववर्ती विद्वान्, जिन्होंने इस पद को सुशोभित किया हैं, अपने अध्यक्षीय भाषणों में विगत दो वर्षों में भारतीय दर्शन और धर्म पर हुए शोध-कार्य का सर्वेक्षण करते रहे हैं; मैं वैसा नहीं कर सका। इसके बदले यहाँ मैं भारतीय दर्शन के एक प्रमुख अंग का एक नई दृष्टि से पर्यालोचन प्रस्तुत कर रहा हूँ। आज के युग में दर्शन के पण्डितों के बीच, दर्शन के स्वरूप और उसकी तर्कपद्धति इन दोनों को लेकर घोर मतभेद पाया जाता है। दर्शन की विषयवस्तु क्या है, इस सम्बन्ध में जहाँ अंग्रेजीभाषी देशों के विश्लेषणवादी दार्शनिकों का एक प्रकार का मत है, वहाँ फ्रांस और जर्मनी के अस्तित्ववादी विचारकों का अभिमत उनसे सर्वथा भिन्न है। इन समग्र पाश्चात्य विचारकों का मत हमारे पारम्परिक दर्शन-सम्बन्धी मतवाद से भी अलग है। वस्तुतः यूरोप में प्रायः दर्शन को धर्म से अलग विद्या माना गया है, और इसलिए कभी दर्शन का लक्ष्य या प्रयोजन मोक्षवाद का प्रतिपादन नहीं रहा।

जहाँ दर्शन की विषयवस्तु के सम्बन्ध में वादविवाद हो, वहाँ यह स्वाभाविक ही है कि दर्शन की चिन्तनपद्धति के बारे में मतविभिन्नता पाई जाय। आज प्रायः सभी तरह के विचारक यह मानते हैं कि दर्शन और विज्ञान की विषयसामग्री और अन्वेषण-पद्धति दोनों में मौलिक अन्तर है। प्राचीन और मध्ययुगीन भारतीय दार्शनिक विज्ञान और दर्शन के भेद से सुपरिचित नहीं थे, इसलिए उन्होंने कभी यह कल्पना नहीं की कि उक्त विद्याओं की अन्वेषण तथा चिन्तन-पद्धति में अन्तर हो सकता है। जब सांख्य और वैशेषिक दर्शनों के प्रतिष्ठाताओं ने प्रकृति एवं परमाणुओं के बारे में तर्क उपस्थित किये, तो उन्हें ऐसा कोई सन्देह नहीं हुआ कि वे दार्शनिक के बदले वैज्ञानिक चिन्तन कर रहे थे। यहाँ एक रोचक प्रश्न उठता है, क्या भारतीय दार्शनिकों ने अपनी चिन्तन-प्रक्रिया में कुछ ऐसे तरीकों या विधियों का उपयोग किया है जो वैज्ञानिक चिन्तन से भिन्न कोटि की कही जा सकती है? भारतीय दर्शन की यह एक श्लाघनीय विशेषता है कि उसने बहुत शुरू से प्रमाणशास्त्र में विशेष अभिरुचि ली। भारत के अधिकांश दार्शनिकों का यह विश्वास है कि वे अपने चिन्तन में प्रमाणों का उपयोग करते हैं, और यह कि विशिष्ट दर्शनों के

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प्रमेय प्रमाणों दारा सिद्ध किये जाते हैं। यहाँ हम थोड़ा-सा स्पष्टीकरण करना चाहते हैं। भारतीय दर्शन के सर्वमान्य प्रमाण केवल दो हैं, प्रत्यक्ष और अनुमान। हिन्दू दर्शन श्रुति या आगम को भी प्रमाण मानते हैं, किन्तु जहाँ श्रुतियों की व्याख्या में गहरे मतभेद हैं, वहाँ एक सम्प्रदाय के आगम-ग्रन्थ दूसरे सम्प्रदायवालों को स्वीकार्य नहीं होते। जैन और बौद्ध दर्शन, स्वभावतः, हिन्दुओं की श्रुतियों को प्रामाणिक नहीं मानते। इसलिए इस निबन्ध में प्रमाणों की चर्चा करते हुए हम शब्दप्रमाण का उल्लेख नहीं करेंगे। हिन्दू दर्शनों में भी वेदान्त के विभिन्न सम्प्रदाय ही श्रुति को ज्यादा उद्धृत करते हैं।

सांख्य और न्याय-वैशेषिक जैसे वस्तुवादी दर्शन प्रमाणों को अतिरिक्त महत्त्व देते हैं। वेदान्त के अनेक आचार्य भी प्रमाणों के महत्त्व को स्वीकार करते हैं, यद्यपि रामानुज, निम्बार्क, वल्लभ आदि के अनुसार चरम तत्त्व ब्रह्म की सिद्धि के लिए केवलमात्र श्रुति ही प्रमाण है। जर्मन दार्शनिक काण्ट की भाँति रामानुज ने अपने 'श्रीभाष्य' में यह सिद्ध करने की कोशिश की है कि ब्रह्म या ईश्वर की सत्ता प्रत्यक्ष और अनुमान द्वारा साध्य नहीं है। यों तो अद्वैत सम्प्रदाय के 'वेदान्त-परिभाषा' जैसे ग्रन्थों में प्रमाणों का सटीक निरूपण है, फिर भी यह कहा जा सकता है कि महायानीय बौद्धों की भाँति अद्वैत वेदान्ती भी प्रमाणों को विशेष महत्त्व नहीं देते। नागार्जुन और श्रीहर्ष जैसे तार्किक यह सिद्ध करने का प्रयत्न करते हैं कि प्रमाण अपने में दुर्व्याख्येय हैं, और वे तत्त्व के ज्ञापक नहीं हो सकते।

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जैसा कि हमने कहा, प्राचीन और मध्ययुगीन भारतीय विचारकों ने विज्ञान और दर्शन में कोई भेद नहीं किया। भारतीय मनीषियों को विज्ञान एक अनुशासित और व्यवस्थित शास्त्र के रूप में अधिकांशतः अज्ञात था। वे गणित की दो महत्त्वपूर्ण शाखाओं, अंकगणित और बीजगणित, से परिचित थे, किन्तु इन दोनों ने दार्शनिकों और तर्कशास्त्रियों के ध्यान को कभी आकृष्ट नहीं किया। दूसरे विज्ञान जहाँ व्यावहारिक स्तर पर प्रचारित और पल्लवित हुए वहाँ बाद्धिक विद्याओं के रूप में प्रतिष्ठित न हो सके। परिणामतः, दर्शन और विज्ञान की विषय-वस्तु अथवा अन्वेषण-विधियों में कोई भेद किया जाय, यह विचार उनके मन में नहीं आया। यह कथन अत्युक्ति न होगी कि उक्त भेद हमारे ही काल में प्रकाश में लाया जा रहा है। विश्व के अन्य प्राचीन और मध्यकालीन चिन्तकों ने भी दर्शन का तत्त्वज्ञान से एकीकरण किया। (तत्त्वज्ञान का मुख्य विषय था चरम तत्त्व या तत्त्वों की सत्ता को सिद्ध करना और उनके मूल स्वभाव को निरूपित करना) दार्शनिकों के रूप में भारतीय चिन्तकों को तत्त्वज्ञान से असम्बन्धित अनेक दूसरे प्रश्नों पर भी विचार करना पडा, किन्तु वे उन प्रश्नों के विवेचन में निहित प्रणालियों की सही अवगति उपलब्ध न कर सके। नागार्जुन जैसे तार्किकों ने प्रमाणों की आलोचना की, किन्तु वे भी तत्त्वज्ञान से सम्बद्ध तथा उससे असम्बद्ध दार्शनिक समस्याओं में भेद स्थापित करने एवं दार्शनिक प्रश्नों के दोनों प्रकारों के विवेचन के लिए प्रयोग में लाये जानेवाले तरीकों को विविक्त करने में असमर्थ रहे। अब हम नीचे के अनुच्छेदों में अपने इन वक्तव्योंका स्पष्टीकरण और पुष्टि करेंगे।

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हमारे विचार में प्रमाणों के समर्थक और आलोचक दोनों ही दार्शनिक तर्कना के वास्तविक स्वरूप से अनभिज्ञ थे। तर्कवादियों ने अपने विरोधियों के विचारों के प्रत्याख्यान के लिए एक प्रकार की दार्शनिक तर्कना का आश्रय लिया, किन्तु वे यह न दिखा सके कि उस तर्कना का रचनात्मक चिंतन में कैसे प्रयोग किया जाय। किन्तु ऐसी बात नहीं है कि दार्शनिक तर्कना के ऐसे रचनात्मक प्रकार, जो प्रमाणों से पृथक् और विशिष्ट हो, भारतीय विचारकों को अविदित थे। हमारी मान्यता है कि भारतीय चिन्तक और तर्कशास्त्री दोनों दार्शनिक चिन्तन या तर्कना के निजी प्रकारों का विश्लेषण करने में असमर्थ रहे। तत्त्वमीमांसकों के रूप में उन्होंने न केवल अनुमान का प्रयोग किया, बल्कि तथाकथित प्राक्कल्पना-निगमनात्मक-विधि (हाइपोथेटिको डिडक्टिव मैथड) का भी प्रयोग किया, जो विशेष रूप से आधुनिक पद्धति समझी जाती है। लेकिन इस विधि का भारतीय तार्किकों ने न कभी उल्लेख किया, न व्यवस्थित निरूपण। नागार्जुन और श्रीहर्ष जैसे तर्कवादी विध्वंसात्मक कार्य में ही इतना लीन रहे कि दार्शनिक चिन्तन के रचनात्मक पक्ष के विश्लेषण और स्पष्टीकरण में उन्होंने कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं ली। ऐसी चिन्तन-पद्धति का सचेत विकास और उपयोग न कर सकते हुए उन्होंने यह घोषणा की कि तत्त्व को जानने का उपाय साक्षात्कार या अपरोक्षानुभूति है। किन्तु यदि यह मान लिया जाय, जैसा कि आज के दार्शनिक स्वीकार कर रहे हैं, कि दर्शन का कार्य तथ्यात्मक जगत् या तथ्य-जगत् के स्वरूप का निरूपण नहीं है (वैसा निरूपण एकमात्र विज्ञान का विशेष कार्य और दायित्व है), तो दर्शन के स्वरूप और पद्धति की व्याख्या की समस्या बिलकुल ही दूसरा रूप धारण कर लेती है। यहाँ हम यह दिखाने की कोशिश करेंगे कि प्रमाणों की पद्धति और प्रसंगतर्कपद्धति (डायलेक्टिकल रीजनिंग) इन दोनों की, दर्शन के क्षेत्र में क्या सीमायें हैं।

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प्रमाणों की समीक्षा करने में नागार्जुन आदि तार्किक एक सही दार्शनिक प्रवृत्ति द्वारा संचालित हो रहे थे; दार्शनिक चिन्तन का अर्थ प्रत्यक्ष या अनुमान का उपयोग करना नहीं है। किन्तु जिन प्रेरणाओं ने तर्कवादियों को प्रमाणों की आलोचना की ओर प्रेरित किया, उनका दार्शनिक चिन्तन-विधि-सम्बन्धी ऊहापोह से कोई सम्बन्ध नहीं था। नागार्जुन तथा अन्य माध्यमिक विचारक समस्त वस्तुओं की शून्यता को प्रमाणित करना चाहते थे; इस के लिए उन्होंने, आरम्भ में ही, प्रमाणों का प्रत्याख्यान किया। नैयायिकों ने घोषणा की थी कि लक्षण और प्रमाण से वस्तु की सिद्धि होती है। इसका यह अर्थ लगाया गया कि जिस वस्तु का लक्षण न किया जा सके वह अयथार्थ या अतात्त्विक है। वेदान्ती तर्कवादियों ने न्यायवैशेषिक के तात्त्विक पदार्थों का एक प्रकार के प्रसंग-तर्क के उपयोग द्वारा प्रत्याख्यान किया। उसी प्रक्रिया से उन्होंने प्रमाणों का भी प्रत्याख्यान किया। किन्तु अपने पूर्ववर्ती माध्यमिकों की भाँति ये वेदान्ती भी दार्शनिक चिन्तन-प्रणाली के निरूपण में अभिरुचि नहीं रखते थे।

प्रश्न है, वह कौन सी चिन्तन-पद्धति या पद्धतियाँ हैं जो माध्यमिकों द्वारा की गई वस्तुवादी विचारकों के पदार्थों की समीक्षा में (जिनमें प्रमाण समावेशित हैं) निहित हैं? मान लिया

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की माध्यमिक तर्कवादी वस्तुवादियोंके पदार्थों की आलोचना करते हुए प्रत्यक्ष और अनुमान का उपयोग नहीं करता, फिर भी यह कहना गलत होगा कि वह किसी भी पद्धति या प्रणाली का उपयोग नहीं करता। यह भी स्पष्ट है कि वह प्रणाली उसका स्वरूप कुछ भी हो, केवलमात्र माध्यमिक चिन्तकों की सम्पत्ति नहीं हो सकती। क्योंकि यदि माध्यमिक के प्रतिपक्षी उसकी आलोचनाओं में कोई बल नहीं देखते, और इस प्रकार उसकी तर्कप्रणाली को समर्थन नहीं देते, तो वह प्रणाली तटस्थ प्रेक्षकों को भी स्वीकार्य नहीं हो सकती। माध्यमिक के प्रतिपक्षी उस आलोचनाओं की शक्ति को स्वीकार करें, यह तभी संभव है जब कि वे उसकी तर्कप्रणाली को सही और ग्राह्य मानें। और इस प्रकार की तर्कप्रणाली का सही और स्वीकार्य होना इस बात पर निर्भर नहीं है कि माध्यमिक उसके लिये वैसा दावा करता है या नहीं। हम कहना चाहते हैं कि दर्शन में चिन्तन के ऐसे प्रकार या प्रणालियाँ होती हैं जिनका प्रमाणों में अन्तर्भाव नहीं हो सकता। उदाहरण के लिये तर्कवादी समीक्षक अक्सर, प्रच्छन्न रूप में, विरोध-नियम (लॉ ऑव् कांट्रेडिक्शन) की दुहाई देता है; प्रायशः वह उस युक्ति का उपयोग करता है जिसे अंग्रेजी में रिडक्शिओ-एड-एब्सर्डम् (एक प्रकार का विरुद्ध तर्क) कहते हैं। इस प्रकार की युक्ति या तर्क किसी स्वीकृत पूर्वमान्यता पर आधारित होता है, जिससे प्रस्तावित वक्तव्य की विसंगति दिखाई जाती है। एक उदाहरण से हमारी बात स्पष्ट हो जायगी। उत्पत्ति के प्रत्यय की आलोचना करते हुए चन्द्रकीर्ति ने आचार्य बुद्धपालित का निम्न वक्तव्य उद्धृत किया है: 'पदार्थ हेतुओं के बिना (अहेतुतः) उत्पन्न नहीं हो सकते, क्योंकि उस दशा में सब चीजों के सर्वत्र उत्पन्न हो जाने का प्रसंग उपस्थित हो जायगा।' यह तर्क हमारी सहज बुद्धि को ग्राह्य जान पडता है, कारणहीन उत्पत्ति मानने पर कुछ अनिष्ट परिणाम उठ खडे होंगे। हमारी सहज बुद्धि इस बौद्धिक पर्यवेक्षण की पुष्टि करती है कि यदि वस्तुएँ बिना कारणों के उत्पन्न होने लगें, तो कहीं कुछ भी सम्भव हो जायगा। यही बात नागार्जुन के निम्न वक्तव्य पर लागू होती है: 'जो जो इस या उस पर निर्भर होकर उत्पन्न होता है, वह स्वभाव से उत्पन्न नहीं होता।'[1] यह वक्तव्य जो नागार्जुन के दर्शन में एक सिद्धान्त का महत्त्व रखता है, एक पूर्वमान्यता के रूप में स्वीकार किया गया है। नागार्जुन यह समझता प्रतीत होता है कि यह पूर्वमान्यता सहज बुद्धि द्वारा समर्थित है। वास्तव में यह मान्यता सही जान पडती है, इसका एक कारण यह भी है कि वह अस्पष्ट है। नागार्जुन बडा समझदार चिन्तक है, इसलिये वह 'स्वभाव' की परिभाषा देने की कोशिश नहीं करता। वस्तुतः, यह मान लेने में कोई तर्कगत कठिनाई नहीं है कि किसी चीज के स्वभाव में इस सम्भावना का समावेश हो कि वह हेतुओं या कारणों द्वारा अस्तित्त्व में आती है।[2] इस सम्बन्ध में श्रीहर्ष की

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१. तत्तत् प्राप्य यदुत्पन्नं नोत्पन्नं तत् स्वभावतः। देखिए, प्रसन्नपदा की प्रस्तावना।

२. अपमान-जन्य कष्ट की विशिष्ट प्रकृति इसलिए नहीं समाप्त हो जाती कि वह कष्ट उस अपमान का तथा अपमानित व्यक्ति के स्वभाव का फलन (फंक्शन) है। वास्तव में उस अपमान और स्वभाव से पृथक् कष्ट की कोई स्थिति व प्रकृति नहीं है। नागार्जुन और ब्रैडले के मत में विश्व की वस्तुएँ परस्पर सम्बन्धित या सापेक्ष हैं; किन्तु विचार और प्रतिक्रिया के लिए मनुष्य ने नाना प्रकार के अवयवी विविक्त कर लिये हैं। मनुष्य की रुचियों और उद्देश्यों की सापेक्षता में ये अवयवी सत्य हैं। जहाँ तक मनुष्य की ये रुचियाँ सत्य कही जा सकती हैं, वहाँ तक मनुष्य द्वारा दृष्ट व उपलब्ध वस्तुएँ भी सत्य हैं। मेरी पत्नी

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एक विवादोक्ति का स्मरण होता है। वैभाषिक बौद्धों के विरुद्ध तर्क करते हुए वह कहता है : असच्च उपपादकञ्चेति व्याहतमिति चेत्, सत् उपपादकमिति कुतो न व्याहतम्? नहि सत् उपपादकम् असन्नेति क्वचिदावयोः सिद्धम्!

बौद्ध कहता है कि असत् का कारण होना व्याहत यानी विसंगत है, वेदान्ती पूछता है : सत् का कारण होना विसंगत क्यों नहीं है? मतलब यह कि विरोधी दार्शनिक नितान्त भिन्न पूर्वमान्यताओं को स्वयंसिद्ध सत्य मान कर चलने लगते हैं।

नागार्जुन ने वस्तु-जगत की स्वभाव-शून्यता का जो प्रमाण दिया है—और जो 'माध्यमिक कारिका' का प्रमुख प्रतिपाद्य है—वह यही है कि वस्तुएँ, स्वयं अपने में परिभाषणीय नहीं हैं। नागार्जुन ने इसका यह अर्थ लिया है कि वस्तुएँ स्वभावशून्य हैं, जाहिर ही किसी वस्तु को इकाई मानना हमारे वक्तव्य के प्रयोजन पर निर्भर करता है, समय-समय पर हम एक समूचे देश, एक नगर, एक मकान को इकाई के रूप में देखते हैं, वैसे ही दरवाजा, खिडकी, लोहे का सीखचा ये सब हमारे वक्तव्य के उद्देश्य के अनुसार इकाइयाँ बन जाते। स्वयं नागार्जुन ने कहीं 'भाव' या 'वस्तु' को परिभाषित करने का प्रयत्न नहीं किया। यहाँ जैन स्याद्वाद का स्मरण होता है। निश्चय ही विशेष प्रयोजन के लिए कुर्सी एक वस्तु है, हम पूरे फर्नीचर को भी इकाई मानकर बात करते हैं। वक्तव्य प्रयोजनसापेक्ष होता है, इस मोटी बात को न समझने के कारण नागार्जुन तथा दूसरे तर्कवादियों ने घोर विभ्रम उत्पन्न किया है। हाल में श्री. रथ्यूपर्ट क्राशे विलियम्स ने अपनी सुचिन्तित पुस्तक 'तर्कना के प्रकार और प्रतिमान' (मैथड्स एण्ड क्राइटेरिया ऑव रीजनिंग) में नागार्जुन, श्रीहर्ष, ब्रेडले जैसे तर्कवादियों की तर्कना-पद्धति के दोषों का समुचित उद्घाटन किया है।

हमने नागार्जुन की स्वभाव-सम्बन्धी पूर्वमान्यता का उल्लेख किया। अद्वैत वेदान्त के अनुसार तत्त्वपदार्थ वह है जो निरन्तर एक स्वभाव अथवा एकरूपता को सुरक्षित रखता है। तात्त्विकता की यह कसौटी, निश्चय ही, दुनिया की चीजों को देखकर नहीं बनायी जा सकती। स्थूल रूप में, और प्रयोजन विशेषों की दृष्टि से, अधिकांश वस्तुएँ काफी समय तक एकरूप में स्थिर रहती हैं : स्वयं मैं, मेरे मित्र, भवन, नगर आदि, प्रयोजननिरपेक्ष भाव से कल्पनाचक्षुओं द्वारा देखने पर दुनिया की किसी चीज में स्थिरता नहीं है। प्रयोजनसापेक्ष दृष्टि से भी स्त्री-पुरुष, मकान, नगर आदि नये-पुराने पडते या बदलते रहते हैं। यों भौतिकशास्त्र के विद्युदणू निरन्तर गतिमान रहते हुए भी अपना स्वरूप नहीं बदलते। ऐसा ही कुछ वैशेषिक के परमाणुओं के बारे में कहा जा सकता है। यह रोचक बात है कि सर्वास्तिवादियों या वैभाषिकों की तत्त्व की परिभाषा वेदान्तियों से ठीक उलटी है, इन बौद्धों के अनुसार तात्त्विक वह है जिसमें अर्थ-क्रिया-

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और बच्चे तथा मेरा देश इसी अर्थ में मेरे लिये सत्य हैं। मानव-ज्ञान और प्रकथनों की प्रकृति का निर्धारण करने में मनुष्य की रुचियों और उद्देश्यों का भी हाथ होता है, यह बात नागार्जुन तथा दूसरे भारतीय दार्शनिकों को न्यूनाधिक ज्ञात थी, पर वह उन्हें रुचिकर व ग्राह्य नहीं थी। वे मनुष्य के इस स्वभाव को अविद्या या अविद्या का विकार मानते थे।

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कारित्व अर्थात कारण बनने की क्षमता है, और जो कार्य को उत्पन्न करता हुआ अगले क्षण में विलुप्त हो जाता है।

हमने कहा कि नागार्जुन प्रमाण-वादियों की आलोचना करते हुए दार्शनिक चिन्तन-पद्धति का प्रश्न नहीं उठाता। वह स्वयं एक पद्धति का प्रयोग करता है, लेकिन उस पद्धति या प्रणाली का विश्लेषणात्मक निरूपण नहीं कर पाता। इस दृष्टि से वेदान्ती श्रीहर्ष की शैली माध्यमिक से थोडी श्रेष्ठ है। अपने 'खण्डन-खण्ड-खाद्य' ग्रंथ में वह यह प्रश्न उठाता है कि तथाकथित प्रमाणों को माने बिना क्या ऐसे व्यक्ति के साथ आलोचना-प्रत्यालोचना की जा सकती है जो प्रमाणों को मानता है। बडे व्यावहारिक रूप में वह तर्क करता है कि चार्वाक और माध्यमिक प्रमाणों को स्वीकार नहीं करते किन्तु उनके भी शास्त्रार्थ में वाग्व्यवहार देखे जाते हैं। मतलब यह है कि प्रमाणों को स्वीकार किये बिना भी दार्शनिक शास्त्रार्थ चल सकता है। इस संदर्भ में वह एक महत्व की बात कहता है : 'प्रमाण आदि को अस्वीकार करके प्रवृत्त होना किसी वाग्व्यवहार की साधन-बाधन अक्षमता में नियामक नहीं है, किन्तु आपको यह अवश्य मानना पडेगा कि ऐसा वाग्व्यहार जब सद्वचना-भास जान पडता है तो साधन-बाधन में अक्षम बन जाता है।[1] तात्पर्य यह है कि प्रमाणादि स्वीकार से भिन्न सद्वचन और सद्वचनाभास का विवेक साधन-बाधन में नियामक होता है। किन्तु श्रीहर्ष आगे बढकर सद्वचन अर्थात् साधु दार्शनिक-विमर्श को विश्लेषित और परिभाषित करने की कोशिश नहीं करता। यों उसका यह कथन ठीक ही है कि सचेत रूप में प्रणामों का स्वीकार-अस्वीकार वैसे विमर्श में महत्त्व नहीं रखता। श्रीहर्ष ने व्यावहारिक स्तरपर एक प्रस्ताव यही रखा है कि वादी लोग चिन्तन के कतिपय व्यावहारिक नियमों को स्वीकार करके (व्यवहार नियमेन समयं बद्ध्वा) कथा अथवा वादविवाद में प्रवृत्त हो सकते हैं। इसके अलावा श्रीहर्ष ने दार्शनिक चिन्तन का कोई विश्लेषण प्रस्तुत नहीं किया है। जैसा कि हमने संकेत किया प्राचीन और मध्यकालीन दार्शनिक तथ्यसम्बन्धी वक्तव्यों और दार्शनिक प्रकथन-परम्परा इन दोनों के अन्तर्गत प्रयुक्त तर्कना-प्रकारों में भेद नहीं देख सके। आज की भाषा में कहें तो एक दार्शनिक प्रबन्ध में पाये जानेवाले प्रकथन उतने तथ्य-जगह से सम्बन्धित नहीं होते जितने कि प्रत्यय-जगत् से।

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हमारे अन्तिम वक्तव्य का यह अर्थ न लिया जाय कि हम दर्शन की साम्प्रतिक अंग्रेजी-अमेरिकी धारणा से पूर्णतया सहमत हैं। फिर भी हमारा विश्वास है कि दार्शनिक चिन्तन का सम्बन्ध तथ्य-जगत् से नहीं होता, और दार्शनिक तर्क अनुमानरूप नहीं होता। अब हम भारतीय दार्शनिकों द्वारा प्रयुक्त कतिपय अन्य तर्क-विधियों पर दृष्टिपात करेंगे। किन्तु इससे पहले हम यह देखने की कोशिश करेंगे कि भारत के तर्कशास्त्रीय वाङ्मय में तर्क, युक्ति आदि अवधारणाओं को लेकर क्या सोचा गया है।

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१. प्रमाणाद्यनभ्युपगम्य प्रवर्तितत्त्वं तदीय साधन-बाधनाक्षमतायां न नियामकम्, किन्तु सद्वचनाभास लक्षणा योगित्वम् इत्यवश्यम् अभ्युपेयम्।

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नैयायिक लोग तर्क को प्रमाणों से विविक्त करते हैं। न्याय-भाष्यकार वात्स्यायन के अनुसार तर्क प्रमाणों का अनुग्राहक होता है जो कारण-सम्बन्धी ऊहापोह को लेकर अग्रसर होता है। तर्क की एक परिभाषा 'अनिष्ट प्रसङ्ग' है, जो 'रिडक्शिओ-एड एब्सर्डम्' का दुर्बल रूप जान पड़ता है। तर्क का प्रयोग यह दिखाने के लिए किया जाता है कि किसी अनुमिति के अस्वीकार से लोकबुद्धि का विरोध होगा।[1] तर्क की एक और प्रसिद्ध परिभाषा है, व्याप्य के आरोप से व्यापक का आरोप करना। उदाहरण के लिए नैयायिक पहले जगत् में कार्यत्व का आरोप करते हैं और फिर इसके द्वारा, कर्तृ-जन्यत्व का। प्रश्न है, क्या इस तर्क को अनुमान कहा जा सकता है? साधारण अनुमान से इस तर्क में मुख्य भिन्नता यह है कि यह जिस गुण (कार्यत्व) का जगत् में आरोप करता है वह पर्वत वह्नि के अनुमान में हेतु बननेवाले धूप की भाँति प्रत्यक्ष-गम्य नहीं है। कार्यत्व एक प्रत्ययात्मक (कॉनसेप्चुअल) गुण है, इन्द्रिय-ग्राह्य गुण नहीं। कभी कभी तर्क के लिए युक्ति शब्द का भी प्रयोग होता है। 'तर्कप्रतिष्ठानात्' सूत्र पर भाष्य करते हुए शंकराचार्य कहते हैं कि श्रुति की अपेक्षा युक्ति अनुभव के ज्यादा निकट होती है। अन्यत्र शंकर ने कहा है कि अदृष्ट की सिद्धि दृष्ट के बल पर होती है, और यह भी कि अनुमान प्रत्यक्ष-पूर्वक होता है।[2] इन वक्तव्यों से जान पडता है कि शंकर युक्ति, तर्क और अनुमान को एकार्थक मानते हैं। वाचस्पति मिश्र ने 'भामती' में एक जगह युक्ति को अनुमान और अर्थापत्ति रूप कथित किया है।[3] इससे लगता है कि उनके अनुसार युक्ति का अन्तर्भाव वेदान्तियों और मीमांसको द्वारा स्वीकृत प्रमाणों में हो सकता है। इसके विपरीत 'पञ्च पादिका' और 'विवरण' तर्क को प्रमाण रूप नहीं मानते। जहाँ अर्थ का साक्षात्कार प्रमाण साध्य है वहाँ तर्क का उपयोग संशय आदि प्रतिबन्ध हटाने में है; तर्क अर्थ का निर्णायक नहीं हो सकता।[4]

प्रसिद्ध जैन लेखक और दार्शनिक हेमचन्द्र ने तर्क के लिए 'ऊह' शब्द का प्रयोग किया है; इस शब्द का प्रयोग 'न्याय-भाष्य' में भी हुआ है। किन्तु हेमचन्द्र ने अपनी 'प्रमाण-मीमांसा' में एक महत्त्वपूर्ण बात यह कही है कि जिस व्याप्ति ज्ञान को 'ऊह' कहते हैं वह व्याप्ति हमेशा प्रत्यक्ष द्वारा नहीं देखी जाती; व्याप्तिका सम्बन्ध अनुमित पदार्थों के बीच भी हो सकता है। इसका मतलब यह हुआ कि हेमचन्द्र का ऊहात्मक तर्क नैयायिकों के अनुमान से भिन्न है। इन सबसे प्रमाणित होता है कि दार्शनिक वाद-विवाद में जिस तर्क का प्रयोग किया जाता है वह अक्सर दृष्ट पर आधारित अनुमान से भिन्न कोटि का होता है।

अब हम भारतीय दर्शनों में प्रयुक्त कुछ ऐसी युक्तियों या तर्कों का उल्लेख करेंगे जिनका अन्तर्भाव प्रत्यक्षादि पाँच-छह प्रमाणों में नहीं हो सकता।

(१) नैयायिक विचारक परमाणुओं का अस्तित्व निम्न प्रकार से सिद्ध करते हैं। प्रत्येक अवयवी अवयवों या अंशों का बना होता है; उसकी उत्पत्ति और विनाश भी होते हैं।

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१. दे० न्यायकोश, भीमाचार्यकृत, पृ० ३२२।

२. दृष्टाच्चादृष्टसिद्धिः, ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य २।२।२ और प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वादनुमानस्य। बृह० भा० १।२।२।

३. युक्तिश्चार्थापत्तिरनुमानं वा। भामती, १।१।२ पर।

४. प्रमाणादेवार्थापरोक्ष्य निश्चये तत्प्रतिबन्धविगमे तर्कस्योपयोगान्नार्थनिर्णय हेतुतेत्युक्तम्। विवरण (ब्रह्मसूत्र शांकरभाष्य, नवटीकोपेत, कलकत्ता), पृ० ५०८।

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एक बडे परिमाण के अवयवी को छोटे टुकडों में खण्डित किया जा सकता है; वैसे ही प्रत्येक टुकडे के भी खण्ड किये जा सकते हैं। किन्तु इस खण्डीकरण या विभाजन की क्रिया का कहीं अन्त होना चाहिए। यदि मान लिया जाय कि विभाजन की प्रक्रिया की सीमा नहीं है—कि प्रत्येक अवयवी अनन्त खण्डों में विभाज्य है—तो यह अनिष्ट प्रसङ्ग उपस्थित होगा कि मेरु पर्वत और सरसों के बीज दोनों का परिमाण एक है। इस परिणाम से बचने के लिए यह मानना चाहिए कि परमाणु किसी भी जड पदार्थ के विभाजन की परिसीमा है। इस तर्क में 'रिडक्शिओ एड एब्सर्डम्' की विधि से 'वस्तुओं की असीमित विभज्यमानता' के मन्तव्य का खण्डन किया गया है। इससे यह निष्कर्ष निकाला गया है कि कोई सावयव पदार्थ एक सीमा तक ही टुकडों में विभजनीय होता है—जिसका अर्थ है कि वस्तु को तोडते-तोडते हम जब परमाणुओं पर पहुँच जाते हैं तो विभाजन करने का काम समाप्त हो जाता है। इस तर्क का अनुमान या अर्थापत्ति में अन्तर्भाव नहीं हो सकता।

(२) अपने 'शारीरक भाष्य' में आचार्य शंकर ने आत्मा के अस्तित्व के लिए जो युक्ति दी है वह अनुमान, अर्थापत्ति आदि से भिन्न है। वह हमें जर्मन दार्शनिक काण्ट के ट्रान्सेन्डेन्टल डिडक्शन' का स्मरण दिलाती है। काण्ट का कहना है कि शुद्ध बुद्धि या प्रज्ञा के प्रत्ययों के बिना वस्तु का अनुभव असंभव है। वैसे ही आचार्य शंकर और टीकाकार वाचस्पति मिश्र कहते हैं कि प्रत्यगात्मा की प्रसिद्धि अपरोक्ष रूप है; इसे न मानने पर सम्पूर्ण जगत् अन्धकारग्रस्त हो जायगा। अन्यत्र शंकराचार्य कहते हैं : आत्मा स्वयं सिद्ध है। प्रमाणादि व्यवहार का आश्रय होने के कारण, वह प्रमाणादि व्यवहार से पहले ही सिद्ध है। इसी बात को सुरेश्वराचार्य ने भी दुहराया है। वे कहते हैं : 'यतो राद्धिः प्रमाणानां स कथं तैः प्रसिध्यति,' अर्थात् जिस आत्मा से प्रमाणों की सिद्धि होती है वह उन प्रमाणों द्वारा कैसे सिद्ध होगा? शंकराचार्य और सुरेश्वराचार्य की युक्ति अनुमान और अर्थापत्ति दोनों से भिन्न है।

(३) यहाँ हम शंकर के द्वारा प्रयोग में लायी एक ऐसी व्याप्ति का संकेत करेंगे जो दों प्रत्ययों के बीच साहचर्य का संकेत करती है, दृष्ट पदार्थों के बीच नहीं। शंकर कहते हैं : 'परिनिष्पन्ने च वस्तुनि प्रमाणान्तराणाम् अस्त्यवकाशो यथा पृथिव्यादिषु' (ब्रह्मसूत्रभाष्य १।३।४) अर्थात् जो वस्तु परिनिष्पन्न अर्थात् सिद्ध अस्तित्ववाली है उसमें श्रुतिभिन्न प्रमाणों को अवकाश होता है, जैसे पृथ्वी आदि में। यहाँ व्याप्ति का सम्बन्ध परिनिष्पन्नताधर्म और प्रमाणान्तरविषयत्व के बीच है। इस तरह की व्याप्ति कैसे ग्रहण और सिद्ध की जा सकती है, यह विचारणीय विषय है। निश्चय ही यह व्याप्ति और अनुमान धूम–वह्निवाली व्याप्ति से भिन्न कोटि के हैं।

(४) भारतीय दार्शनिक कहीं-कहीं दार्शनिक चिन्तन के औचित्य-निर्देशक नियमों का संकेत करते हैं। ऐसे नियम को 'न्याय'–विशेष भी कहते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए 'प्रकरण–पञ्चिका' की 'न्याय सिद्धि' टीका में एक जगह कहा गया है-धर्मि-कल्पनातो धर्म-कल्पनैव लघीयसी इति न्यायात्–अर्थात् एक नये धर्मी (पदार्थ) की कल्पना की अपेक्षा धर्म की कल्पना लघुतर है। इसी तरह वाचस्पति मिश्र के 'तत्त्व-बिन्दु' में कहा गया है—दृष्टात् कार्योपपत्तौ च नादृष्टपरिकल्पना—अर्थात् दृष्ट से काम चल जाने पर अदृष्ट तत्त्व की कल्पना नहीं करनी चाहिए।

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दार्शनिक चिन्तन के ये नियम सरलता, सौष्ठव आदि आदर्शों को प्रतिफलित करते हैं; कल्पना-लाघव का न्याय भी वैसा ही है। भारतीय, और सम्भवतः बाहर के भी, तर्कशास्त्रियों एवं चिन्तकों ने कभी इन नियमों के मण्डन का प्रयत्न नहीं किया।

(५) भारत के प्रायः सभी महत्त्वपूर्ण विचारक तर्कना की उस प्रणाली का उपयोग करते हैं जिसे आज-कल प्राक्कल्पना-निगमन विधि कहते हैं। किन्तु भारतीय तर्कशास्त्रियों और ज्ञान-मीमांसकों ने इस विधि का कहीं नामोल्लेख तक नहीं किया है, विश्लेषण और निरूपण तो दूर की चीजें हैं। उदाहरण के लिए न नैयायिकों ने, बौद्ध तर्क-शास्त्रियों ने ही कहीं यह निर्देश करने का कष्ट किया है कि उन्हें प्रत्यक्ष आदि की परिभाषायें किस प्रणाली से प्राप्त हुईं। बौद्ध तर्कशास्त्री केवल दो ही प्रमाण मानते हैं; प्रत्यक्ष और अनुमान। किन्तु उनके द्वारा दी हुई प्रत्यक्षादि की परिभाषा न प्रत्यक्ष द्वारा प्राप्त या प्रमाणित की जा सकती है न अनुमान द्वारा। जहाँ तक हम समझते हैं उक्त परिभाषाओं के औचित्य को सिद्ध या प्रदर्शित करने का एक ही तरीका है—यह दिखा सकना कि परिभाषा-विशेष समस्त प्रासङ्गिक तथ्यों की समुचित व्याख्या प्रस्तुत करती है। अपने प्रसिद्ध संग्रह-ग्रन्थ 'तर्क-संग्रह' के अन्त में अन्नंभट्ट ने लिखा है—सर्वेषामपि पदार्थानां यथायथमुक्तेष्वन्तर्भावात् सप्तैव पदार्था इति सिद्धम्'—अर्थात् दुनिया में जितनी चीजें हैं उनका उपरिनिरूपित सात पदार्थों में अन्तर्भाव हो जाता है; इससे सिद्ध होता है कि केवल सात ही पदार्थ हैं। यहाँ पदार्थों के सात होने की पुष्टि में जो युक्ति दी गयी है उसका भारतीय तर्क-शास्त्र में कहीं उल्लेख नहीं है। हमने अभी संकेत किया था कि इसी तरह की युक्ति या पद्धति से दिङ्नाग आदि द्वारा दी गयी प्रत्यक्ष की परिभाषा भी प्रमाणित या सिद्ध की जाती है।

इसी प्रकार भारतीय दार्शनिकों ने जगह-जगह प्राक्कल्पनात्मक (हाइपोथेटिकल) वस्तुओं को स्वीकार किया है, जैसे—सांख्य दर्शन में प्रकृति की साम्यावस्था, वेदान्त दर्शन में प्रमातृ-चैतन्य, प्रमाण-चैतन्य और विषय-चैतन्य की कल्पना; प्रभाकर मीमांसा में त्रिपुटी-प्रत्यक्ष की मान्यता; इत्यादि। इस प्रकार की कल्पनाओं का औचित्य सरलता (सिम्प्लिसिटी), सौष्ठव (एलेगेन्स), एवं कल्पना-लाघव आदि आदर्शों के बल पर और इस स्थिति से कि वे कल्पनाएँ समग्र ज्ञात तथ्यों का सम्बन्ध विवरण प्रस्तुत कर सकती हैं, ही प्रमाणित किया जा सकता है। यहाँ एक बात लक्षित करने की है। जिन तथ्यों या प्रदत्तों की व्याख्या के लिए उक्त कोटि की दार्शनिक कल्पनायें की जाती हैं वे चर्मचक्षुओं द्वारा ग्राह्य नहीं होते; वे एक तरह के बौद्धिक प्रत्यक्ष के विषय होते हैं। हमारे वक्तव्य की सत्यता की जाँच के लिए पाठक या (श्रोता) 'विवरण-प्रमेय-सग्रह' के उस स्थल का सटीक अवलोकन करें जहाँ प्रभाकर के त्रिपुटी-प्रत्यक्षवाद की तुलना में अद्वैतवेदान्तीय मत को श्रेष्ठतर प्रदर्शित करने का प्रयत्न किया गया है।

किन्तु प्रत्यक्ष आदि की स्थिति से सम्बन्ध वे तथ्य जो परीक्षकों द्वारा देखे और व्याख्यात किये जाते हैं, एक देश से दूसरे देश में, और एक युग से दूसरे युग में भिन्न होते पाये जाते हैं। जिन भारतीय तर्कशास्त्रियों ने प्रत्यक्ष पर विचार किया उनके सामने आधुनिक मनो-

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विज्ञान के तथ्य नहीं थे। आज के ज्ञान-मीमांसकों के सामने विभिन्न विज्ञानों भौतिकशास्त्र, गणितशास्त्र, रसायनशास्त्र, अर्थशास्त्र, नर विज्ञान आदि—की विविध चिन्तन-प्रणालियाँ, उनकी ऐतिहासिक प्रगति के अनेक उतार-चढाव, खुली पुस्तक के पृष्ठों की भाँति फैले हुए हैं। फलतः आज के ज्ञानमीमांसक का कार्य प्राचीन ज्ञान-मीमांसको की अपेक्षा कहीं अधिक जटिल हो गया है। प्रासङ्गिक तथ्यों की बदलती, प्रवहमान परंपराओं के कारण ही दर्शन स्वयं निरन्तर प्रगतिशील या गतिशील बना रहता है।

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FINE ARTS AND TECHNICAL SCIENCES SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

UMAKANT P. SHAH

Dear Friends,

I am grateful to the authorities of this Conference for inviting me to preside over the deliberations of this Section on Fine Arts and Technical Sciences. It is an honour which, as I humbly feel, is more due to the subjects of my special interest and research than to me who could hardly claim to have done proper justice to them.

In this city of Banaras, an ancient seat of Indian Culture, which has moulded and preserved the Cultural heritage of India, the memory of our great savant Dr. Vasudev Sharan Agrawal is still very fresh in our minds and before proceeding with my talk I offer my humble *Sraddhāñjali* to him whose contributions to the fields covered by this Section are well-known and of a lasting value.

Still fresh in our hearts is the memory of one of our greatest master of melody Pandit Omkarnathji Thakur whose services to the cause of Indian Music are well known to you all. He also spent the latter part of his life in the Banaras Hindu University.

I also like to pay my homage here to our veteran, old (but still young in spirit) exponent of Indian Fine Arts, Pujya Shri Rai Krishnadasji of this sacred city who has devoted his whole life to the cause of exploration and preservation of antiquities from the days when they were not so intensely studied or cared for.

Banaras has the credit of giving us one more veteran, Dr. Moti Chandra, whose contributions to our field can never be overestimated and who has many more feathers still in his bag, and we are going to have some outstanding works from him in near future, one of them being a work on the History of Painting and another being his Tagore lectures on painting delivered in U. S. A., besides several other works.

He has a successor, and a worthy successor indeed, in Dr. Pramod Chandra, who has chosen Banaras as one of his main centres of research. I am referring here to the *American Academy of Banaras* of which he is the worthy Director. The American Academy of Banaras, established in September, 1965, is designed to promote higher research in art and archaeology of

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South Asia, with the primary aim of providing facilities to scholars for study and conducting and sponsoring research by maintaining a library and photographic archive, by publications and by other means. The Academy is engaged in assembling a comprehensive library of source material on the art and archaeology of South Asia and a photographic documentation of monuments and of art collections of this country. A continuing research project would be the indexing of the photographic archives resulting in a very valuable means of research to all scholars. The Academy also plans to sponsor and carry out research projects under its aegis and to publish the results. Individual research projects will also receive the support and encouragement of the Academy. The Academy has a team of Research scholars who, apart from working on their own projects, are engaged in research on behalf of the Academy on its specified projects. The immediate project on which the Academy is focussing its attention is the preparation of an *Encyclopaedia of Indian Architectural Terms*. This venture is rightly considered an imperative necessity in the context of the complexity of texts and regional differences in the nomenclature of archaeological terms. Several Indian museums have excellent collections of antiquities but few have proper representative catalogues. The absence of such publications denies to the world of scholarship a great deal of basic information which is a prerequisite of research. The Academy therefore proposes to bring out adequate illustrated catalogues in collaboration with some selected museums. It is also planned to bring out scholarly works on selected aspects of Indian art. The Academy is publishing an annual Bulletin containing the results of researches conducted in the Academy and papers contributed by outside scholars. It also intends to promote archaeological surveys in selected areas in collaboration with universities and other authorised bodies. The Academy also occasionally holds seminars on selected problems in the field of archaeology and the history of art. The Academy organised three seminars in 1967. The first, devoted to a consideration of the Kushana school of sculpture of Mathura, was held in September 1967. The second, in November, discussed Indian Temple Architecture. The third, held in December, discussed Indian Moghul painting. The Seminars were attended by leading scholars from India and abroad, and junior scholars were invited to observe the proceedings.

The Academy is open to scholars from all parts of the world interested in its field of studies without regard to nationality.

Architecture

In the Seminar on Indian Temple Architecture, called last year by this Academy we had some very interesting valuable papers from which only a few are noted here ;

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(1) *Temples of Later Pallavas* by K. R. Srinivasan, a book by itself, giving the historical background and a long summary on the Pallava Temples of the Early Phase. Dr. Srinivasan's bigger monumental work on the subject, I hear, is ready, and will be published by the Director General of Archaeology in India. (2) *Vāstuvidyā*,—a hitherto unknown work on Temple Architecture, was brought to light by *sthapati* Prabhashankar O. Somapura in a paper giving a summary of the different chapters recovered hitherto, from a manuscript in the Oriental Institute, Baroda, from *Śrījñānaratnakośa* etc., and from another ms in his own collection. The Vāstuvidyā, edited by Sarva Shri Somapura and Dhaky is undertaken for publication, in the G. O. Series, by the Oriental Institute of Baroda. The work is supposed to date from *circa* 11th-12th century A. D. (3) Klaus Fischer read a paper on *Bengal brick-temples: early Near-Eastern and Mediaeval Hindu traditions during Indo-Islamic period*, (4) C. E. Godakumbura threw interesting light on *The Temples of Ceylon*, (5) Krishna Deva, our great authority on North Indian Temple architecture, gave an illuminating study on *The Bhumija Temple*, while, (6) M. A. Dhaky gave a valuable contribution on the *Genesis and Development of the Māru-Gurjara style of Temple Architecture*, (7) J. C. Harle spoke on *Three Types of Wall Fabric in Early Western Chalukyan Temples*, (8) S. K. Saraswati spoke on *The Lesser known Temples of Kalinga*, bringing to light several important shrines, while (9) K. V. Soundara Rajan read his contribution on *Early Mutturayar and Irukkuvel Architecture*. (10) K. G. Krishnan's illuminating paper on *Architectural Terms in South Indian Inscriptions* calls for special attention. I would wish that further work on similar lines both in respect of South Indian and North Indian Inscriptions may be seriously taken up by several scholars of different regions which will also help the project of *Encyclopedia of Indian Architecture*. (11) Umakant Shah read a paper on *Beginnings of Superstructures of Indian Temples* wherein with the evidence of reliefs of architectural specimens from Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Jagagyapeta etc. discussed by Coomaraswamy in his article on Bodhi-gharas (*Eastern Art*, Vol. II) and with the help of relief from Ghantasala (in *Musee Guimet*) and a shrine depicted on the pedestal of a Kushāṇa period Buddha Image from Mathura (now in the Aligadh University Museum), he has shown that the beginnings of the superstructures of both the Northern and the Southern types, *in different stages of conception*, can be clearly marked in Bharhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Ghantasala etc., and that the general belief that the Northern Sikhara was evolved towards the end of the Gupta period or that the early Hindu shrines were only flat-roofed, deserves to be discarded. It may also be noted here that the Aligadh University Museum specimen of the Kushāṇa age has its close parallel in the drawing

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of the Aihole temple no. 9 published by Stella Kramrisch (*Hindu Temple* Vol. II). He has further shown in the above context of earlier evidence, that looking to the process of evolution and experiments in superstructures, the Gop shrine need not be regarded later than the fifth century A. D. The arch motif on the superstructure is fairly old and when compared with similar motifs at Uparkot Caves, it will be obvious that the Gop superstructure cannot be later than the fifth century A. D. The relief panels on the temple walls, though weather-worn, still preserve enough modelling of figure sculpture which reminds us of the stout and heavy figures of Bikaner terracottas collected by Tessitory from Rang Mahal, Badopal etc. Dr. R. N. Mehta informs me that he has recently discovered some more evidence which might even push back the date to about a century.

With the new data accumulated in the last few decades, it is necessary for us to make a fresh study of history of Indian Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, by re-examining all earlier hypotheses and established notions which were formed on the basis of materials then known.

Time is now ripe for a new comprehensive History of Indian Art divided in separate volumes on (1) Architecture, town planning etc., broadly speaking *Vāstu*, (2) Sculpture or *Rūpa*, (3) Painting or *Citra*, (4) *Saṅgīta* (including Gīta, Vāditra, Nṛtya and Nāṭya), (5) Other Arts and crafts like embroidery, bead-work, jewellery, perfumery, etc. Vāstu may be treated under several parts, North Indian Temple Architecture, South Indian Temple Architecture, Secular architecture, Town-Planning etc. Experts in different fields may be assigned different chapters or volumes with a General Editor for each volume selected from an Editorial Board of experts in different aspects of Indian Art. The treatment of each volume will be based on both archeological and literary sources correlated and exhaustively cited and fairly well illustrated.

It is indeed very gratifying to note that the American Academy of Banaras has undertaken to prepare and publish as early as possible, *An Encyclopedia of Indian Architecture*. This is going to be a standard monumental work of great value for all future scientific work on Indian Architecture as it is being prepared with full active cooperation of eminent scholars like K. R. Shrinivasan, Krishna Dev, Madhusudan A. Dhaky, K. V. Soundar Rajan, Miss Alice Boner and *Sthapatis* like Shri Prabhashankar Somapura and others.

During the last few years, there have been many more discoveries and publications in the field of architecture. Of these, we had publications, for the first time, of the texts called *Dīpārṇava* and *Kṣīrārṇava*, both edited by Shiri P. O. Somapura. Another important hitherto unpublished text, *Vṛkṣā-*

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rṇava, jointly edited by P. O. Somapura and Dhaky will appear in the G. O. Series. The *Prāsādamañjarī*, of *Śrī-Nātha*, a work of c. 15th century A. D., is also published by P. O. Somapura. To its English edition M. A. Dhaky has given an introduction with a survey of all available published or unpublished "*Vāstuśāstras of Western India.*" Of these, *Jayapṛcchā*, perhaps the oldest amongst the known texts from Western India, is available only in fragments and the Oriental Institute, Baroda has one such rare manuscript. According to an indication in the *Aparājitapṛcchā*, the *Jayapṛcchā* dealt with civic, domestic and military architecture. Sūtradhāra Malla, son of Śilpi Nakula wrote his *Pramāṇamañjarī* during the reign of Paramāra Udayāditya of Malwa. The work is published by Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Vāstusāstra of Viśvakarmā, in age not later than the latter half of the eleventh century, is also available in fragments, extracts from this work being available in manuscripts of *Śri-Jñānaratnakośa*, a copy of which exists in the Oriental Institue, Baroda. This *Vāstuśāstra* credited to Viśvakarmā is perhaps the oldest known work on Māru-Gurjara (*i. e.* Western Indian) style of architecture.

Vāstuvidyā of Viśvakarmā, also available in fragments quoted in *Sri-Jñānaratnakośa*, and in another manuscript in our Oriental Institute, Baroda, is another important text; an analysis of its available chapters has been recently given by P. O. Somapura in a paper read during the Seminar on Indian Architecture in the American Academy of Banaras. According to Dhaky, this work, dealing with several types of temples and images, was possibly written in the first half of the twelfth century A. D.

An interesting feature of the forthcoming *Vṛkṣārṇava* (c. 14th–15th century A. D.) is its inclusion of *Rahmāna-prāsāda*, *i. e.*, a mosque, in its treatment of temples etc.

Śrī-Nātha, the younger brother of Maṇḍana (author of *Prāsādamaṇḍana* etc.), composed a work in three parts, a Vastumañjari, a Prāsādamañjarī and possibly a Rūpamañjarī. The Prāsādamañjarī portion is published by P. O. Somapura and Dhaky.

Śrī-Jñānaratnakośa, probably a work of fifteenth century, quotes from several unknown works like Rekhārṇava, Vāstuhṛdaya, Ahivalaya, Hiṇḍolapaṭala, Pratisṭhāsāra of Āditya, etc.

The Oriental Institute Baroda possesses a manuscript called *Sukhānanda Vāstu*, author of *Vāsturāja Vāstuśāstra* some mss. of *Kalānidhi* of Govinda, etc. all of which have been described in the above mentioned paper of M. A. Dhaky.

The *Vāsturāja-Vāstuśāstra*, referred to above, quotes from a work called *Lakṣaṇasamuccaya*. *Lakṣaṇasamuccayā* is also quoted in the *Vīrami-*

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trodaya--Lakṣapaprakāśa, The only existing manuscript of this work is on palm-leaf in a Patan-Bhaṇḍāra, and is not later than c. 12th century A. D. on the evidence of style, script etc. It is a very corrupt manuscript, without first 110 folios, begins with chp. 10, and is incomplete, available upto folio 245 only, upto beginning of chp. 32. I am editing this work for the G. O. Series, with the kind permission of Āgamaprabhākara Muni Shri Punyavijayaji who kindly lent us both the original manuscript and its faithful transcript.

The work, principally, is not a special text on Architecture. It is like different Vaiṣṇava Saṁhitās and Śaiva Āgamas, dealing with rituals etc. also. From available portions it seems to have been a Śaivite text. So far as the architectural data is concerned, it is important for its age; it supplies information which pertains to architecture of Northern and Eastern Indian temples.

Very interesting and copious architectural data is discovered in another text which I am now editing for G. O. Series. It is a Jaina text, *Jinasaṁhitā*, by Bhaṭṭāraka Ekasaṁdhi (before 1280 A. D. after c. 1150 A. D.) in nature like the Vaiṣṇava saṁhitās etc., and devotes several chapters (21–41) to townplanning and temple architecture, iconography and *yānas* (conveyances). There is a special chapter on planning of different types of villages and towns and another on *Rājadhānī-vidhiḥ*. One of the chapters (no. 28) refers to *Gṛhalakṣaṇam* (secular archtitecture) while chps. 32-33-34 describe *Jina-Dhāman* (Jaina shrines) along with the constituent parts and various *śālās*. The temple architecture described here pertains to South Indian temple types. Regarding *Nāgara*, *Vesara* and *Drāvila* types of temples, the text says:

चतुरस्रं शिरो यस्मिन्धाम तन्नागराह्वयम् ।
द्राविलं तद्भवेद्यस्य शिखरं वसुकोटिकम् ॥ ११ ॥
वेसरं यच्छिरोवृत्तं यद्वा वारणपृष्ठवत् ।
त्रिधैवं जिनधाम स्यान्नागरादि विकल्पतः ॥ १२ ॥

(*Jinasaṁhitā*, chp. 32).

This explanation of Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara mainly on the basis of the shape of top or the superstructures of shrines is noteworthy. According to Śilparatna, Kāmikāgama, and Tantrasamuccaya the Nāgara-prāsāda is square in plan and upto top.

We have a description of a Jaina shrine in the *Ādipurāṇa* (c. 830 A.D.) of Jainasena (parvan 6, vv. 180–188) but is not so detailed as we find in *Tllakamñjarī* (Lāvaṇyavijaya's ed. part 3, pp. 92–97) which refers to several parts of the shrine, including *Śikhara*, *prākāra*, *dhvaja*, *gavākṣa*, *cīnāṁśukā*, *patākā*, *śukanāsa*, *citrakarmakhacitapradeśas*, *kapāṭa*, *mattavāraṇaparikara*, *stambha*, *tula*, *etc.* It is described as *Sarvatobhadra* (type). There were walls with *nāgadantas*, it had *javanikāpaṭas*, bells etc. It is worthwhile exploring

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all Jaina literary sources of different periods, especially the Kathā-granthas for similar data.

An interesting yet fragmentary work on Vāstu, with information on architecture mixed with that of muhūrtas etc. for vāstu ritual, is preserved in the Oriental Institute. It is a very corrupt copy prepared from the collection of a sūtradhāra of Kāsor in V. S. 1945, of a work called *Vāstupradīpa* by one Vāsudeva who calls himself a *Maga-dvija*, and son of Pogānanda, and who says that he composed the work in Śaka 1272=1350 A. D. He refers to *ekaśāla* and *dviśāla-gṛhas*, to sixty-four varieties of dvāras and so on and quotes from Varāhamihira in certain contexts.

The *Śilpaprakāśa* of Rāmacandra Kaulācāra, a mediaeval Orissan text is now ably edited, translated, annotated and published with good illustrations and drawings by Alice Boner and Sadasiva Rath Sarma.

K. V. Sounderrajan has given us an interesting study in *Kaustubha-Prāsāda, a new light on the Jayākhya-Tantra* (*J. O. I.* 1967). Studies of this type, exploiting all literary sources in the light of our up-to-date archaeological knowledge would be very useful. An ideal, masterly study of this type, based on literary and archaeological sources, is presented by Moti Chandra, on *Nidhiśṛṅga (cornucopia), a study in Symbolism* (*Bull. PWM.*, 1966). V.S. Agrawala contributed a similar excellent study of *Palace Architecture in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita* (Melanges D'indianisme A La Memoire De Louis Renou, 1968) while Dietor Schlingloff made a similar study of *Bhumigṛha* (*JOI.* 1968) from various sourees.

Madhusudan Dhaky's eontributions to the study of Indian Architecture in general and especially of the Western Indian Architecture deserve special notice and approbation. He has discussed, jointly with J. M. Nanavati, the architecture of about thirty shrines from Saurashtra discovered by them and the Archaeological Society of Porbandar, along with those already discussed by Cousens, Burgess and others, and has thrown new light on the architecture of Saurashtra, prior to circa 11th century A. D. The long paper, amply illustrated, will be shortly published in the *Artibus Asiae.*

Dhaky, discussing the *Brahmāṇasvāmī Temple at Varman*, Rajasthan (*J. O. I.* Vol. XIV. 1966), proposed a classification of Western Indian Archictural styles which he has also discussed in his treatment of *Kirāḍū and the Māru-Gurjara style of Temple Architecture* (Bull. A. A. of Banaras, 1967), and in *Some Early Jaina Temples in Western India* (Mahavīra Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Vol., Bombay, 1968). The eminent Gujarati poet and scholar, Umashankar Joshi had first suggested that what Tessitori had called Old Western Rajasthani may better be called *Māru Gurjara* language. Following him, Umakant Shah tried to describe the common artistic trends found in

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sculpture of Rajasthan and Gujarat, under the generic lable *Māru-Gurjara style.*

Dhaky has further analysed these trends and subdivided Western Indian Architecture into (1) *The Saurashtra style* (c. late 6th to early 10th century A. D.) under the Maitrakas of Valabhi and the Saindhavas of Bhutāmbilikā (Ghumli), (2) *The Mahā-Gurjara style* (c. late 8th to late 10th century A. D.) under the Cāpotkaṭas as well as the early Solaṅkīs of Aṇahilapāṭaka, (3) *The Mahā-Māru style* (c. early 8th to middle 10th century A.D.) under the Paratīhāras of Jābālipura (Jalor) and Meḍḍodara-Medāntaka (Mandor-Medta) and early Cāhamānas of Śākambharī and Naḍḍūla as well as early Guhilas of Medapāṭa and finally (4) *The Māru-Gurjara style* (c. early 11th century to the end of the 13th century A. D.) under the Solankis of Aṇahilapāṭaka, the Paramāras of Arbudamaṇḍala and the later Guhilas of Medapāṭa.

This classification, it may be remembered, is not a traditional classification based on ancient texts, nor does Dhaky claim it is such. It is based on a first hand modern study of Western shrines and of almost all available architectural texts published or unpublished. However, though very convenient and to a large extent appealing, and certainly more reasonable than classifications with dynastic names, this classification on regional basis may need further studies by several scholars before we finally accept it for our text books. My main doubt pertains to the nomenclature of the Mahā-Gurjara style of 8th century in the modern Northern Gujarat, differentiated from its contemporary Mahā-Māru style at Jalor, Śākambharī etc. Our main obstacle in nomenclature is this : When did modern Gujarat get this name? Before c. tenth century, what were rhe boundaries of Gurjaratrā, Gurjjara-deśa or better the land of the Gurijaras? What was the region in Western India where there was a concentration of Gurjjaras in the eighth century A. D.? If the Gurjjaras gradually went southwards from Rajasthan, are we entitled to give the name *Mahā-Gurjjara* style to the architecture under the Cāpotkaṭas of Pañcāsara, Aṇahilapāṭaka, Waḍhwan (Varddhamānapura) etc.? These are some of the problems that the historians may raise. The name Gurjara suggests the Gurjara people also. In the words of Dhaky, the style is called " Mahā-Gurjara by reason of the fact that its oldest and the more numerous examples are found in Gujarat " (at Roda, etc.). In this connection I would like io inform you that the author of *Kuvalayamālā* (778 A. D.) places Dvārikā in the Lāṭa eountry.

So, what were the bouudaries of Lāṭa-deśa in the eighth century? Temporarily, till we find a more suitable name, I would prefer to call it Mahā-Gujarat style and not Mahā-Gurjara style.

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But Dhaky has rendered singular services to the study of North Indian and Western Indian Architecture with his analytical approach and masterly insight and has worked out a *Chronology of Solanki temples of Gujarat* (*Journ. M. P. Itihasa Parishad*, 1951), which stands unrivalled in the field. Amongst his other papers may be noted "*The Genesis and Development of the Māru-Gurjara Temple Architecture* (under printing, *Bull. American Academy of Banaras.* no 2), *Some-Newly Discovered and Less-known Māru-Gurjara Temples in Northern Gujarat* (*J.O.I.* December, 1967), *The old temple at Lāmbā and Kāmeśvara Temple at Āuwā* (*J.A.S. Bengal*, Vol. VIII), *Svargārohaṇa-prāsāda* (*Svādhyāya*, Baroda, Vol. V) etc.

Studies in the architecture and sculpture of several other sites have been quite promising. Walter Spink has given us his own brilliant analytical approach to the dating of caves at Ajanta and Ellora (entitled *Ajanta to Ellora*) in a special illustrated number of *Marg*, Vol. XX, March, 1967. His other studies in the field are *Ajanta and Ghaṭotkaca : A preliminary analysis* (*Ars Orientalis*, Vol. VI), and *Ajanta and Elephanta : A study of their style* (*Festschrift for Ludwing Bachofer*). Deborah Brown Levine has contributed, following Walter Spink, a paper on "*Aurangabad : A stylistic Analysis* (*Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXXVIII).

Marg has recently published a special number on Delhi, Agra and Sikri, (September, 1967).

Khajurāho Kī Deva-Pratimāen (Hindi) by Dr. Ramashraya Avasthi, (Agra, 1967) is an excellent study of iconography of five select divinities, namely, Gaṇapati, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Navagrahas and Aṣṭadikpālas, from amongst the galaxy of gods and goddesses figuring in the numerous temples at Khajurāho. Such a study in iconography was long awaited since hitherto our attention was mainly diverted to the study and interpretation of the Erotic Sculptures on the walls of these shrines and only about a decade back, Krishna Dev, then Superintendent of the Temple Survey Project of the Archaeological Survey of India, undertook a serious detailed study of the architecture of these shrines. We are eagerly awaiting the publication of his monumental work. Ramashraya Avasthi has further continued his studies by publishing a paper on *Khajuraho kalā men Agni* (*U. P. H. S.* (N. S.), Vol. XIV). Niraj Jaina and Dasarath Jaina have published a small book on *Jaina temples at Khajūrāho*. Recently, Vidya Prakash of the Banaras Hindu University initiated intense study in another direction by concentrating on the social and cultural data available from the various sculptures and relief panels at Khajuraho. Much more work remains to be done in this direction by way of similar studies of groups of temples at various art centres like Sarnath, Dilwara, Aihole, and various temple groups in Orissa, South India etc. Klaus

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Bruhn has completed his work on the group of Jaina Temples at Deogadh and I believe it will be published in near future.

R. S. Gupte has recently published his *Art and Architecture at Aihole* (Bombay, 1968) which after the well-known volume on Chalukyan Architecture by Cousens, and Stella Kramrisch's study of Aihole shrines in her Hindu Temple, again revives a serious study of the art and architecture of this important group of shrines at Aihole. Further studies of the shrines of Aihole, Badami and Pattadakal, on the lines of works of Vidya Prakash and Ramasraya Avasthi can yet be undertaken to evaluate fully the contribution of early Western Chalukyas of Badami and Aihole.

R. S. Gupte has done well by publishing his books on Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves which bring together for the first time, in greater detail, at one place, information about art, architecture, iconography, etc. of the Cave shrines at Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad.

David McCutchion, studying temples in Bengal, has written on *The Temples of Birbhūm* (*Vishwabharati Qu.* Vol. 31), *The Temples of Bankura District* (*Writers' Workshop*, Calcutta, 1967), and *The Rāmāyaṇa on the Temples of Bengal* (1967). Adris Banerji writes on *Liṅgams of Jalpaiguri* (*Our Heritage*, Vol. XIV).

Klaus Fisher has tried to evaluate *Indo-Iranian contacts as revealed by mud-brick architecture from Afghanistan* (*OA.* 1966). The subject is fascinating but conclusions have to be drawn with great caution. Inspite of such dangers, Indian students must study the art and culture of countries of West Asia and Central Asia before rewriting a history of Indian art and culture. Mary Mangat-Rai has discussed Wooden Mosques of Kashmir (*OA.* 1967).

H. Sarkar has written a book on *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture*, and a paper on Elliptical Stuctures in India (*JASB*, Vol. VII).

S. R. Balasubramanayam, a devoted life-long student of Chola art and architecture, continuing his earlier publication, *Four Chola Temples* (1963), has now published the first volume of *Early Chola Art* (1966).

James Harle has written on *Three Types of Walls in the Early Western Chalukyan Temples*, (*B.A.A.* of Banaras, no. 2) and *Le temple de Naganatha a Nagral*, (*Arts Asiatiques*) both of which will be shortly published. T. V. Mahalingam has written on *The Nagaraswami Temple, Kumbhakonam* (*J.I.H.* April, 1967).

D. Handa writes on *A Mauryan Stupa at Chaneti* (*V.I.J.* Vol. IV). M. D. Khare's pape, on *Discovery of a Viṣṇu temple near Helidoras Pillār, Besnagar* (*Lalit Kala*, no. 13) is especially noteworthy.

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Special dissertations and thesis have been prepared on various temples etc. of which I could not collect the information. So far as I know, from Madras, C. Krishnamurthy has written a thesis on *The Thiruvottiyar Temple–A Study*, while S. Ponnuswamy has a monograph on the *Thiagaraj Temple at Tiruvarur*. Both are still unpublished.

A very important and interesting discovery is recently made by R. N. Mehta of the Department of Archaeology, M. S. University of Baroda. The problem of water conservation and irrigation in ancient India was solved by constructing tanks and erecting dams at various sites. Exploration and study of such dams, some of which retained water for several centuries, undertaken by him, resulted in the discoveries of many such sites in North Gujarat and Saurashtra. The famous *Setu* of the Sudarśana lake, referred to in the Girnar-Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāman could be identified, and portions of the original dam are discovered. The dam is one kilometer long, 22 meters high, 17 meters wide at top. A few other dams in Sabarkantha Agency, North Gujarat, were described by him in an earlier issue of the *J. O. I.*, Baroda. These dams are usually constructed with earth, stones and bricks and their history is traced from Mauryan age to about the tenth century A. D. R. N Mehta's paper on the *Setu* of Sudarśana lake will appear in a future issue of the *J. O. I.*, Baroda.

Another very noteworthy contribution to art and archaeology of this department lies in its Report of "*Excavation in Devni Mori*" (published, March, 1966) which has brought to light arhitecture and sculpture datable with confidence to c. 370-375 A. D. on the basis of coins and inscription recovered. The large variety of motifs obtained on different terracotta pieces which were parts of the Stūpa architecture deserve careful analysis and comparison with specimens of the Kushāṇa period at Mathura, with the numerous motifs of Gandhara art and finally one should see how evolution of some of the motifs found in Gupta art of Sarnath, Bhumara etc. can be traced from motifs already evolved in Western India (under Kshatrapas) and at Mathura (under the Kushāṇas). This study is to be made along with evidence from Mirpur Khas (whose date could not be fixed from any archaeological evidence or excavation), and art of terracottas from Ranga Mahal, Kalibangan, Badopal etc. in the old Bikaner State.

K. V. Soundara Rajan has discovered a temple in Pallava style and *milieu*, in the peripheral tract near Tiruttani, at Velakanampudi village, which is an interesting example of a rare type with an octagonal *liṅga-pīṭha*, as also an *octagonal śikhara*, thus being truly an example of Dravida vimāna type. The temple is assigned to the second half of the ninth century.

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Sculpture

So far as study of sculptures, terracottas, bronzes, ivories, wood-work and motifs etc, is concerned we have a rich harvest of books and research papers. To mention only a few: *Mathura Sculptures* by N. P. Joshi is an important addition to the existing literature on Mathura finds. It is hoped that in the second edition, both the number and the quality of plates will improve. A second volume on Mathura sculptures and terracottas not discussed in this volume, would be welcome. *Early Chola Art, Vol. I* by S. R. Subhramanyam is the result of the author's patient and exhaustive studies of Chola Art and one eagerly awaits the second volume. Douglas Barrett's excellent work on *Early Chola Bronzes*, read along with this volume gives us a fuller idea of the achievements of Chola Art in the field of "*Rūpa.*" A few years ago, Lohouizende Leewe had edited a beautiful *Catalogue of Sculptures in the Von der Heydt collection, Reitberg Museum, Zurich.* Now we have another such beautiful catalogue from Boston entitled *The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Heeramaneck Collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.* Both these catalogues set up a high standard of publication of Catalogues of Indian antiquities for our museums.

Ramashraya Avasthi's Hindi book on *Images of Gods at Khajuraho* is already referred to. L. K. Tripathi has similarly studied *Dikpāla Images on the Khajuraho Temples*, and sculptures and architecture of *The Sun Temple at Budhadita*, in Rajasthan, (both in *Bhāratī*, Vol. 9).

Balaram Shrivastava has prepared a new edition of *Rūpamaṇḍana*, with Hindi translation. The work deals with iconometry and iconography. An earlier edition from Calcutta was out of print for some time.

Amongst other publications we have Jeannine Auboyer's *India and South-East Asia* (1967), *Les Arts de l' Inde et des pays Indianises* (1968); also *Māmallapuram* by H. Goetz; *Art and Architecture At Aihole* by R. S. Gupte, etc.

Douglas Barrett published papers on *The Early Phase at Amaravati* (*Br. Mu. Qu.* 1967), *An Early Indian Bronze Figure*, (*BMQ.* Vol. XXXI), *An Early Indian Toy* (*OA*), *An Ivory Diptych* (*LK.* 13), and on *A Bronze Srinivasa group* (*BMQ.* XXXII). Ashwin Lippe wrote on *Some Sculptural Motifs on Early Chalukyan Temples* (*AA.* Vol. XXIX, 1967), Jeannine Auboyer on *L' epee Dans Les Figurations anciennes de l' art de l' Inde* (Melanges d' indianisme á la memoire de Louis Renou, 1968), Bruce H. Evans on *A Bronze Parvati of the Chola Period* (*Dayton Art Institute Bull.* 1966), Grace Morley on *Articles of Decorative Arts and Pallava and Orissan Sculptures in the National Museum* (*Bull.* N. M. New Delhi, no. 1), M. I. Khan, on *Mathura*

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Objects in Taxila Museum (*J. R. A. S.* of Pakistan, 1966), Maurizio Taddei wrote on *A Problematic Toilet-tray from Udegram* (*EW*. Vol. 16), and further remarks on *An Interesting Relief from Swat Valley* by R. C. Agrawal (both in *EW*, Vol. 16). Also we have papers, on *The Bronze Handles of Charsadda*, by Filippo Coarelli (*EW*. Vol 16) *A Rare Mahiṣamarddinī Relief in the National Museum, New Delhi*, by R. C. Agrawala (*EW*. 16), *A Varāha Image of The Kushana Period* by N. P. Joshi (LK. 12), *A Rare Nāga-Sculpture from Rajasthan* by U. P. Shah (LK. 13), *The Sculptures of Karanganath Temple, Srinivasanallur* and *Three Early Dated Chola Sculptures from Erumbur*, both by S. R. Balasubhramanyam (LK. 13), *Two Interesting Panels from Tambur*, by M. S. Nagaraj Rao (LK. 13), A *Bhikṣāṭana Sculpture*, by R. C. Agrawala (LK. 13), *Two Jaina Bronzes from Ahmedabad* (*JOIB*, 1966) and *Jaina Bronzes from Cambay* (LK. 13), both by Umakant P. Shah, *Jaina Bronzes from Baptala*, by N. Ramesan (LK. 13), *Kongu Bronzes in Victoria and Albert Museum* by R. Nagaswamy (LK. 13), *Sixth Century Bronzes from Phophanar*, by M. Venkataramayya (LK. 12), *Some Adavallan and other Bronzes*, by N. Nagaswamy (LK. 12), *The Bronze standing Buddha (8th century) from Kashmere* (*Bull. Cleveland Mu.* 1966), *Clothed in the Sun : Buddha and a Sūrya from Kashmir*, (*CMA. Bull.* 1967) by Shermann Lee, *A Bronze Srinivasa Group* by Douglas Barrett, (*B. M. Q.* 1968), *Master Bronzes of India*, by M. Fairbanks Marcus (*OA* 1966), *Five Chola Bronzes in the Collection of Prince of Wales Museum*, by B. V. Shethi (*BPWM*, 1966), *A Chola Bronze of a Dancing Child—A Problem in identification* by K. Bharata Iyer (*BPWM*, 1966), *Jaina Bronzes in Haridas Svali's collection* by Umakant P. Shah, (*BPWM*, 1966), *Recently acquired Metal Images in Prince of Wales Museum*, by Karl Khandalwala (*BPWM*. 1966), *Metal Sculptures from Eastern India*, by M. Prokopee and H. Krizkova (*New Orient*, 1967).

B. S. Blumberg writes on *Goitre in Gandhara* (*OA*. 1966), Muriel B. Christian on '*Buddhist Stele* (*Krannert Art Museum*) (in the *Burlington Magazine*, 1966), Samuel P. Cowardine discussed a "*S'ārdūla from Khajuraho in Worcester Art Museum* (*Burlington Magazine*, 1966). We have papers on *The Cult of Bhairava and an image from Ladol in the Baroda Museum*, by C. K. Gairola, (*BMB*, 1966), *Late Gupta Sculptures from Patan in the Baroda Museum* (*BMB*, 1966), by M. A. Dhaky, *Some Sūrya Images from Saurashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan* and *Three Interesting Sculptures from Idar State in the Baroda Museum*, both by Umakant P. Shah (*BMB*, 1966), *A Note on Todarmalla Group of Images in the Tirumala Temple*, by V. N. Hari Rao (*VOJ*, Vol. 8), *A Pair of Ivory figures from Orissa*, by V. P. Trivedi (*OA*. 1967), *Some Mediaeval Sculptures from Gujarat and Rajasthan* (*JISOA*, New Series I) by U. P. Shah.

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R. C. Agrawala has, besides some noted above, contributed more papers, of which a few are noted here: *Unpublished Sculptures from Rajasthan* (*Bharatiya Vidya*, 1966), *Lingodbhava and Aindri Sculptures in the Bharata Kala Bhavana, Benaras VOJ.* 1966), *A Two Faced Varahi from Jogeswari, Almora district* (LK. 12), *Yakṣa Torso from Bharatpur Region* (*JOIB*, 1967), *Unpublished Sculptures and Terracottas in the National Museum, New Delhi and some Allied Problems* (EW. Vol 17), *Unpublished Sculptures of Garuḍārūḍha Viṣṇu from Eastern India* (LK. 12), *Rājasthānakī Prastara-Kalā men Bhāravāhaka* (*Maru Bharati*, 1967), *Rājasthānankī Prācīna Mūrtikalā men Gaṇeśa* (*Maru-Bharati*, 1967 A. D.), *Rāṣṭrīya Samgrahālayakī Do Mahattvapūrṇa Mūrttiyān* (*Varada*, 1967), *Rājasthānakī Mūrtikalā men Brahma-Śāstā* (*Anveṣaṇā*, 1968).

Adris Banerji writes on *Interesting Images from South-Eastern Rajasthan* (LK. 12), M. G. Dikshit on *Some Mediaeval Sculptures from Konkan* (*BPWM*, 1966), E. Marguerite Adiceam on *Les Images de Siva dans l'inde du sud v-Harihara* (*AA.* 1966), K. Walton Dobbins writes *A Note on the Harili Image from Skāraḥ Ḍheri, year 399* (*EW.* Vol. 17) Pratapaditya Pal on *The Iconography of Amoghapāśa Lokeśwara* (*OA*, 1966-67), K. V. Soundar Rajan on *The Typology of the Anantaśāyī Icon* (*AA.* 1967). Kishore Saxena writes on *A Śiva-Pārvatī Sculpture from Kurukṣetra* (*VIJ.* 1966), and *Study of two sculptures from Pehoa* (*JOIB*, 1967), T. V. G. Sastri on *Antiquity of Nāgarī and its Toraṇa* (*JOIB.* 1966-67), R. C. Agrawala on *A Rare Statue of Yamuna in the National Museum* (*JOIB*, 1966-69) describing the beautiful terracotta from Ahicchatra, R. Subhramanyam and K. V. Raman have discussed *Terracotta Objects from Kanci Excavations* (*JIH.* 1967), while Karthikeya Sarma and B. P. Singh have discussed *Terracotta Art of Protohistoric India* (*JIH.* 1967). S. P. Gupta has discussed *Terracotta Vessels and Figurines from Khotan (Central Asia) in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad* (*JOIB*, 1967). An interesting paper on *Krishnalīlā theme on Terracotta Vessels from Central Asia*, written by R. C. Agrawala, is in printing in the second volume of the *JISOA*, New Series.

K. Bharata Iyer has contributed an interesting paper on *Wood-Sculpture from South India* (LK. 13), while R. C. Agrawala published a similar paper on *Unpublished Katarmal Wooden Reliefs in the National Museum, New Delhi* (*EW.* 1967); V. P. Dwivedi writes on *A Pair of Ivory Figures from Orissa* (*OA.* 1967)

Jewellery in ancient India is a subject which occasionally attracts scholars. Recently we have a beautifully illustrated report on South Indian temple jewellery by eminent writers like J. Filliozat and P. Z. Pattabhiraman. The work published from Pondicherry (1966) is entitled *Parures Divines Dud*

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Su De L'Inde. A. Suryakumari has also contributed a paper on *Presentation of jewels to Deities* (*VIJ*. Vol. 7).

There have been special studies on gods and goddesses and other aspects of art, one by Pratapaditya Pal is noted above. Amal Sarkar writes on *Bhairava Images and the Kapalikas* (*Indian Mu. Bull.* 1967), Y. Krishnan discusses *The Hair on Buddha's Heal and Uṣṇīṣa* (*EW*. 1966), Adris Banerji writes on *Origins of Early Buddhist Church Art* (*Our Heritage*, 1966), K. Krishna-Murthy on *Weapons of War in the Sculptures of Nagarjunikonda* (*AA*. Vol. 28), M. K. Dhavalikar writes on the *Udarāṁśuka* (*JOIB*, 1967) in Indian Art and Literature. D. C. Sircar has edited and published a volume on *The Śakti Cult and Tārā* (1967) which is a report of the Seminar on Evolution of the cult of Śakti and Iconography of Tārā. M. A. Dhaky has written on *The Iconography of Sacciyā Devī* (Chhotelal Jain Smṛti Grantha, 1967).

Vidya Prakash has discussed *A Unique Multi-headed Viṣṇu Icon (from Benaras district) and its Significance* (*JOIB*, 1967), Jose Pereira has discussed the significance of *A Maheśamūrti at Bhuvaneśvara* (*AA*. Vol. 30), Micael W. Meister writes on *The Arts of India and Nepal* (*OA*. 1968) based on the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck collection, Y. Krishan has discussed *The Nāga Cult in Indian Art and Architecture* (*OA*. Vol. 13, 1967), while Maria Marottini Spagnoli has discussed *The Symbolic Meaning of the Club in Iconography of the Kushan Kings* (*EW*. Vol. 17, 1967). Jean Nandon writes on *Symbolism du Mirror dans L' Inde* (*AA*. 1966), and K. Bharata Iyer on *The Bull in Indian Art and lore* (*Times of India Annual*, 1967), and Ram Dhamija on *Masks in India* (*Times of India Annual* 1967). There is an interesting paper on *Amba-Nana-Durga* by Bandana Saraswati in *J. A. S. Bengal*, Vol. VII. Debala Mitra contributes a paper on *A Study of some Graha-images and their possible bearing on the Nava-Devas of Cambodia* (*JASB*. Vol. VII).

For a study of origin and interpretation of Erotic Sculptures in Indian Art, Ivo Fiser's book on *Indian Erotics of the Oldest Period* would be a very useful work discussing ancient literary sources.

Amita Ray has written a small book on *Aurangabad Sculptures* (Calcutta, 1966), while Kanwar Lal has published a book on *Apsaras of Khajuraho* (Delhi, 1966). Marguerite-Marie Denek has written a book on *Indian Art* (London, 1967).

Special mention may be made here of the recent publication on *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas* (California, 1967) by John M. Rosenfield. The arts of (or under) the Kushanas in and outside the boundaries of India

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is a subject of great importance for students of early Indian sculptures and Rosenfield's book is a bold fresh approach to the subject which is full of potentialities and which should be further taken up by supplementary studies of various individual aspects of Kushana art.

R. K. Trivedi's volume on *Wood-Carving of Gujarat* published as Census of India 1961, Vol. V, Part VII-A (2), deserves special notice. It is a profusely illustrated volume, discussing various aspects of the famous wood work of Gujarat, for the first time publishing a number of unpublished specimens from all over Gujarat and listing the existing buildings with wood carvings from various sites.

S. B. Deo has written a beautiful book on *Wood-work of Nepal* which is expected to be published in near future.

Painting

In the field of Painting there have been several notable researches and contributions since we last met at Aligadh. I note here only a few of them. Firstly, mention may be made of the recently published volume on *South Indian Paintings* by C. Sivarammurti, Director, National Museum, who has done a great service in this field by giving us a reliable, well-documented and beautifully illustrated history of Painting in South India.

Stella Kramrisch threw considerable new light on *The Art of Nepal*, in 1964, including sculptures, bronzes and paintings. Pratapaditya Pal published a very interesting paper, *New Document of Indian Painting*, on the covers of a manuscript written at Arrah (*J. R. A. S.*, London, 1965), preserved in the University Library at Cambridge. Characteristics of Western miniatures, especially the farther eye extended in space, are met with in this document. He has also published one more *Kalapustaka from Nepal* (*Bull. American Academy*, Banaras, 1967), preserved in the University Library at Cambridge, containing illustrations from *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Vetālapañcavimśati* and *Aśvaśāstra*, besides scenes from a few Vaiṣṇava legends and the Buddhist story of Sudhanakumāra and Manoramā. This is one of the finest examples of a style of painting in vogue in Nepal sometime towards the end of the sixteenth century.

Pratapaditya Pal has recently made another valuable contribution to the study of painting in Nepal by publishing a long critical study of *Paintings From Nepal in the Prince of Wales Museum* (*Bull. P. W. Mu.*, No. 10).

Pramod Chandra has fully described and illustrated, *A Unique Kālakācāryakathā Ms. in the Style of the Maṇḍu Kalpasūtra of A. D. 1939* (*Bull. American Academy*, Banares, No. 1) which is another example of the Maṇḍu

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School closely following the Western Indian Miniatures, yet having its own peculiarities in the use of bright simple colours, in the delineation of human figures, in the influence of the Sultanate of Malwa, in the treatment of figures, dress etc. of the Śakas, and in the lavish treatment of nature, so ably brought out by its learned editor.

Paintings of the Sultanate period, in different regions, would certainly form a very interesting and informative study from various points of view. The recent find of a profusely illustrated *Kalpasūtra dated 1501 A. D. (1558 V. S.) painted at Ahmedabad* depicts for us in several scenes, the dress etc. of the contemporary Muslims in Gujarat. Umakant Shah could obtain a few photographs and transperancies of this unique manuscript through some Jaina friends, and a preliminary note on it is given in "*New Documents of Jaina Painting*", by Moti Chandra and Umakant Shah, published in the Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume (Bombay, 1968). The Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya of Bombay will shortly publish this long paper, in a book form, with many more colour and monochrome plates and some additional material presented by U. P. Shah in the Appendix.

The New Documents of Jaina Paintings were explored by Umakant Shah with a special objective which may be noted. There have been difficulties in correctly assigning the age and provenance or style of several loose paintings in various collections. The only solution to these outstanding problems lies in our collecting dated or datable specimens whose findspots are recorded. This is possible in case of manuscripts with illustrations and having colophons giving date and place of writing. These specimens would correspond with the style of several undated unplaced specimens. With this view several specimens are presented in this joint paper of Moti Chandra and Umakant Shah, and it is hoped that further exploration with this view in mind will be carried out by our co-workers in the field.

The New Documents in Painting have brought to light a profusely illustrated beautifully painted *Upadeśamālā* MS. of 1708 A. D., painted probably around Sirohi, paintings of *Chandra-Rāsa* in mss. done at Surat (1959 A. D.) Vyāghrasenapur (Gujarat, 1955 A. D.) and Poona (1812 A. D.), *Kalpasūtras* painted at Ahmedabad (1501 A. D.), and Vadnagara (1490 A. D.), *Kālakakathā* in the Maṇḍu style, *Dūrgā-Saptaśatī* from Surat and Sirohi, *Samgrahaṇī Sūtra* painted at Matar, Central Gujarat, (1583 A. D.), rediscussed under new light with more illustrations, *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa (1669 A. D.) painted at *Asaṇīkoṭṭa* in Uttara Pradesh, *Kumārasambhava* (1644 A. D.) painted at Nautanpur also probably in U. P., and for the first time we have evidence here of beautiful paintings of c. 1640 A. D., done at Anjāra in Kaccha, in a manuscript of the *Uttarādhyayana sūtra ;* also we have

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an early manuscript of *Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā-Kathā* painted at Patan (N. Gujarat, in 1493 A. D.), a *Chandraprabha-Caritra* painted at Patan in 1498 A. D. and an *Uttarādhyayana* of same origin painted in 1492 A. D. An undated *Naladamayantī-Rāsa* shows paintings which probably are the work of Śālivāhana. Two miniatures of the *Damayantī-kathā-campū* of Trivikrama are assignable to c. 1400-1450 A.D. To this list may be added the illustrations of *Supāsanāhacarita*, painted at Delvada in Mevad in similar style, in 1423 A. D. discovered by Muni Punyavijayaji.

We now know definitely the centres and style of paintings comparable with the famous illustrated scroll of *Vasanta-Vilāsa*. The chief centres were Ahmedabad, Vadnagar, Cambay, Patan, Gandhara near Broach and Sojitra, Petlad etc. in central Gujarat.

I believe that Surat had a local school in the seventeenth century, so also Kaccha had its own school, but the latter was more close to the earlier Western Indian miniature paintings. For the information of scholars I would also like to point out that Idar was another active centre of which we had the palm-leaf *Kalpa-sūtra* of c. fourteenth century and Mrs. Sarayu Doshi has now discovered interesting valuable Digambara Jaina evidence of sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some characteristics of some of the Malwa paintings are now found in manuscripts painted at Idar and this widens the provenance of what we call Malwa school or style.

But a much more interesting discovery lies in the publication of miniatures from a richly illustrated *Kalpasūtra-and Kālaka-kathā manuscript, dated 1403 V. S. (= 1367 A. D.)*, from the collections of Muni Shri Puṇyavijayaji, also brought to light by U. P. Shah in the above paper. This takes further back our history of illustrated paper-manuscripts from Western India and for the first time provides for us predecessor of the famous fifteenth century school of (miniature) paintings in Gujarat. The manuscript, according to marginal note, was deposited in the *Mahāvīra-Citkośa* in olden days, and was very probably painted at Patan.

Since the publication of illustrations of *Ni'mat-Nāmā* by Skelton and Archer, of Paintings under the Sultans and Moghul Emperors by Ettinghousen, further publications and studies by different writers, of *Hamz-Ñāmā*, *Tuti-Nāmā*, etc., or of *Laur-Chandā* and *Mirgāvatī*, have appeared and our conceptions regarding art under the Sultans and the Moghul Emperors have undergone revision, and the *Kalpasūtra painted* at Ahmedabad in 1501 A. D. further shows that artists of the old school had already started assimilation of new ideas, motifs etc., from the Sultanate period. Beginnings of assimilation and adoptations or borrowings must have been more or less contemporary in canvas and stone.

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A complete manuscript of the *Balagopāla-stuti* with illustrations in almost every page, including some full page ones, recently discovered by me dates from about 1530-1540 A. D. Painted in Western India, probably Gujarat, in the omission of three-quarters profile, the extended farther eye, etc., it is a departure from the Western miniatures obtained in Jaina manuscripts, though retaining the love for plain brick-red background etc. It can be dated fairly accurately on account of the fact that the name of the original owner is written on top.

A profusely illustrated *Gīta-Govinda* of the same style and age as the *Bālagopāla-stuti* of c. 1540 A. D. is also found. These as well as the already known *Ṁatar Samgrahani sūtra* of 1583 A. D. provide for us the beginnings of a new movement in Western India.

Recently an illustrated Gujarati version by Bhīma, of the Sanskrit text *Harilīlā-śoḍaśa-kalā* as well as a Gujarati rendering entitled *Prabodha-prakāśa* from the famous Sanskrit drama *Prabodha-Candrodaya* are found, and both the manuscripts can be dated around 1520. These are not specimens of superior workmanship but are valuable specimens of non-Jaina illustrated texts besides being noteworthy for the style. More important however are the numerous illustrations of the old Gujarati text *Pañcākhyāna* in the collections of the Gujarati Department of the M. S. University of Baroda. The paintings can be assigned to c. 1525-40 A. D.

To the above list of recent finds may be added, the eighteenth century Deccani miniatures of the Dig. Jaina *Sugandha-Daśamī-kathā*, from Nagpur, published by Hiralal Jaina and discussed by V. S. Agrawala, a big long scroll from Karanja discovered by Shrimati Sarayu Doshi, and the *Yaśodharā-Carita* of 1555 V. S. (1498 A. D.) from Karamsad, and illustrated copies of Raidhū's works, from the Digambara collections at Mojamabad near Jaipur. The *Yaśodharā-Carita* noted above originally belonged to a monk in Sojitrā and should be regarded as copied and painted in Sojitra near Karamsad. A beautiful manuscript, with gold lavishly used, it contains a number of representations of secular interest as they illustrate a story. The manuscript is dated in V. S. 1555.

I want to point out here that the fifteenth century style obtained in *Vasanta-Vilāsa* has originated in the latter half (or at least the last quarter) of the preceding century and the *Vasanta-Vilāsa* or the *Yaśodharā Carita* etc. belong to the period when the style reached its maturity.

A. *Kumārasambhava* with only two miniatures, but exactly in the style of the *Anjara Uttarādhyayana*, and also hailing from Kaccha is also recently found by me; thus these two finds from Kaccha give us for the first time an insight into the seventeenth century painting in Kaccha.

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Here I want to bring to the notice of scholars a very important new discovery of illustrations from a palm-leaf manuscript dated in V. S. 1117 (= 1060 A. D.) now in the Jaina Bhandara at Jesalmere and painted in Rajasthan or Gujarat. For the interest of scholars, I am attaching herewith photoplates of these miniatures (figs. 1, 2, 3). From the format and the names of monks, donor and the scribe mentioned in two colophons it is certain that this manuscript was written in Rajasthan or Gujarat, perhaps the latter. Muni Puṇyavijayajī who inspected and catalogued this MS. is also confident that the manuscript hails from Rajasthan or Gujarat.

The new find, first referred to by Satya Prakash in a small article in his Hindi Journal *Ākṛti*, and published without discussing its importance in the history of art, opens up for us a new chapter in the history of Western Indian Painting. The earliest Western Indian Miniatures known hitherto were a few roundels in a palm-leaf MS. of *Ñiśītha-cūrṇi*, dated in A. D. 1100, and the painting of a standing Sarasvatī in another palm-leaf MS dated in A. D. 1127. This last one has another miniature, namely, of a Tīrthaṅkara with attendants, which is not often reproduced. But this new find takes back our history of miniature paintings in Western India, to the middle eleventh century. In an earlier paper published by Umakant Shah (in Journal of *Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New series, special no. on Western Indian Art, pp. 34 ff.), he has shown that some Wooden book-covers from Jesalmere date back to tenth and eleventh centuries A. D. One of the Paṭṭikās of Jinadatta Sūri, from Jesalmere was already assigned by Moti Chandra to c. 1112-54 A. D., and another to c. 1130 A. D. The new find is a palm-leaf manuscript containing two texts in succession (*Ogha-niryukti* and *Daśavaikālika-ṭīkā*), both having same colophons about the donor, the donee monk and the scribe (all identical names), but the first having further the date, V. S. 1117 (1060 A. D.), clearly mentioned.

What is much more important, however, is the style of these miniatures. The rendering of the elephant is certainly superior to later specimens known hitherto while the figures of the Goddess Śrī and Kāmadeva (with bow, arrow and his *makara-dhvaja* planted beside him) call for special attention. These do not show the pointed nose or chin, or the face in the typical three-quarters profile. The rendering of the figure of Kāmadeva is certainly of a superior type, in the tradition of rendering of figures (on stone) in the age of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. From the black and white photographs supplied to me, it is difficult to say whether there was any attempt at shading (and one would not venture it unless the original or its transperancies are available). But the style of the miniature of Kāmadeva is different from the one found in the Sarasvatī of 1127 A. D. and probably belongs to a tradition which was exis-

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ting in Western India in the post Gupta age or at least in the age of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, in c. 8th-10th centuries A. D.

True it is that in the Viṣṇu on Garuḍa at Kailāsa, we had a first glimpse of the the pointed nose and other beginnings of the Western Indian Miniatures-style, it is also true, as has been recently shown by M. R. Majumdar, that on the copper-plate grant of Paramāra Vākpatirāja dated in 974 A. D., we have an incised figure of Garuḍa with three-quarters profile, somewhat projecting farther eye and pointed chin, all reminding Ellora Garuḍa and in the charter of Parmara Bhojadeva, dated in A. D. 1021, we again have a Garuḍa with similar traits, with the face more squarish, showing clearly that by the last quarter of the tenth century and the first quarter of the eleventh century these traits had already been current. The new find, dated in 1060 A. D. now suggests that the older style was co-existing though it was gradually being influenced and replaced by the new idiom in the eleventh century.

Incidentally I wish to make it clear here that in the Sarasvatī of 1127 A. D., we have a very close parallel, in style, of the frescoes of the Jaina caves at Ellora, assigned roughly to the 9th-10th centuries. It would be interesting to note that in these caves at Ellora, the artists have usually painted faces in three quarters profile as in the Saraswatī of 1127 A. D. The faces are generally oblong, not squarish, though with prominent noses. A little slip of the painter would project in space, the farther eye. The human figures are tall with long somewhat slim legs, totally different from the figures with stunted torsoes and thick-set bodies of Western Indian style. The Saraswatī of 1127 A. D. does not represent the typical human form of other Western Indian miniatures and should be regarded as more akin to the style of Ellora Jaina frescoes which probably represent the Deccan style under Rashṭrakūṭas. We must remember here that Mīnaladevī, the mother of Siddharāja was probably a Kadamba princess and being a sort of dominating and ambitious, assertive personality, might have patronised in her kingdom several artists, scholars, and others from her own homeland. It is only the linear conception and the gradual disappearance of shading that are common with other miniatures from Gujarat. Probably the Sarasvatī of 1127 A. D. is a work of an artist from Deccan, done in Gujarat.

Since we have now evidence of at least the tenth and eleventh century painting in Western India, it will not be out of place to refer here to some literary evidence from Western India.

About the art of painting in Western India, we have some interesting literary evidence, not discussed hitherto. The *Kuvalayamālā-Kahā*, a Prakrit work composed in 778-79 A. D. by Uddyotana sūri, the grand-pupil of

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Haribhadra sūri*, is a treasure house of cultural data for the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. A whole chapter (no. 29) is devoted to the description of an elaborate *Saṁsāra-Cakra-Paṭa*, a painting on canvas depicting the miseries, inequalities, futilities etc., of human life, the conditions of lower animals, insects etc., and of heavenly beings. Another *Paṭa* showed the futility of human efforts. Inspite of poetic fancies and exaggerations, it is obvious that large scale paintings showing various aspects of life with all its different sentiments and emotions and including natural sceneries, as also representations of torments of hell and pleasures of heaven, were popular. Translation of the whole chapter is not necessary for our purpose. It is sufficient to note here that painting on large-scales, giving narration of stories through a chain of events depicted in succession, were practised. The whole description makes it quite clear that the efficiency of a painter lay in successfully depicting the different *rasas* (sentiments) and *bhāvas* (moods, passions), with clear outlines and appropriate use of pigments.

The painter of this paṭa was Bhānu, prince of King Simha of the ancient city of *Dvārikā situated in the Lāṭa-deśa.* Uddyotana sūri, who composed his work at Jalor in Western Rajasthan (Marvad) and whose field of activity along with that of his teacher, grand-teacher, great-grand teacher and others was Marwar and modern Gujarat, includes Dvārikā (on the west coast of Saurashtra) in the Lāṭa-deśa. If we remember *Larakhānā* of Sindh, *Lari* dialect, and *Larike* of Ptolemy, we are led to the conclusion that the Lāṭa-deśa once possibly included the whole of West coast from Sindh, Saurāshtra upto Narmada or Tapi. The author thus describes painting as practised in this Lāṭa-deśa (and Marwar) from personal knowledge. Bhānu, the royal painter of the paṭa, here says that he knew *citra-karma* which was accomplished with proper lines, composition, and portrayal of *bhāvas* with appropriate selection and application of colours *(varṇa);* he also knew how to look at, study and appreciate a painting; cf. :—

रेखा-ठाणय भावेहिँ संजुयं वण्ण-विरयणा-सारं।
जाणामि चित्तयम्मं णरिंद दट्ठुं पि जाणामि।

(*Kuvalayamālā*, ed. by Upadhye, p. 185).

Thus the ideal painter was one who not only knew how to paint well but who was also well-versed in art-criticism.

The *citra-paṭa* painted by Bhānu looked as if it was a celestial painting *i.e.*, of an extraordinary, inspired, superhuman workmanship; it very vividly represented all incidents, and it was *atisamkula*, i.e. crowded with a large

* See, Shah, U. P., *Caṭṭāṇam Maḍham*, Golden Jubilee Volume, A.B.O.R.I. Poona, 1968, pp. 247 ff.

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number of compositions, of figures, scenes etc. Thus excellent workmanship lay in making the *citra* true to life, inspired and successful in the proper depiction of various scenes and figures on one canvas (cf. *divva lihiyayam piva aisamkulam savvavuttanta pacckkhikaraṇam*..etc).

Uddyotana was a pupil of Vīrabhadra, who was a pupil of the great Jaina monk and scholiast Haribhadra sūri. The main fields of activity (vihāra) of Haribhadra were Chitod (Mevad), Marwar and Rajasthan. Haribhadra wrote his famous *Samarāiccakahā* towards the end of the sixth century or in the first quarter of the seventh century.

This work again speaks of a painting *Vidyādhara-yugala* done with bright colours (high lights) appropriately used, and made up of sharp fine lines drawn with very fine brush *(gulikā)*. People also excelled in Portrait Painting. The word used for life-like portraits is *Paḍicchandaya (Praticchandaka)*. In later texts we find the term *Viddha-citra*, but it seems that in the days of Bhāsa, *Praticchandaka* was possibly used for such portraits.*

The act of painting was *ālekhana*, *lekhana*, as we also find in other texts including the *Pādatāḍitakam*. A portrait of a princess Ratnavatī of Sānkhāyanapura was drawn on a canvass *(ālikhito abhimatapaṭaḥ)*. This was shown by the artists to a prince named Guṇacandra with due humbleness. On seeing it, Guṇacandra remarks (I quote the Sanskrit *Chāyā*) :—

यद्येष कलाया लवस्ततः सम्पूर्णा तु कीदृशी भवति ।
सौन्दर्यासंभव एव अतः परं चित्रकर्मणः ॥
अस्माभिरदृष्टपूर्वोऽन्यैरपि नूनमत्र लोकैः ।
एवंविधो सुरूपो रेखान्यासो न दृष्ट इति ॥
यद्यपि च रेखान्यासः प्रत्येकमपि सुन्दरः कथमपि ।
तथाऽऽपि समुदायशोभा नेदृशी भवत्यन्यस्य ॥

(*Samarāiccakahā*, ed. Jacobi., chp. VIII, p. 603).

It will be seen here that while appreciating the portrait, emphasis is laid on the skill in drawing the outlines *(rekhānyāsa)*. Did this emphasis on the line later develop into what we know as "linear conception" of painting, almost invariably seen in Western Indian miniatures ?*

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* Cf. धनुःशतमात्रेण दृष्टः स दिव्यवारणप्रतिच्छन्दः ।

Pratijñā, I.

प्रतिच्छन्दं धात्रा सुवति वपुषां किं नु रचितम् ।

Avimāraka, II. 3.

Haribhadra has used Praticchandaka in this sense in other passages also, cf :—

पेसिओ य णाए मयणमञ्जुयाहत्थंमि कुमारपडिच्छंदओ रयणवईए ।

Op. cit. p. 622

It may be remembered that some of the tendencies of Western Indian mediaeval sculptures already appear in the eighth century. Nṛsiṁha from Devāṅgaṇa illustrated

(Continued on next page)

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Later during the time of *Citrakarma-vinoda*, Guṇacandra himself draws some painting. This is described as under (Sanskrit *Chāyā*) :—

आलिखितः कुमारेण सुविभक्तोज्ज्वलेन वर्णकर्मणाऽलक्ष्यमाणैर्गुलिकाव्रजैरनुरूपया सूक्ष्मरेखया प्रकटदर्शनेन निम्नोन्नतविभागेन विशुद्धया वर्तनया उचितेन भूषणकलापेन अभिनवस्नेहोत्सुकत्वेन परस्पर-हास्योत्फुल्लवद्धदृष्टिरारूढप्रेमत्वेन लङ्घितोचितनिवेशो (लक्षितोचितनिवेशो) विद्याधरसङ्घाटक इति।

The pigments were properly mixed and the colours appropriately differntiated in various shades (*suvibhakta*) and were bright (*ujjvala*, or showed proper high lights), the brushes (*gulikā-vraja*) were extremely fine (almost imperceptible) with which were drawn extremely fine lines; the relievo was shown (heights and depths properly differentiated and suggested clearly), the *vartanā* or shading and modelling was *viśuddha*, *i.e.*, faultless, the element of ornamentation (*bhuṣaṇā*) was appropriately introduced, and the element of joy and affection towards each other (*bhāva*) properly executed. (Siddharṣi, another Jaina monk from Western India, who composed his allegorical story of *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā* in the early c. 10th century A. D., almost uses the same words in a passage recently quoted by Sivarammurti in his *South Indian Paintings*).

The painting was drawn on a *paṭṭikā*. The two painters of the portrait of Ratnavatī were asked by Guṇacandra to study and criticize the *Citra-Paṭṭikā of Vidyādharayugala*, executed by himself (Guṇacandra). The technical term used for art-criticism is *Nirūpaṇa* (cf. *niruevha tubbhe sayameva ti* and *niruviyā Cittamaibhuṣaṇehim*. (*Ibid.*, p. 615).

The *nirūpaṇa* of the *Citra-paṭṭikā*, done by these artists is noteworthy :

देव ! अपूर्वैषा चित्रकर्मविच्छित्तिः कथयतीव निजभावं स्फुटवचनैः। चित्रकर्मणि देव ! दुष्करं भावाराधनम्। प्रशंसन्ति इदमेवात्राचार्याः। अभिनवस्नेहोत्सुकेनापि परस्परं हास्योत्फुल्लवद्धदृष्टित्वं तथाऽऽरूढप्रेमत्वेनापि च लङ्घि(क्षि)तोचितनिवेशकं चात्राकथितमपि देव ! चित्रशास्त्रे पठ्यते, यथा विना चरितादिना अधिकारेण यथाकथंचित् किल यादृशभावयुक्तं चित्रकर्म निष्पद्यते तादृशभावसंपत्तिर्नियमेन चित्रकारिणः। ततो देव ! आसन्नौ देवस्य प्रियदर्शनेन ईदृशो भाव इति (Ibid., p. 615).

It is likely that here we have a quotation from a lost Citraśāstra, in "*vinā caritādinā..Citrakāriṇaḥ*." It is important to note here that success in suggesting the *bhāvas* in a painting was regarded as a great accomplishment of the artist. We must note that the expression *Citrakarmavicchittiḥ*, is possibly used here in the sense of both proper arrangement (composition) and colouring with suitable pigments.

I am not repeating here the evidence from *Tilakamañjarī*, *Udayasundarī kahā* etc. already discussed by Sivarammurti. But I should like to quote

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(Continued from previous page

by Kramrisch as well as Pramod Chandra, and in the middle layer paintings in Kailasa at Ellora we find similar beginnings of Western Indian Miniature paintings. "Linear conception" could have come into vogue by c. 8th-9th centuries A. D.

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here an interesting reference to a Citraśālā (Hall of Paintings) attached to the Jaina shrine Kumāravihāra at Patan (now not extant) built by Kumārapāla. Rāmacandrasūri, the famous author of *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* and several plays, etc., who was a contemporary of Kumārapāla, gives a poetic description of this Citraśālā which had paintings of elephants, monkeys, camels, chariots, lives of gods and goddesses, scenes of several Nāṭyas, and of the wars between gods and demons :

व्यालैर्बालान्गजेन्द्रैः कपिकरभरथैर्ग्राम्यसार्थाँश्चरित्रैः
श्रद्धालून्देवतानां नृपतिमृगदृशो वासवान्तःपुरीभिः।
नानानाट्यैर्नटौघान् मरुदसुरभवैः संगरैर्वीरवर्गान्
एकाकिन्यैव लोकाँस्तरलयति मुहुर्यत्र चित्रस्य संसत् ॥ ११० ॥

At another place, paintings of horses, Kalpa-vṛkṣas (Wish-fulfilling trees), Moon, Kāmadhenu, Lakṣmī and the Airāvata elephant are referred to (cf: *Samkrāmadbhisturaṅgadrumaśaśisurabhiśrīgajaiḥ bhitticitraiḥ—Ibid* v. 10).

Paintings on walls of shrines and halls of paintings were common in Jaina shrines. Jinasena I (c. 830 A. D.) refers to Paṭṭa-śālā in a Jaina shrine (*Ādipurāṇa*, parva 6, v. 188).

Earlier still, Jaṭāsiṁhanandi (c. seventh century A. D.), in his beautiful work *Varāṅgacarita*, describing a Jaina temple, also refers to a *Paṭṭakaśālā* in a Jaina temple wherein were *paṭṭakas* (scrolls or boards) with paintings of the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras, great monks, Cakravartins and Vidyādharas (VC. xii. vv. 67, 93).

The references from Jinasena and Jaṭāsiṁhanandi pertain to South Indian Jaina shrines. This takes us again to the review of recent researches in South Indian Paintings.

The Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh made an important discovery of wall paintings at Alladurg (Medak district) and a small booklet on these is also published by Abdul Waheed Khan, the Director of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh. The paintings include a figure of monk, figures of Umā-Maheśvara, etc. The frescoes are assigned by Waheed Khan to latter half of the eleventh century A. D., but they might be later in age.

N. Venkataramanayya of the same department has discovered a Cave with Brahmanical Sculpture and paintings reported to belong to 8th-9th centuries at Adivisomanpalli in Karimnagar district. A report on these is under publication.

Study of Ajanta is full of immense possibilities and every time we have some interesting new approaches and publications. In the last three or four

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years we have further such publications, one of the foremost of which being the recent beautiful publication on *Ajanta Murals* by the Archaeological Survey of India. which is the work of a team of experts of the Department, including A. Ghosh, B. B. Lal, M. N. Deshpande and Ingrid Aall. A noteworthy feature of the work is the reliable colour reproductions of high quality over and above the illuminating studies on various aspects of Ajanta contributed by these experts.

We do hope to obtain similar works on Ellora, Badami, Bagh, etc. from the Department of Archaeology of the Government of India.

An outstanding publication painting is the *Prāgaitihāsika Bhāratīya Citrakalā* (in Hindi) by Jagdish Gupta. W. G. Archer has this time discussed *Paintings of the Sikhs*, Pratapaditya Pal has written a monograph on *Two Buddhist Paintings from Nepal*, while M. S. Randhawa published *Kangra Paintings of the Bihari Sat Sai*, and *Chamba Painting*. Karl Khandalwala has brought out, on behalf of Lalit Kala Academy, two more portfolios: *Rāgamālā Paintings*, by Ananda Krishna and *Leaves from Indian Paintings*, by Moti Chandra. Ajit Mukerjee has written a highly priced book on *Tantra Art*. Kishorilal Vaidya and O. Handa have published a book in Hindi entitled *Pahārī Citrakalā*.

Amongst papers may be noted, *Identification of an Ajanta Fragment*, by Wayne E. Begley (OA. 1968), *An Early Nepalese Palm leaf MS*, by Shirley M. Black (OA. 1967), *An Illustrated MS. of the Dārāb-Nāmā painted in Popular Mogul Style* by Moti Chandra (B. P. W. M. no. 10), S. K. Andhare's *Paintings from the Thikana of Devgadh* (B. P. W. M. no. 10), and *The Dated Rāgamālā from the Thikana of Shahpura* (British Museum Quarterly); *An unpublished Illuminated MS. entitled Fawāid-i-Qutb Shāhi* (LK. no. 13) by Y. K. Bukhari, *The Literary Evidence for Painting in the Delhi Sultanate* (B. A. A. Banares. no. 1) by Simon Digby; *Illustrated Kalpa-Sūtra Painted at Jaunpur, A. D. 1465*, by Moti Chandra and Karl Khandalwala (LK. 12), *Kangra Paintings from the Bhāgavata Purāṇa in the Baroda Museum* (BMB, 1966), by Karl Khandalawala, *Some New Acquisitions of Ragini Miniatures* by O. C. Ganguly (BMB, 1966), *New Pichavai in the Baroda Museum* (BMB 1966) by R. N. Mehta, *A beautiful piece of painted Mughal Textile* (MR. 1966) by Sudha Bose, *Mediaeval Indian Painting* by H. K. Sherwani (Indica, 1966), *A Dated MS of Kālakācārya Kathā in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, (dated Saṁvat 1423 = A. D. 1366), by S. V. Goraksakar (BPWM. no. 9), *New Studies in Pahari Painting* by Jagdish Mittal (LK. 12), *Laharu and Mahesh : The miniature painters of Chamba in the mid-eighteenth century* (LK. 13), by Viswa Chander Ohri; *Deccani Painting* by B. N. Goswamy (LK. 12), *Technique of Pahari Painting : A*

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discussion of colour and Pattern notes, also by B. N. Goswamy (EW. 1967), *Painting in Bundi*, by M. S. Randhawa (Roopalekha, Vol. 35), *Rock Paintings from Kambakkam* by A. V. N. Sharma (Q. J. M. S.), *Basohli Paintings of Bhanudatta's Rasamañjarī*, by M. S. Randhawa and S. D. Bhambri (Roopalekha, Vol. 26), *On some Rajasthani Portraits in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, by B. N. Goswamy (Roopalekha, Vol. 36), *Kangra Ragamala Paintings* by M. S. Randhawa (Times of India Annual, 1967) *Tibetan Thangkas* by Richard Bartholomew (Times of India, Annual, 1967), *Some Illustrated manuscripts of the Bālagopālā-stuti : Early 17th century A. D.*, by Moti Chandra (Times of India, Annual, 1967), *Hunting Scenes in Indian Rock-Paintings*, by S. K. Pandey (Bull. Ancient Hist. & Arch, no. 1), *North Indian Paintings in the eighteenth century*, by S. K. Sarasvati (East, Vol. I), *Portraiture in Rajasthani and Pahari Paintings*, by Karl Khandalwala (Times of India Annual, 1968).

Before we leave this section, mention must he made of important discovery of paintings, in the Valleys of Lahoul and Spiti, made a few years ago by M. N. Deshpande. His monograph on the same is eagerly awaited.

Saṅgīta

So far as music, dance and drama are concerned quite a number of texts have been published for the first time in the last few years. This includes the last volume of the *Mānasollāsa* and the *Abhinavabhāratī* commentary *on Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra* published in the G. O. S. But the editor, Shri Ramakrishna Kavi died without giving details of manuscripts used by him and we hope that several institutions and scholars will co-operate with the Oriental Institute, Baroda, which has now planned to publish a second Revised edition of the *Abhinavabhāratī*, by supplying transcripts and available information of the existing manuscripts of the *Abhinavabhāratī* and the manuscripts utilized by the late Shri Ramkrishna Kavi. Complete translation of Bharata's text by M. M. Ghosh is also published.

In the field of Saṅgīta a very important text has been recently published, *i.e.*, the *Nṛttaratnāvali* of Jāya Senāpati of the Kākatīyas of Warangal (Andhra Pradesh), edited by Prof. V. Raghavan. His learned Introduction shows that Jāya, a Senāpati of Mahārājā Gaṇapatideva, wrote the *Nṛttaratnāvali* in 1253-54 A. D.

The great popularity of the arts of dance and music in Āndhradeśa from early centuries of the Christian era is evidenced by numerous sculptural representations from Amaravati, Nagarjunikonda, Goli, Jagayyapeta, etc. The contribution of Andhra to the field of fine arts, especially architecture, sculpture, music and dance, deserves a separate special treatment. It is

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sufficient to note here that this work of Jāya proves the continuity of Andhra's contribution to the field of dancing.

The most significant part of the contribution of *Ñṛttaratnāvali* lies in its treatment of the *Deśī*—the Deśī Lāsyāṅgas, and the different forms of Deśī dances "on all of which", as shown by its learned editor, "in the absence of earlier texts, Jāya's work, along with that of Pārśvadeva, forms the most valuable source of information".

While editing the *Saṅgītopaniṣad-Sāroddhāra* of Sudhākalaśa Gaṇi (1381 V S. = 1324 A. D.), I had suggested that regional variations in dance techniques of Bharata-Nāṭya seem to have taken place during the course of centuries since Bharata wrote, that the descriptions of Chāris, Karaṇas etc. even in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* are not full and therefore need the help of a traditional artist teaching it from practical knowledge inherited by him and that there seems to have been a Western Regional tradition which needs to be properly explored from a study of paintings, reliefs and texts like that of Sudhākalaśa. Raghavan has voiced a similar view regarding Andhra-traditions from a study of Jāya's text, and his remarks regarding Deśī deserve further notice. More serious study and researches in these directions for various regions of India should now be undertaken.

Sudhākalaśa is the earliest known writer giving us iconography of Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs. O. C. Ganguly's volumes on the subject are well-known to all serious students. Recently we have another masterly work entitled "*Miniatures of Musical Inspiration in the Berlin Museum of Indian Art*" by Ernst and Rose Leonore Waldschmidt. The authors have devoted one big part of the book to Iconography of 84 Rāgas, Rāgiṇīs Rāgaputras, with references to published illustrations. We have also to find out whether there were regional differences in the Iconography, attested by paintings of Rāgas and Rāgiṇī's of the respective regions and whether stone reliefs of Rāgas and Rāgiṇīs had ever been popular.

Prem Lata Sharma had published, a few years ago, the first volume of *Saṅgītarāja* of Maharana Kumbha. The second volume comprising *Vādyaratnakośa*, *Nṛtyaratnakośa* and *Rasaratnakośa* is under preparation. The Music College of the Banaras Hindu University, under the guidance of Dr. Prem Lata Sharma, is preparing an *Index of the Technical Words in the Nāṭyaśāstra*. Pradeep Kumar Datta of the above college has written a book, in Hindi, on *Nāyaka-Nāyikābheda aur Rāga-Rāgiṇī Vargīkaraṇa*.

Rina Singha and Reginald Massey have published a book on *Indian Dances: history and growth* (London, 1967). Xena Zerina has written a book on *Classic Dances of the Orient* (New York, 1967). The Sikh Sacred

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Music Society have introduced *Sikh Sacred Music* to the general reader with information about the authors of the songs, the performance of the *Śabda Kīrtana*, the musical instruments used, the various variations in different Rāgas used, etc. A reprinted edition of *Musical Instruments of India* by S. Krishnaswamy has appeared. A more comprehensive work, *A Dictionary or Encyclopedia of Indian Musical Instruments*, illustrating different types of Instruments, including representations in relief sculptures, paintings, coins etc., along with information gathered from works in Sanskrit, Prakrits, Pali, and the various principle languages of India, deserves to be undertaken. Instruments used by tribal peoples and village folks should also be included.

Several texts on different aspects of Saṅgīta are still unpublished. Publications of such texts deserve to be undertaken by different institutions. Of these, the *Saṅgīta-Sudhākara* by Haripāla of the Chaulukya dynasty of Gujarat, edited by U. P. Shah, is undertaken for publication in the G. O. Series. Similarly, the *Saṅgīta-Maṇḍana* by Maṇḍana the author of *Kāvya-Maṇḍana*, *Campū-Maṇḍana*, etc. is also being edited for the G. O. Series.

The 'more important papers' of Dr. B. C. Dev are collected together by the author in a book on *Psychoacoustics of Music and Speech*, published by the Music Academy, Madras (1967). This is an important publication embodying fruits of painstaking research and wide range of scholarship of the author.

Journal of The Music Academy, Madras is famous for important contributions on Indian Music appearing in every volume. It continues to maintain its high standard under its able editor, Prof. V. Raghavan. I refrain from giving list of papers from the various Journals on Saṅgīta published in India. But I must note here that the Journal entitled *Sangeeta Nāṭaka* started by the Saṅgīta Nāṭaka Akademy, has made good progress, so also the half-yearly *Indian Music Journal* edited by Prof. Sadgopan has been steadily contributing to this field of studies. *Tamil Culture*, the Journal of the Academy of Tamil Culture also continued to give some important contributions in the field of Indian music, dance, etc.

I may however note here Dr. Kapila Vatsyayana's lucid exposition of *The 108 Karaṇas* which re-interprets chapter IV of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* and the various sculptures on the Chidambaram temple. This is published in the Sangeeta Nāṭaka Journal. Author of *Folk Dances of India*, Kapila Vatsyayana has recently contributed an interesting paper on *The Theory and Technique of Classical Indian Dancing*, in Artibus Asiae, Vol. xxix, 1967. The following remarks of Kapila Vatsyayana are especially noteworthy: "The amazing continuity of the *Nāṭyaśāstra* is preserved in these dance-styles and an accurate systematic study of the academic and oral traditions of the dance has yet to

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be attempted." It is now time that an authentic work or works on Classical and Folk Dances of India, from all aspects and based on different sources may be undertaken.

Other Arts and Crafts

During our period, John Irwin has contributed a beautifully illustrated article on *Mughal Jades* (Times of India Annual, 1968). His work on *Jade Carvings of Persia, India and Turkey*, incorporating a commemorative catalogue of the exhibition of Islamic Jades held in the V. & A. Museum, 1966, and written jointly with Robert Skelton and R. Pinder-Wilson is due to be out in 1969. Robert Skelton has also contributed a paper an the *Shah Jahan Cup* in the V. & A. Museum, Bull., July, 1966.

Irwin's study of Indian Textiles is well-known to all of us. Out of the 8 volumes of *Catalogue of the Textile Collections at the Calico Museum, Ahmedabad*, the first three are ready and will appear next year. A collection of essays (revised) by John Irwin and P. R. Schwartz is published in a book form, entitled, *Indo-European Textile History*.

Marg, in a special issue (June, 1966) on *Indian Lacquerware*, focussed our attention on an ancient craft of India, known from the age of the Mahābhārata which refers to a lākṣāgṛha. The December, 1966, issue of Marg is again a special number on *Bihar Handicrafts*. One more book on *Handicrafts of India*, by M. L. Upadhyaya, is also published.

A very beautiful production, based on patient work, and systematically presented, is the book entitled *Embroidery and Bead-work of Kutch and Saurashtra* by Dhaky, Nanavati and Vora, published by the Department of Archaeology, Gujarat State. A second and revised edition of Ghurye's *Indian Costume* has also appeared. Pupul Jayakar has contributed a well documented paper on *Kathi Embroideries of Gujarat* (Times of India Annual, 1968).

Marg in its recent issue (June, 1968) has focussed our attention again on another interesting aspect of art, namely, *Indian Puppets*.

Sudhamsu Kumar Ray has recently published a book on *Folk Art of India*. Folk Art and especially Tribal Art must be studied in the next few years since most of the Tribal areas are being urbanised very fast.

Very recently, we have a beautifully reprinted edition of the *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms* by Lord Egerton of Tatton, published in 1880 and long out of print. The new edition is entitled *Indian and Oriental Armour*. This should revive our interest in the study and publication of old Indian arms and armour preserved in several collections.

Ancient Indian jewellery, ornaments, glassware, bead-work, ceramics, etc. are some of the other subjects which await further studies.

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As will be seen form this review, there is a steady growth of interest in the study of Indian Bronzes (mainly images of gods and goddesses). But the technical aspect of bronze casting in ancient India also needs our attention. Ruth Reeves published a book on *Cire Purdue Process*, a few years ago. But what, I believe, is essential for art-historians is the chemical analysis of several bronzes. One would like to find out if there were different formulas for metal alloys in different regions in specific ages. One would like to study reports of analyses of Pala bronzes from Nalanda and Kurkihar, of Chausa Bronzes from Bihar, of Akota bronzes from W. India, of magnificent Chola bronzes from the South, of the number of Kashmiri bronzes now being published, or of the few Satavahana, Gandhara and Roman bronzes that we have already discovered.

Technical Sciences

David Pingree has published an interesting scholarly paper on *Indian Influence on Early Sassanian and Arabic Astronomy* in Journ. of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. 33, published in 1968. Dr. Pingree has worked on the *Yavanajātaka* and we eagerly await the publication of his book.

Dr. Pingree is also editing another work on Jyotiḥśāstra entitled *Vidvajjanavallabha* of Bhojarāja of Paramāra Dynasty. This being published in instalments in JOIB from Sept. 1967 issue.

Meena V. Talim has contributed a paper on *Surgery and Surgical Instruments in Buddhist Era* (Indica, Vol 4, 1967).

Muni Puṇyavijayaji has just published his critically edited text of *Nighaṇṭuśeṣa* of Ācārya Hemacandra with Śrī-VallabhaGaṇi's commentary. The commentary, published for the first time from rare manuscripts, is especially very important for the large number of names it gives from *lokabhāṣā* (collected in Appendix 3 by the learned editor) for several botanical Sanskrit names. The book is published by the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad.

The publication of the first five chapters from the Tibetan version of *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgasaṁgraha*, edited by Claus Vogel is another important edition to our literature on Āyurveda. Lokesh Chaṇdra has recently brought out *Yuthok's Treatise on Tibetan Medicine*. The whole work is printed in Tibetan script, and a more detailed summary of chapters in English would have been useful to those who do not know the Tibetan language and script.

Acarya Ram Swarupa and a board of editors have brought out an edition of *Brahma-Sphuṭa-Siddhānta* with Vāsanā, Vijñāna and Hindi commentaries, (Volumes 1 to 4), published by Indian Institute of Astronomical

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and Sanskrit Research, New Delhi. An edition of *Samrāṭ-Siddhānta* of Jagannatha is also published.

A Bibliography of Sanskrit Works on Astronomy and Mathematics, Part I, Manuscripts, texts, translation and studies is published. This is a valuable useful publication indispensable as a reference work for research workers in the field.

The Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, has recently published a book on *Vedic Numerology* by G. V. Chaudhary.

S. A. Upadhyaya has edited a small work *Bhāvasaptatikā* in Bharatiya Vidya, volumes xxv-zxvi. It is a work on Jyotiṣa by Śrī-Yaśasvata-Sāgara.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. vii we have an interesting article on *Indian Botany in Retrospect* by K. S. Srinivasan.

In the Journal of the Kerala University Oriental Institute and MSS. Library, is published, in instalments. a small text on Astrology called *Praśnāyanam*. Predication of future from questions, signs and omens has attracted several old Jyotiṣācāryas. We have, in Oriental Institute, Baroda, an interesting small text called *Praśnavidyā*, a work ascribed to Bādarāyaṇa and commented upon by the famous Utpalācārya. This work, edited by Shri J. S. Pade-Shastri, will be published in a future issue of the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, Baroda.

E. R. Sreekrishna Sarma has edited the *Gajagrahaṇaprakāra*, a metrical work on catching and training of elephants, composed by Narayana Dikshit (published in *Sri Veṅkaṭeśvara Oriental Journal*, Tirupathi, Vol vii).

A Few Remarks on Study of Western Indian Sculpture and Architecture

Study of Western Indian Sculptures, especially of those before c. 1200 A. D. could not be properly done in the past, especially due to lack of enough material discovered and published. During the last three to four decades, so much new material has been brought to light, especially by R. C. Agrawal, P. A. Inamdar, H. Goetz, M. R. Majumdar, U. P. Shah, M. A. Dhaky, Satya Prakash, B. Subba Rao, R. N. Mehta, S. N. Chaudhary, R. T. Parikh, Hiralal Gaudani and others that a special volume can be devoted to a critical analysis of all these finds, both in architecture and sculpture. For a fuller and better understanding of the evolution of Art in India North of the Vindhyas, this is necessary. Kushana art is well known, but the contribution to art in Western India, in the same period, during the long rule of Western Kshatrapas has not been properly reviewed. Even though we have been most vocal in singing the glories of the Gupta art, we have not yet fully analysed the evolution of different motifs in the Gupta Art, nor have we

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carefully marked out the different regional varieties of the art of the Gupta age, or the relative chronology of works of art during the Gupta age itself, *i. e.* from *circa* 313 to 500 or 550 A. D. We have been so much overwhelmed by and obsessed with the glory of contribution to art of the Guptas that there has been a tendency to assign all beautiful specimens to the post-Gupta or Gupta Age. Thus, inspite of the archaeological evidence obtained by Hana Rydh during systematic excavation, we have tried to assign all the Bikaner Terracottas from Badopal, Kalibangan, Hanumangadh, Suratgadh etc. to Gupta Age. Again, we must remember that if the Guptas of the Ganga--Yamuna Doab and Pataliputra influenced the whole of Northern India and the Deccan through trade and commerce or conquest, it must be equally certain that it was not a 'one way traffic' and that they were influenced by the different parts of the country that they gradually conquered. If we start thinking afresh, forgetting all our earlier conclusions based on the materials then known, then we will be able to reconstruct the history of architecture and sculpture in a more scientific manner. Even when we have no enough dated material for all times and regions, we can work out, from stylistic analysis, a sort of relative sequence, of art in a particular region, from specimens obtained in the region itself, working backwards and forwards from known dated examples and taking into account the contemporary social, economic and political factors.

I do not mean to say that my eminent predecessors and coworkers in the field have utterly neglected these standards, still however it is a fact that because the treasures of Sarnath and other Gupta sites were discovered long before the vast amount of new material obtained during the last few decades, we have often faltered in our appraisal of all this new material.

I want to cite one or two examples to show what I mean here. Take the famous panel of Varāha with numerous figures in relief, at Udayagiri. It is often assigned to the age of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. No inscription from this Cave itself supports this. If we go by the known, definitely datable motifs, we have the typical Kushana period headdress seen on the turban of one of the smaller figures. The rendering of the figure of Varāha itself better suits the style of the Kushana period. Is it not better to date it earlier and assign it to fourth century A. D., rather than to the fifth? It need not be called a "Gupta" contribution, it may be the work of local rulers and their artists with traditions found in the art under the Kushanas, Kshatrapas, Yaudheyas and others.

The terracotta plaque of Krishna lifting the Govardhana, now in the Bikaner Museum, shows a figure of Krishna which is almost completely analogous to figure of Buddha from Gandhara, still even our eminent writer on

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Kushana and Gupta art preferred to call it Gupta. While appraising such specimens, we forget the continuous cultural and political contacts between the Kushanas and Kshatrapas of Western India on the one hand, and Gandhara on the other hand.

A study of the Bikaner terracottas and the new finds of Devni Mori from Northern Gujarat prove the continuity of contacts southwards, of Gandhara, with what we generally call Western India, i. e. Rajasthan and Gujarat. The different motifs in the finds from Bikaner area and Devni Mori have to be studied and compared with some of the later motifs at Sarnath which will demonstrate the process of evolution of some of the motifs in the Gupta age from the art of the first three or four centuries of Christian era, in the regions under the direct influence of Kushanas and Śakas. The latest date that can be given to the Devni Mori finds is 375 A.D. from a critical examination of all archaeological evidence during and after the excavations of the Stūpa and the Vihāra nearby, and a correlation with excavations at Śāmalājī (on the other side of the river) close by has also been established and published by R. N. Mehta. One of the Śaiva sites near the Vihāra, examined during excavations showed that it was contemporary with the Devni Mori Stūpa. And a stylistic analysis of all the finds at Devni Mori and the earlier group of Śaivite sculptures from these sites now make it quite clear that, in the fourth century A. D., the sculptural art in Western India had been fairly well-advanced, and that U. P. Shah's assigning to c. end of fourth century of some of the earlier group of sculptures from Śāmalājī (in the notes entitled " List of Plates ", in his " Sculptures from Śāmalājī and Roda) " has now become much more plausible.

R. C. Agrawal has now discovered an important evidence in the form of a big Śiva-liṅga with nnmber of figures on all sides showing typical Kushana headdress, from an archaeological site of Nānda, near Pushkar in Rajasthan. From Daulatpura in Kaccha is obtained a small stone-head of Sūrya or Viṣṇu with the same motif in headdress but a little more evolved.

From Āhvā in the Dāng, South-Gujarat, is obtained the bust of a small figure, which is related to Karla on the one hand and the Śāmaḷāji sculptures on the other. If we remember that Uṣavadāta the son-in-law of Nahapāna made donations from Nasik upto Pushkar, we can see how, during the Śaka rule, a certain cultural unity might have taken place, though gradually, in Western India. We can now outline a history of art in Western India during the rule of Kshatrapas (Nahapāna, Rudradāman, Rudrasena and others) from the Caves in the Deccan and Saurashtra, and from the various other finds from Rajasthan and Gujarat, and in this the excavations

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at Devni Mori, Amreli, Nagari, Rangamahal, Rairh, Bairat, Sambhar, etc have supplied to us fairly datable interesting evidence.

Hellenic influence in the rendering of the folds of drapery in the earlier group of Mātṛkās from Śāmaḷāji, in a terracotta obtained by S. R. Rao during excavations at Amreli, in the head carried by the standing Cāmuṇḍā from Śamaḷāji, is obvious in Western India. The references to Yavana donors in inscriptions of Western Caves, V. S. Agrawala's interpretation of *Aruṇad-Mahendro-Mādhyamikām* as referring to Menendra-Menander attacking Nagarī (Mādhyamikā) near Chitod, the finds of Greek coins from Saurashtra and Gujarat, all suggest some amount of direct Greek influence in Western India which also was responsible for the copying of Greek coin-type by the Kshatrapas. The later influence through trade with Rome from the ports of Bharukaccha and Śūrpāraka, supported by archaeological finds of R. P. W. all along the coastline, and of the bronzes from Brahmagiri Kolhapur—all these have to be taken into account in the history of art in Western India. The Śaka art has to be studied carefully to find out the extent of Śaka influence on the culture of Western India.

What was the architecture, especially temple-architecture, during the age of the Śakas and the Kushanas in Western and Northern India? Coomaraswamy published two reliefs of shrines from Mathura in his H. I. I. A. and in his brilliant thought provoking paper on *Bodhi-Gharas*, in Eastern Art Vol. II. Contemporary architecture obtained in the reliefs from Amaravati, Jagayyapeta, Ghantasala (in Musee Guimet) etc. has also to be considered along with the earlier reliefs from Bharhut, and Sanchi, and the shrines on Audumbara coins.

With this background let us make a fresh study of the different early shrines from Saurashtra, beginning with the temples at Gop, Pindara etc. Where are the antecedents of Gop? They probably existed in the architecture of the Kshatrapa and Kushana periods in Western and Northern India. This should be a natural hypothesis. These are some of the problems which we have to study and solve. The Guptas defeated the Śakas. Some of the Śaka refugees, during the period of conquest, could have gone further South. The rest of the Śaka population was absorbed and merged amongst Buddhists, Jainas, Śaivites, Viṣṇuites etc. When the process of assimilation was well advanced, Śaka art traditions, in an assimilated and advanced form, must have reappeared. Political supremacy of the Guptas, over Gujarat and Saurashtra, was of a short duration, for about 60 years only. The Maitrakas must have respected and supported the local traditions while throwing off the Gupta supremacy. Elements of earlier traditions, motifs, style, in a somewhat changed or developed form, must have appeared in the art and

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culture of Saurashtra during the Maitraka rule. These are some of the thoughts which one should keep in mind while working out a fairly reasonable relative chronology of early architecture and sculpture in Western India.

The age of Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Western India and Kanauja was a magnificent age whose contribution to the Indian art and culture has never been properly assessed and published. A number of monuments and sculptures of this age are known and recovered, They are scattered all over the empire of the Gurjara-Pratīharas, upto U. P. and the Himalayan districts of Gaḍhwāl etc., and parts of Punjab. The influence travelled far and wide. A history of Western Indian Architecture and Sculpture would be incomplete without chapters on the contribution of the Gurjara-Pratīharas. Proper preservation of all Gurjara-Pratīhāra monuments and special monographs on temples like those at Osia are also necessary.

Some Suggestions

I propose to make a few suggestions here :—

(1) A thoroughly critical cultural study of all the Śrauta and Gṛhya-sūtras by our archaeologists and art-historians conversant with Sanskrit would be welcome. It might also help us in giving names of utensils to at least a few pottery types and once this is standardised, we need not repeat all pottery shapes every-time in our excavation reports.

In this, later ritualistic and other literature will also help for different later periods.

(2) Interpretation of Kushana and Kshatrapa art in India will not be complete unless scholars conversant with Indian sources, including literary sources, make a comparative study of Śaka-Kushana art outside India, and the Kharoṣṭhi documents so far discovered.

Study of art and archaeology of West Asia, Central Asia and South Western Russia, by scholars thoroughly conversant with Indian sources (Vedic literature and culture) is very essential, especially, if we believe in the advent of Aryans into India from North-Western Passes.

(3) The problem of thefts in our Museums and from monuments of major importance has become very serious. The Museums Association of India, the Department of Archaeology of the Government of India, and some scholars of Indian art and culture from Europe and U.S.A., should meet together and discuss practical ways and means to stop this evil. We must also study the policies adopted by other countries regarding the export of antiquities outside their countries.

(4) A number of original publications are now appearing in different Indian languages, and one often misses refrences to them for a long

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time. So far as subjects covered by this section are concerned, it would be better if the Sangeeta Nataka Akademy and the Lalitkala Akademy plan to publish Bibliographies every year covering references to all important works and articles published in their fields in all the States of India. They should also publish Summary report of work done by similar Akademies and Institutions in each State.

As regards Bibliography of work done in the field of Technical sciences of India, this could be undertaken by bodies like the Indian Institute af Astronomical and Sanskrit Research, Delhi, or National Institute of Sciences of India, New Delhi. There are several important texts on Āyurveda, Astronomy etc. in South Indian languages and scripts which deserve to be made known to other parts of India.

(5) For a fuller understanding and reconstruction of the history of material culture of ancient India, a study of major works in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam is essential, Such studies are indeed going on in Universities and Institutions in the South. But they should be made easily available in Hindi or English to others. Similarly important publications in Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, etc. should be accessible in the South Indian languages or in English.

(6) Regarding further research in the field of Fine Arts time is ripe for intensive studies of monuments in individual sites like Osia, Halebid, Aihole, Pattadakal, Kanheri, Abaneri, Sikar, and many more sites all over India. A study of Jaina shrines at Deogarh is done by Klaus Bruhn while Krishna Deva, Vidya Prakash and Ramasraya Avasthi have done such studes for Khajuraho.

(7) Folk Art, especially our Tribal Art, needs to be studied urgently, since the tribal areas are being urbanised rapidly. There are, for example, a number of bronzes in our museums which were generally called "Jungali" Bronzes in the language of Curios-dealers. Iconography of some of these images if studied carefully, along with information about the tribal names and cults of these deities, is likely to yield some very valuable information. We must remember that the old yakṣas were gradually absorbed in Hindu Buddhist and Jaina pantheons. The ancient horse-rider yakṣa becomes Khaṇḍobā in Maharashtra, Rāmade Pir in Rajasthan and Gujarat. In a place in Kaccha, horses and a horse-rider are still worshipped as *Jakho*.

Along with other sociological studies, such as kinship etc. of different tribes, our students should undertake detailed studies of rites, customs, religious cults etc. of each of these tribes.

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Before concluding, I request you to kindly excuse me for all omissions in my review of works and articles published between 1966 and 1968 on subjects covered by this section. I have tried to make the review as exhaustive as possible from the sources available to me in Baroda. Still I might have missed references to some of my best friends and colleagues. I crave your indulgence for the same.

I also thank you for the patient hearing you have given to my talk.

सत्यं परं धीमहि ।

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LOCAL HISTORY SECTION

PRSIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

ANAND KRISHNA

I am grateful to the secretariat of the All-India Oriental Conference to have given me the honour of presiding over the present session of the Local History Section of the Conference. I feel it to be a great honour to me. Nobody knows more about my shortcomings than myself and I fully realise my limitations and that it is the affectionate regard for me which prompted this appointment rather than my real contributions. I extend my gratitude to all concerned who were instrumental in proposing me to chair this section.

Kashi has been an Aryan settlement at least since the post Vedic period (about 1500 B. C.) and it continued to be the " eternal city " of our civilization. While a number of cultures have risen high and fallen down, a number of cities disappeared in the abyss of time, Banaras continues to grow and to follow its ageless traditions in which, probably, it is unique of its kind.

Since very early times, Banaras developed as a centre of culture and learning as also of arts and crafts. The early Buddhist tales in the form of the *Jātakas*, testify its ascendency in the eighth-seventh centuries B. C., and that it was already recognised as a seat of learning since that period. Its contribution to education remained undiminished throughout the history. It was actually known as " Brahmavardhan " meaning, the seat of learning. Dhanvantari, the father of Indian medicine who subsequently was elevated to the august position of being one of the *Avatāras* of Viṣṇu, was one of the early kings of Varanasi. Another star, who gave birth to Indian Surgery, was Suśruta who had derived his education at Banaras from one af its royalties. The Buddhist *Jātakas* furnish a vivid account of the city's contribution to culture : while as ever, remained a seat of Philosophy and religious thought its achievements in the field of culture and arts never lagged behind : " there was a famous school of Music " in Pre-Buddha times here, " which was presided over by the expert, who was the chief of his kind in all India. " The high tradition in music and other performing arts continued in many ways. Its cottage industries were as developed in that period as they are to-day,

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Among the pre-Buddhist rulers of Kasi came into relief, its religious leadership. Divodāsa a local king, turned against the Hindu gods, nevertheless preached righteousness among his subjects. These and other myths suggest the revolutions of thought, which this city brought about during the early period of our history.

Banaras, as now, has been from the very beginning the traditional seat of Śaivite worship. According to the Jaina literature, Kasi was similarly an important centre of folk-cults, e. g. two *Yakṣa* images of circa 2nd century B. C. have been discovered from old Banaras (Rajghat). One of them a tripartite and solid figure could have been a cult object and could have been a scion of Hari Keśava Yakṣa who appears repeatedly in our ancient literature as resident of Banaras. Our late lamented *guru* Dr. V. S. Agrawala has eruditely shown the continuance of the *Yakṣa*-worship-traditions in the city and its surroundings, which goes on in the form of the *Birs* and the *Brahmas*. I may venture to add that as a few of these hosts might have been elevated to even higher positions it is not just a mere coincidence to find this solid *Yakṣa* figure in the vicinity of the famous Adi Kesava temple. Similarly in name between Ādi Keśava (a form of Viṣṇu) presently situated at almost the site of the Hari Keśava Yakṣa's shrine can not be ignored. The latter's name is a compound of Hari and Keśava both synonyms of Viṣṇu and therefore Ādi Keśava and Hari Keśava could have been related with one another. Thus, was the Rajghat three-faced Yakṣa now in the Kala Bhavan collection none other than Hari Keśava himself? The residence of Elapatra, the haughty and vicious *Naga-Raja* who ultimately submitted to the Buddha is completely obliterated by time, yet abodes of *Nagas* are still available in the environments, the Yakṣa and other Vināyakas (forms of Gaṇeśa and their shrines in the city and its suburbs) are potent proofs of spirit of synthesis which marked our local history.

During the same age of religious upheavals, emerged Pārśvanātha a Jain *Tīrthaṅkara*, who was the last " Pontiff " of the " white clad " (*Śvetāmbara* Jains. Banaras region must have been a strong-hold of Jainism during these centuries. According to the Jaina traditions, there was a large variety of non-Jain ascetics residing in Banaras and the city and its surroundings must have presented a forum for colourful religious people, representing different thoughts. The citizens of Banaras with their fabulous wealth supported them.

Banaras was already a centre of trade and commerce. It commanded an ideal position on the Ganga, linking the fertile Magadha (Bihar) and Bengal with a number of developed cities of the West and North-West on the one hand and the Central India and Deccan on the other. Banaras has been

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Banaras has been reputed for its textile-manufactures since the pre-Buddhist times, which form one of its export commodities even now.

The fertile Gangetic valley supplied finest cotton and the city produced its unrivalled muslin. Banaras muslin was selected for the mortal remains of the Buddha. Proficiency in the textile craft figured throughout our history. Kauṭalya makes references to the silk cloth (*kṣauma*) produced in Kasi. They compared fovourably with textiles from other centres.

Against this rich academic and cultural background that the lofty figure of Buddha appears on the Banaras-scene. Taking the highway (modern Grand Trunk Road) from Bodh Gaya, he crossed the Ganga and followed the city, bound for Isipattana (modern Sarnath), a suburb of the ancient Banaras. A great day for Banaras dawned and the world heard with unrivalled excitement, the divine message of the Noble Truths and the Middle-Path announced. Sarnath continued as a Buddhist centre as late as the twelfth century A. D. and was revived as such in the modern times.

Religious importance of Banaras and Sarnath arrested Asoka's attention in the third century B. C. The Lion Capital at Sarnath is undoubtedly the noblest example of his Court Art. Not only that this exhibits a complex symbolism, but it displays the sublimation of Mauryan Court Style in its profoundest majesticity, Survival of a Great Stūpa at Sarnath, testifies the existence of a "Dharmarājika" built by the same monarch.

Kasi witnessed a further revival in the Śuṅga period (second and early first century B. C.). The textile-industry received further impetus and according to the contemporary grammarian, Patañjali, Banaras textiles were more expensive than their counterpart from Mathura. Under the patronage of the Brahamanical Śuṅgas, the city must have received a further impetus in the growth of Hinduism.

During the Kushana period (first to third centuries A. D.) Banaras-Satrapy was ruled by the Kshatrapa Vanasphara, under Kanishka the Great. It was at Sarnath that one of the earliest Buddha-Bodhisattva figures was installed by the Buddhist Monk Bala, which although imported from Mathura gave rise to a local school, ultimately blossoming into the world famous Sarnath Gupta style of sculpture. This sublimated into noble creations like the "Preaching Buddha" (Ca. fifth century A. D.).

In the Gupta period the diaphanous quality of the Banaras muslin was at its peak. The beautifully carved image of Krishna upholding the Mount Govardhana (now in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhavan) shows the same expression; the cloth-like treatment of his *dhoti* is so very suggestive of the high quality of the textile, its gentle waves running across the field, remind us

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the creezed *dhoti* of a Banarasi gentleman of the recent past. This manufacturing industry must have made its impact on the treatment of the dress (*Tri chivara*) of Buddha figure evolved at Sarnath in the late Gupta period and which ultimately spread all over the eastern India and parts of the South East Asia. This fact is characterized by the depiction of the same translucent drapery, which hazily reveals the trim figure of the Buddha, imparting a mysterious spell to the image. On the other hand the thick garment, whose heavy schematic lines distract our attention from the austere and detached expression of the Buddha images from Gandhar, Mathura and other centres, fails to achieve the serenity of an eastern Indian example.

While the interested world is aware of the achievements of the Sarnath school of sculpture, very little is available, studied and published on the metropolitan style of sculpture of which the Sarnath style must have been only an extension. Fortunately a few of the examples are available, yet its glory is still unsung. But, scratch any part of the old city and you will find architectural fragments of the Gupta period, downwards. How many hundreds of temples, as also the travellers testify, must have existed in the city and fine sculpture embellished them! These seem to have been mostly the Brahmanical temples, some of these, known from the literary sources or their name appearing on the clay seals and sealings of the Gupta period, still exist, yet rennovated in the Mughal-Maratha period. If one travelled on the *Panchakosi* road, one will find ample proof for these Gupta temple-ssurviving here as fragmentary sculpture or there architectural remains studded in the walls of these resurrected temples. Even Buddhist temples other than those at Sarnath flourished in the old city's suburbs. Existence of one Buddhist centre is proved by discovery of three images of Buddha from the Murkatta Bir area-one of which is still worshipped as the *Bir* himself. These show hardly any change from the "Sarnath style". A village Narayanpur (near Bhoju Bir) yielded another. Now, as the folk gods and the goddesses were elevated to higher ranks in the upper sects, did an inverse process also prevail in which the Buddha figures were transformed into the popular worship as *Biras*? This process must have taken place after the decline of Buddhism and can be proved by both of the two instances in the Banaras suburbs; one of the two is called Murkatta Bir himself while the other stood in the neighbourhood of Bhoju Bir.

A number of clay seals discovered from the modern Rajghat mounds, forming the ancient Banaras, testify to the prosperity of the town in the Kushana age. Most of these are now housed in Bharat Kala Bhavan. The seals were put on the legal or business documents. Some of them bore religious symbols including Buddhist symbols, as we have already discussed above

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this reinforces the fact that besides Sarnath, there were other Buddhist establishments in the city itself.

Fortunately, the Rajghat excavations by Shri Krishnadeva revealed the civic architecture of the city of the Kushana period, besides survivals of temples of medium dimensions but considerable heights. A number of houses on the Ganga were also exposed, which show that the city had developed the same pattern in planning as it shows even today in its old parts; i.e., the narrow alleys divided the residential quarters. The drainage, as in the present times, was an underground network of sewage.

The present Shivala Ghat, being the birth place of Jain Tīrthankara Supārśvanātha, had aready developed into a Jain religious centre. A number of images representing Jain deities can be seen around the present temple. They are datable in the late Kushana (third century A. D.), or Gupta (fifth-sixth centuries A. D.) periods.

With the Gupta period of our history, a golden age dawned upon Banaras. Some of the clay-seals from this period already mentioned offer interesting information regarding the business and educational institutions, which throw light upon the complexity of life in the city even to the extent that one of them belonged to the guild of foresters who supplied the forest produces to the city. Another represents an educational establishment which specialised in various branches of the Ṛgvedic studies. This must have resulted from the assembly of religious peoples in the city.

The life in the city must have been gay as described in a Sanskrit play of this period, the *Pādatāḍitakam*, which refers to its musical tradition and its folk poets. The *Matsyapurāṇa* refers to its quality sweets. According to the same text, one encountered a variety of *Sadhus* here.

During the first half of the Seventh century A. D., a Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Hieun-tsang arrived in the city, who found it prospering. According to him, Banaras was thickly populated, the people were noted for their cultural achievements and dedication to the cause of education. The city had about twenty important temples, one of them enshrined a one hundred feet tall Śivaliṅgam. What was this *lingam* ? The Chinese traveller describes it as made of copper. Later on the Asokan pillars and the Mauryan caves gave a metallic look to many European travellers. Alternatively the aniconic figure could have been sheathed in copper plate as it goes with the recent change at Lat Bhairo, which is definitely a Mauryan pillar in its original form. In case the present Lat Bhairo or its another cousin was converted into a Śivaliṅgam before the time of Hieun Tsang, this might suggest that such acts of synthesis between Buddhism and Śaivism were prevalent in Banaras even

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in the ancient period. The same type of syncretism was to be followed in the Mediaeval Nepal with still greater force.

The seventh century text, the *Kuṭṭanīmatam*, preserves a vivid pen-picture of Banāras, which throws light on the different cultural aetivities in which the local people were engaged, and also testified the gaiety of life in the city. It appears that the pattern of life remained almost unchanged for centuries; the people continued to remain as care-free in the early twentieth century as they were in the seventh century.

A great event took place in Banaras of eighth century A. D. This marked the arrival of the Ādya Śaṅkarācārya in the city, as is informed by the text *Śaṅkara-Digvijaya*. It is not insignificant that Banaras witnessed the Preaching of the First Sermon by Buddha in sixth century B. C., as also the revival of the Brahmanical religious-thought under Śaṅkarācārya, which finally uprooted Buddhism from this soil.

The Banaras region revived economically and culturally with the establishment of the Imperial Gahdvala dynasty, who later on virtually transferred their capital to this place. Their grants in the form of copper plates, exhibit their deep interest in the scholastic tradition of Banaras, several of these were made to the educational and religious institutions. A few important texts were compiled in that period, one of them, the *Kritya Kalpataru* laid down the various rituals connected with the Hindu life, which shows their complexity.

The *Prabodha Candrodaya*, a Sanskrit play by Krishna Misra, centres round the religious life of Kasi. The bustle of the city and its magnificence as depicted by the poet may be an idealized picture presented by the author, yet the representation of diverse religious thoughts and their rivalries must have marked the life of the city. We find that the different sects were subjected to traditionalism and unending or sometimes meaningless ritualism. How they quarrelled among themselves, yet those debates might have resulted into fermentation of thought and ultimately now religious gospels of the Sultanate period.

According to Al-Beruni the famous Arab Geographer, students, scholars as also the religious-men from every part of the country thronged in the city. The *Ukti-Vyaktiprakaraṇa*, a text by Damodar Pandit of the time of Govinda Chandra Gahadvala, throws light, on a number of cultural activities of that period. These are references to the excavations of water-tanks or constructions of temples by the ruling houses. Kumara Devi, the queen-consort of Govinda Chandra Gahadvala, came of a Vajrayani (Tantric) Buddhist family. She restored several buildings at Sarnath and built a new Vihara (Hostel for the monks) there. Further survivals of temples of the same period can be seen, used in later Muslim mosques.

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After the final collapse of the Hindu Empires in North India and establishment of Muslim power, we find that the city lost its political influence which led to decline in its prosperity, nevertheless, traditional religious pattern of life continued to flow practically without any change. The change did arrive, but it took about one hundred years to manifest itself. Ramanand, a Hindu Saint led the movement and his message was broadcast to the world by his able disciple Kabir, who was out and out rational in his views and was not prepared to stand any sort of nonsense in any form. He made deadly attacks of ritualism within Hinduism or Islam. Nowhere a broader minded preacher in this country flourished.

Banaras witnessed another religious revival in the same fifteenth cenury; Vallabha founded a new school of Vaishnavism, which emphasised on its Bhakti aspect. This was destined to become a very powerful religious movement in Northern and Western India : Vallabha spent latter part of his life mostly in Banaras and died here. The other famous visitors to Banaras in that century were Goswami Chaitanya and Guru Nanak Deva.

A new chapter of the history of Banaras unfolded itself with the advent of Akbar period (1556-1605 A. D.), prior to which it had temporarily declined in its material prosperity. The earliest existing buildings of the city (now only limited to three) belong to the Akbar period. The original Vishvanath temple had already been demolished during the fourteenth contury; a new temple was built near the existing temple by Todarmal, Akbar's famous minister. The temple donated by Todarmal was to be demolished by Aurangzeb in the late seventeenth century.

A brilliant star on the horizon of the city shone in the form of Tulsidas. He was a great devotee and re-established in the people's minds a selfless form of Bhakti or devotion. His invaluable contribution to our culture appears in the form of bringing about synthesis among the different sections of the Hindus and particularly in ironing out the bitter controversies between the Śaivites and the Vaiṣṇavites. Tulsidas was a poet of extraordinary quality and his *Rāmacarita-mānasa* is a master-piece of Hindu literature.

Banaras continued to flourish as a centre of Hindu learning during the seventeenth century; Dara Shikoh, Shahjahan's heir-apparent, became interested in the Upanishadic learning and consulted the Banaras Pandits in this context. We also hear about a great Sanskrit-scholar Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī. The European travellers testify about his rich Sanskrit library. Kavīndrācārya seems to have wielded influence over Shahjahan's Court and was successful in getting the Pilgrim Tax on Hindus, lifted.

The European traveller Tavernier (visited Banaras, 1660-1665 A. D.) informs that Banaras continued to grow as a centre of traditional Hindu

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learning during that period. He gives a vivid account of the Bindu Mādhava temple, which was to be demolished by Aurangzeb only after a few decades and a mosque built on that site.

Flexibility in religious thought survived in Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa (Gāgā Bhaṭṭa) of Banaras. When the question of determination of Shivaji's *Varṇa* surfaced it, as was usual with the Hindu world, was referred to Banaras Pandits whose sanction was looked forward. Once Gāgā Bhaṭṭa declared him Kshatriya and divested him with the Sacred Thread, it went unchallenged. Here we have the last vestige of the *anuloma* type of advancement in the *varṇa* system, as must have been fairly prevalent among the early Hindus, but was practically given up with the crystalization of the society during the Muslim period. However, Gāgā Bhaṭṭa's example was not followed in general and shackles of the " castes by birth " remained as tightened as before.

The Sanskrit scholars from many parts of India had flocked to Banaras. The theory of emancipation by dying at Banaras was in one way helpful, as there was a regular brain drain into this city. It is estimated that these pandits, during a period of some three hundred years (ending with the eighteenth century), produced Sanskrit literature in great volume and of highest importance. Probably Banaras, during that period was the biggest centre of Sanskrit writing.

A fresh wave of cultural renaissance engulfed Banaras due to the presence of the Marathas, who had already attained unique position in our politics since the mid-eighteenth century. Their interest in Banaras was naturally based on their religious feelings. Throughout the second half of that century the Marathas poured in big numbers and spent fortunes over the city, its Brahmanas and the Sanskrit establishments. We can visualize the city before the Maratha intervention denuded of most of its important temples and magnificent *ghats*. As one after the other the *ghats* were added, the temples rose, the city regained its gaiety and its educational system was revitalised. It can be said without any hesitation that the present-Banaras-culture practically owes everything to the Maratha patronage during the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries.

Another factor which continued to the growth of Banaras-culture was the interest directed to it by several princes, both Hindu and Muslim. The erstwhile Banaras State had already been established in the eighteenth century. This ruling house produced one after the other Maharajas, who were noted for their personal achievements, the most brilliant among them was Mahāraja Ishwari Narain Singh. His immense interest in learning and patronage to fine arts and music has become legendary in the annals of Banaras. A number of other princes were interned into the city under the East India Company's

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influence since the late eighteenth century. These exiled rulers included scions of the Mughal house, the Nawabs of Oudh and the Maratha Peshwas. Naturally their influence brought about a fresh revival of culture in the city.

Ahalyabai Holkar, whose contribution to the revival of Hindu temples can be written in golden letters, donated the present Viśvanātha temple to the city, while the Durgā temple and the sacred tank at Kandva were dedicated by Rani Bhavani of Nator (Bengal).

Maharaja Ranjit Sing gold-plated the *Śikhara* of the present Viśvanātha Temple, which is a brilliant proof of the Hindu-Sikh unity under his leadership.

Some of the beautiful houses and *ghats* on the Ganga, were built by the Marathas, Rajputs and other princes. They present an unbroken chain of elegant temples, residential architectures and extensive bathing *ghats* ! The panorama of the Banaras riverfront is unrivalled in the world. Its colourful pagentry is manifest in the morning, when temple services are on and the river is replete with the bathers. The situation presents a unique combination of welcome sound and rich patterns of colour. As already observed, the oldest extant buildings of Banaras go back to the Akbar period, of which a notable example, the Bundi palace fell down a few years back. Some Mughal sepulchres are studded on the city's outskirts, yet they are in a neglectful stage. It is high time that students worked on the temple and civic architecture of the city. With the inevitable modernity, the city is changing very fast and if this project is not taken up soon, it might be too late to start.

Due to the above factors, the trade and commerce in the city reached a new peak during the nineteenth century; it became an enclave for the trading class evolved a sophisticated culture, and is famous for high taste and refinement. They produced cultural leaders including some literary figures like Bhartendu Harish Chandra (father of modern Hindi), Jagannath Das Ratnakar, and Jai Shankar Prasad.

Banaras preserved many traditions in arts and crafts, which had disappeared in other parts of the country. A study of the surviving crafts in the city would be worth all the pains. The last Mughal painter ustad Ram Prasad lived and worked here. He was deep rooted in his tradition, yet produced a number of original illustrations, and was a mine of information on the history and technique of Mughal painting. It was through his inspiration that Rai Krishnadasa collected Indian Art which ultimately grew into Bharat Kala Bhavan, a sanctuary for the researchers in this field. The valuable information offered by Shri Ram Prasad interested people in the study of the History of Indian painting and a school of scholarship came into being.

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One cannot end the story of Banaras without referring to the Theosophist movement in the city, which ultimately developed into an important centre of this thought and due to which the city received of Dr. Annie Besant its famous leader. Dr. Bhagwandas, her principal associate, claimed an international recognition on his philosophical works. In B. Shivaprasad Gupta the city found a selfless nationalist, whose two of the great contributions to the country can be seen in the form of the Kashi Vidyapith (a nationalistic University) and the Hindi Daily "The Aj",

Mahamana Madan Mohan Malaviyaji chose this city as the centre of his activities and his sublime creation in the form of Banaras Hindu University still inspires our young generations. The University has grown into an educational centre of international repute.

Banaras remains an "eternal city", which accepted the challenges of time and continues to grow in its traditional and living past.

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SELECT PAPERS

VEDIC SECTION

VĀG VAI SARASVATĪ

By

RAGHUNATH AIRI, KURUKSHETRA

'Sarasvatī, verily, is Speech', has been very often quoted in the Brāhmaṇas.[1] Some other references also of the Brāhmaṇas allude to her identification with Vāk.[2] Such an identification was effected in the later Vedic literature but scholiasts erroneously identify the goddess Sarasvatī with Vāk even in the contexts of the RV.[3]

When we peruse on the characteristics of Vāk and Sarasvatī in *RV.*, we observe that there is no distinct characteristic which is common to both of them and not shared by other deities. For example, water is the generative force which both possess but almost all atmospheric deities are associated with the act of downpour.[4] Factually, each of the goddesses has her distinct individuality.

Sarasvatī is primarily a river-goddess and as such a terrestrial goddess, though this form of the goddess has not been recognised by the scholiasts. But when once counted by the *Nighaṇṭu* (V. 5) in the list of the aerial deities and later on taken by the Nairuktas as a Mādhyamikā Vāk,[5] the later scholiasts interpreted all the Ṛks of Sarasvatī in two forms: (i) as a river and (ii) as a goddess of aerial region. They complied the statement of Yāska– '*nadīvaddevatāvacca nigamā bhavanti*'–, too literally to misinterpret even the most simple Ṛks. In this attempt to interpret all the Ṛks (save six or seven) pertaining to Sarasvatī, taking her in the form of an aerial goddess, we come

1. *Vāg vai Sarasvatī*: *Tait. S.* 2, 1, 2, 6; 2, 9, 1; *Mait. S.* 1, 10, 5; 11, 9; 2, 3, 9; 4, 1; 5, 2; 3, 6, 4; 9, 5; 10, 6, 4, 4; 7; *Kaṭha. S.* 23, 2; 29, 1; *Kap. S*, 45, 2; 2; 48, 18; *Kau. Br.* 5. 2; 12, 8; 14, 4; *Go. Br.* 2, 1, 20; *Jai. Br.* 1, 70; 2, 298; & etc.

2. *Mait. S.* 2, 1, 7; 3, 5; 4, 3, 9; 7, 8; *Kaṭha S.* 11, 8; *S. Br.* 7, 5, 1, 31; 11, 2, 4, 9; 12, 9, 1, 13; *Ait. Br.* 2, 24; 3, 1; 2; 6, 7; *Tai Ar.* 4, 5, 1; 15, 1;

3. See e. g. Veṅkaṭamādhava's comm. on *RV.* 2, 30, 8; 3, 54, 13; Skandasvāmī's comm. on *RV.* 1, 3, 10; 11; 12; 6, 61, 1; 11; 14; Sāyaṇa's comm. on *RV.* 2, 30, 8; 3, 54, 13; 5, 43, 11; 7, 96, 1; & etc.

4. For Indra see e. g. *RV.* 2, 17, 5; for the Maruts see e. g. 1, 38, 9; 5, 57, 4; for Parjanya see e. g. 5, 83, 1; 3; 6; & etc.

5. *Nir.* XI, 27;– *Vāgartheṣu Vidhīyate/Mādhyamikām Vācam manyante/*

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across some glaring mistakes committed by them. Some of the Ṛks said by them as belonging to the river belong really to the river-goddess. Take for example the Ṛk— '*Iyaṁ śuṣmebhir bisakhā* -- (6, 61. 2)'. It has been interpreted by the scholiasts following Yāska as a Ṛk pertaining to the river Sarasvatī. But the majesty and grandeur of the river contained in the first half of the Ṛk and the sincere suppliance expressed in the second half, leave no doubt that Sarasvatī is to be taken here as a (river -) goddess and not as a river. In *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (2, 5, 4) Sarasvatī is treated as a goddess to whom offerings of animal-food are to be made accompanied by the recital of the present Ṛk and the five Ṛks that follow. Scholiasts, who do not deviate from the path shown to them by the *Nighaṇṭu* and the *Nirukta* would ever interpret in such contexts the goddess Sarasvatī as a deity of the aerial region if they accept Sarasvatī here as a goddess,[1] though the words– *taviṣebhir ūrmibhiḥ pārāvataghnīm* – definitely allude to the riverine character of the goddess. Again we see that 2, 41, 16 is a Ṛk not pertaining to the river as the scholiasts take. The panegyrical vocatives - *ambitame*,[2] *naditame*, *devitame*, and the humble imploration of the suppliant who evokes the motherly affection and filial love of the goddess by the vocative ' amba ', for the attainment of an abstract gift of fame, leave no doubt that the verse under reference is addressed to the goddess Sarasvatī of riverine nature.

The scholiasts are sometimes themselves confused and cannot decide whether a Ṛk pertains to the river or to the goddess. Śaunaka takes 2, 41, 16 as a Ṛk pertaining to the river Sarasvatī at one place (*Bṛ. Dev.* 2, 137) but elsewhere (*ibid.* 4, 92) takes it as one of the three Ṛks (*RV.* 2, 41, 16; 17; 18) pertaining to Sarasvatī, a *Pra-uga Devatā*. Sāyaṇa says that the first two pādas of this Gāyatrī (1, 3, 12) pertain to Sarasvatī, the river and the third one to Sarasvatī, the goddess. (Here he deviates from the interpretation of Yāska who quotes this Ṛk as an example of Sarasvatī, the goddess. In addition to it Yāska never said that one part of the Ṛk pertains to the river and the other part to the goddess). Scholiasts differ among themselves on the list of the mantras pertaining to the river Sarasvatī.[3] Again in the Ṛk 6, 52, 6,

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1. Durga explains this Ṛk in two forms -- (i) pertaining to the river and (ii) pertaining to the goddess of aerial region. In the context of the later form his interpretation -- *Devatāpakṣe Sarasvatī mādhyamikā Vāk/Sā meghānām (yīrṇām) Sānūni bhañjati mahadbhiḥ taviṣebhiḥ stanayitnubhiḥ (ūrmibhiḥ) dyāvāpṛthivyau hanti (pārāvataghnī)*-- etc. is unnatural, strained and not convincing.

2. Cf. *Mātṛtamā*, (*RV.* 3, 33, 3) an epithet of *vipāṭ*, another river-goddess.

3. According to Skandasvāmī (vide his comm. on 5, 61, 2) Śākapūṇi believed that 2, 41, 6; 3, 23, 4; 8, 21, 18; 10, 64, 9; 10, 75, 5; -- the five mantras only pertain to the Sarasvatī (river). Skandasvāmī adds in this list the mantra 6, 61, 2; Śaunaka (*Bṛ. Dev.* 2, 136-137) asserts that there are only six mantras of the river Sarasvatī and

(*Continued on next page*)

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Sarasvatī has been taken as a mere river by the scholiasts. But here all the four deities of whom Sarasvatī is one (the other three are Indra, Parjanya and, Agni) have been implored. It will be quite wrong to take Sarasvatī here as a mere river whom the prayer to come with protection has been made like Indra.[1] In 10, 75, 5 also all the river-goddesses (and not rivers) are requested to listen to their worshipper.[2]

Yāska did not quote any example where Sarasvatī is Vāk or Mādhyamikā Vāk.[3] But to determine Sarasvatī as a Madhyamasthānā two qualities are to be kept in mind which are characteristic to an aerial deity.[4] :—

(i) the deity should be connected with the downpour (rasānupradāna)

(ii) the deity should perform acts requiring prowess (balakṛti)

According to Skandasvāmī Sarasvatī is often connected with these two characteristics. He explains :

(i) *Pāvakā* -- one that causes rain to fall; (*pavatiḥ kṣarṇārthaḥ/ Somaḥ pavate janitā matinām- Rv.* 9, 96, 5;— *iti nyantaścatra draṣṭavyaḥ/kṣārayitryudakānām*).[5]

(*Continued from last page*)

the seventh of such a type is not found. His list comprises of 2, 41, 16; 3, 23, 4; 6, 52, 6; 7, 95, 2; 8, 21, 18; and 10, 64, 9; but he says that Yāska accepts 6, 61, 2 as the seventh in the series. But in all these Ṛks except the three viz. 3, 23 4; 8, 21, 18: 10, 64, 9; Sarasvatī has been invoked or eulogized as a river-goddess.

1. 'Sindhubhiḥ pinvamānā' has been wrongly interpreted by the scholiasts. 'Sindhu' (Plural) here does not stand for rivulets who feed the Sarasvatī but it denotes the 'great celestial rivers' who feed the aerial/river-goddess Sarasvatī. Cf. Sarasvatī at another place (7, 36, 6), has been said as 'Sindhumātā'-- one who has (celestial) Sindhu (ocean(s) or big rivers) as her mother (i. e. source): it is to be noted here that for reasons of accent 'Sindhumātā' cannot be taken here as Tatpuruṣa compound as the scholiasts have done.

2. Rivers (terrestrial goddesses-*Nighaṇṭu* V, 3) have been glorified, worshipped and solicited to listen as divinities being considered as sacred because of their association with gods. Indra and the Maruts themselves tilled the region through which the Sarasvatī flowed. (*Av.* 6, 30, 1). For her association with the godheads, Sarasvatī herself would have become a godhead. In *ṚV.*, too, a Ṛṣi,-named Viśvmanā is sticking to the riparian region of the river Śvetayāvarī because it is sacred to him on account of its association with the Aśvins (8, 26, 18: 19), 'he glorifies the river as a goddess'-- Sāyaṇa. If older Ṛṣis glorified Sarasvatī for her association with gods, it is no wonder that the younger Ṛṣis deified the river for her compassion towards their forefathers. Her association with the elder seers is alluded to (i) in the Ṛk 6, 61, 10-*uta naḥ priyā--- sujuṣṭā (suṣṭu purānaiḥ ṛṣibhiḥ sevitā-* Sāyaṇa), (ii) by the word *pūrvayanividā* (1, 89, 3) and (iii) *Sarasvatīm sukṛto ahvyanta-* (10, 17, 7).

3. Yāska (*Nir.* XI. 27, 28) says that the etymologists take Sarasvatī as the Mādhyamikā Vāk. The Ṛks quoted by him (*RV*, 8, 89, 10; 11) refer to Vāk in the form of thunder and lightning. It is, therefore, the scholiasts compared Sarasvatī with this form of Vāk or in other words took Sarasvatī as a goddess of thunder and lightning to flash.

4. Yāska, *Nir*, VII, 10.

5. Skandasvāmī's comm. on 1, 3, 10.

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(ii) *Codayitrī sūnṛtānām* – one that impels the aerial speech; (*apaṭhitāmapi Vānnāmaitat/madhyamasthānā hi Sarasvatī/Sā ca garjitālakṣnām vācam codayitrī*).[1]

(iii) *Āpapruṣī* – – one that fills up with her rain or thunderous voice. (*prā pūraṇe/āpūritavatī apūrayantī vā vṛṣṭyudakena stanitaśabdena vā.– –*).[2]

(iv) *Hiraṇyavartinī* – – who has lightning as her path, (*vidyudvartini gamanam mārgo yasyāḥ sā*).[3]

(v) *Apasām apastamā* – – who is active among the active ones because of her activity of rain and the like (*anyāsāṁ karmavatīnāṃ vṛṭyādikarmabhiratiśayeua karmavatī*).[4]

(vi) *Māpa spharīḥ payasā mā na ā dhak* – – rain unto our prosperity not to our ravage (*Sasyasampatkaraṁ varṣā/ksāravṛṣṭiṁ mā kārṣīḥ*).[5]

Besides, the killing of Vṛtra[6] and slaying the son of Bṛsaya, the detractor[7] are also ascribed to the aerial goddess Sarasvatī. Sarasvatī is, therefore, taken as a goddess of aerial region.

The explanation of certain functions and attributes put forth by Skandasvāmī (and other scholiasts also) as we have seen above is, surely, strained and belaboured in order to interpret Sarasvatī as a goddess of aerial region. These functions and attributes sit well as natural and unaffected in the context of the river-goddess Sarasvatī and not in the context of Madhyamasthānā Sarasvatī.

(i) 'Pāvakā', as such, means 'purifying'; this meaning of the word is quite natural; 'pāvakà' is almost a distinct epithet of Agni, who purifies.[8]

(ii) 'Sūnṛtā' means speech construed in contrast to 'anṛta', falsehood. Hence 'sūnṛtā' does not mean 'atmospheric speech'. (Compare, Uṣas is said as 'sūnṛtāvatī', possessed of truthful speech (not lightning).

(iii) 'Āpapruṣī –' one who pervades with reference to the context, one who pervades the terrestrial and atmospheric regions. This is a characteristic which is shared by most of the Ṛgvedic gods. Almost all gods have been associated with the two regions.

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1. *ibid.* 1, 3, 11.
2. *ibid.* 6, 61, 11;
3. *ibid.* 6, 61, 7
4. 6, 61, 13.
5. 6, 61 14.
6. 6, 61, 7.
7. 6, 61, 3
8. Cf. Dawns, too, are said as 'pāvakāḥ', *RV.* 4, 51, 3.

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(iv) 'Hiraṇyavartinī'- one who treads on the golden path. This epithet either occures in the context of Sarasvatī (6, 61, 7) or in the context of another river named Śvetayāvarī (8, 26, 18). It suggests that the word is not to be connected with the atmospheric goddess.[1] Rivers were believed to bring with them the particles of gold from the mountains to the plains; Sarasvatī is believed even today as bringing with her sands the tiny particles of gold. Where Sarasvatī just reaches the plains traversing hill tracts, the people there still sift riparian sands in order to find out tiny particles of gold. Sarasvatī is, therefore, said as 'hiraṇyavartinī'.

(v) 'Apasām apestamā- most active amongst the active ones'- is more characteristic to the river goddess than to the aerial goddess. She bears this epithet because of her agile flood (cariṣṇu arṇavaḥ-6, 61, 8) or because of her swift billows (6, 61, 2). This epithet is shared by the river-god Sindhu also.[2]

(vi) 'Māpa spharīḥ payasā mā na ā dhak-' is a request to the river-goddess not to overflow her bank and inundate the land of her devotees, causing devastation to their crops and quarters.

In this light we shall have to search for some fresh information in order to show that Sarasvatī is a goddess of aerial region.

Sarasvatī has been associated with the myth of killing Vṛtra. One may not disagree with Dr. A. C. Das[3] that since the Sarasvatī provided space to the Aryan Aṅgirases headed by Bṛhaspati for the performance of a 'sattra' (session) of ceremonies as a preparation for the ensuing fierce struggle of Indra against the demon of drought-Vala or Vṛtra, therefore, the river (and hence river-goddess) Sarasvatī, rightly bears the epithet-Vṛtraghnī. But Sarasvatī, in addition to it, must have helped Indra in his valient act of slaying the wily Vṛtra, an obstruction to flowing of the rivers.[4] She is not only 'Vṛtraghnī' in the sense that she supplies space for the preparation of the conflict but she is also herself 'ghorā', fierceful. She would have also hurled the 'vajra' on Vṛtra. She undoubtedly possessed that weapon that is why she is said as Pāvī-

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1. Sāyaṇa (comm. 8, 26, 18) interprets the word-*hiraṇmayasvīyamārgā- hiraṇmayobhyakūlā* Cf. Sindhu is also called 'rich in gold-hiraṇyayī-10, 75, 8. Griffith & Bhattacharya, K. B. Pathak comm. vol. p. 36 n. 2 take Śvetayāvarī as an attribute of Sindhu in 8, 26, 18.

2. 10, 75, 7.

3. *Ṛgvedic India*, pp. 56–58;

4. Vṛtra is 'nadīnāṁ paridhi', 3, 33, 6. The word Vṛtra (neuter) originally represented 'an abstract idea' of obstruction', Louis Renou, *Religions of India*, London 1953, p. 19. Similarly 'mitra' and 'kalatra', undoubtedly, are 'compact' and 'possession' personified,

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ravī (= āyudhavatī, Veṅkaṭamādhava and Sāyaṇa). This is an IE characteristic of a weather god. The deity concerned with fecundation who displays his activity in the atmosphere possesses a 'Donnerkeil' as his weapon or an attribute. A 'Donnerkeil' (thunderweapon) is either represented as an axe (vajra) or lightning. [1]

Allied with the Maruts, she must have been offensive in the conflict as is conspicuous by her attribute 'dhṛṣatī', inflicting injury (2, 30, 8). In the context of the myth, we know that while all other gods once fled away leaving Indra in lurch, it were the Maruts alone who stood by Indra.[2] They helped Indra in his conflict with the dragon and with 'Śambara[3]. The Maruts themselves smote Vṛtra, assisted by Indra[4]. They sundered Vṛtra limb from limb, split the gloomy rocky clouds and thus performed the valient act.[5] The epithet 'Marutvatī' borne by Sarasvatī is, therefore, much significant and suggests the intrepidity of Sarasvatī rather than her mere association with the Maruts. It is this form of Sarasvatī which the solicitor has in his mind while praying to Sarasvatī to kill his foes, while by her side Indra is doing to death Vṛtra- the Chief of the Śaṇḍikas.[6]

At another place [7] Sarasvatī is prayed to kill the offspring of Bṛsaya, the detractor (devanid), pervading (i. e. of wide influence) (viśva) and employing strategems (māyin). The offspring of Bṛsaya is undoubtedly Vṛtra [8] because killing Vṛtra is ever followed by copious rain[9] which has been unmistakably referred to in the words -- *viṣamebhyo asravo vājinīvatī*.[10]

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1. See Chr. Blikenbenberg, *The thunderweapon in religion and folklore*, Cambridge, 1911. Sarasvatī is comparable here with the Babylonian goddess Iśtar (see G. Contenau, *Ladeesse nue babyloniemme*, Paris 1914, p. 120 f.) and the Iranian Anāhitā (see E. Benveniste, the Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts, Paris 1929, p. 27 f. and p. 61 ff.) who have double character combining fecundity and warlike courage.

2. *Vedic Mythology*, p. 60

3. *R.V* 3, 47, 3-4. 4. 1, 23, 9. 5. 8, 7, 23.

6. Sāyaṇa (comm. 2. 30, 8) quoting *Taitt S.* 6, 4, 10, 1 shows that S'aṇḍa means 'asura'. Veṅkaṭamādhava here is more specific when he interprets the Chief among the S'aṇḍikas is Vṛtra. 7. 6, 61, 3.

8. Sāyaṇa following Veṅkaṭamādhava rightly points out that Bṛsaya is the father of Vṛtra but Skandasvāmī and most of the modern scholars (*Vedic Index* vol. II, p. 70) incorrectly take Bṛsaya as a particular caste or class, jātiviśeṣa', probably that of the sorcerers which has been decried and reprimanded in the ṚV. At another place (1. 93, 3) Agni-Soma, a dual divinity having killed the offspring of Bṛsaya secured one particular light for many. Now 'winning the light is a fruit that is accrued after killing Vṛtra; see e. g. 3, 34, 8; 8, 78, 4. Hence the offspring of Bṛsaya is Vṛtra and none else.

9. Cf. 3, 34, 8; 9.

10. 'Viṣam' is not here the poison but water (*Nigh.* I, 12) rather rain water viewed in the presence of the verb 'asravaḥ'.

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Sarasvatī's valient nature (balakṛti) which is characteristic to an aerial god is quite manifest in her association with the myth of killing Vṛtra. Now this 'balakṛti' is only instrumental to the act of 'rasānupradāna' (pouring rain). It is, therefore, enough to prove that Sarasvatī being a goddess of aerial region is also connected with the act of shedding rain. Thus one need not belabour to interpret all the attributes of Sarasvatī to conform to her form of an aerial goddess. Sarasvatī's association with the Maruts is also conducive to her place amongst the atmospheric deities.[1]

We have seen above Sarasvatī in the form an aerial goddess, but she is primarily a river-goddess. In this form her Indo-Iranian character[2] is quite manifest. According to H. Lommel, 'Aredvi', 'Sūrā', and 'Anāhitā' are the three attributes of a Harqaiti[3]. In our terminology we can say that 'Ārdhuki', benign, or 'Ārdrikā', humid, 'Śūra', strong or heroic and 'Anāsitā', immaculate are the attributes of Indo-Iranian 'Sarasvatī', rich in waters. Though the original Indo-Iranian attributes of Sarasvatī viz; Ārdrikā or Ārdhukī (Aredvi), Śūrā (Sūrā) and Anāsitā (Anāhitā) are conspicuous by their absence in the *RV.* but their reflection or correspondence is happily preserved there in 'Ṛtāvarī[4] (6, 61, 9)' 'Vīrapatnī' (10, 65, 13) and 'Śubhrā' (7, 95, 6) respectively.

As a river-goddess Sarasvatī mainly stands associated with fertility and fecundity. All the food rests in (i.e. is dependent on) Sarasvatī.[5]

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1. Both the divinities -- Sarasvatī and the Maruts are prayed to be pleased with the panegyrics of the Vasiṣṭhas, 7, 39,5; both are requested to respond and confer wealth with noble offspring, 3, 54, 13; the man, who is favoured by the Maruts, is extended a helping hand by Sarasvatī and Agni, too, nobody then is able to relieve of him his riches, 7, 40, 3; for her association with the Maruts, she bears the epithets -- *Marutsakhā* (7, 96, 2) and *Marutvatī* (2, 30, 8).

2. Dumezil thinks that Iranian goddess Anāhitā and the Vedic Sarasvatī relate to the third function. Both the female divinities belong to the lowest divine stratum and represent the food-producing class. Both of them are further linked with Roman goddess Freyja, a female figure belonging to the same third function. Refer to C. Scott Littleton, *The new comparative Mythology*, California, 1966 pp. 9–11.

3. *ibid.*, p. 167.

4. I suggest here that Sarasvatī in her aerial form may be styled as 'Madhyamasthānā Ṛtāvarī' instead of Mādhyamikā Vāk. Sarasvatī came to be identified with Vāk in later Saṁhitā period, therefore, she should not be spoken of as Mādhyamikā Vāk in the contexts of the ṚV. Ṛtāvarī, on the other hand, is an attribute which alludes to her both the powers of fecundation (when Ṛta is taken to mean 'water') and valour (when Ṛta is taken to mean the 'moral order'). (cf. *RV.* 8, 100, 3; 4; : 'commandments of Ṛta make me mighty'). Ṛtāvarī is a meaningful epithet which is in conformity with the greatness of Sarasvatī. Almost all great deities are 'furtherers of Ṛta', for, they reward the good and punish the evil.

5. 2, 41, 17; Dr. A. C. Das (*Ṛgvedic India*, p. 35) takes a recourse what he calls a 'geological fact' contained fn this ṚK to prove that the

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Sarasvatī is invoked to bestow food and prosperity (i. e. renown) on the worshipper[1] because of her richness in food which is evident from her attributes – 'Vājinī', 'Vājinīvatī'[2] or 'Vājebhir Vājinīvatī'.[3] She is one of those rivers who are rich in food (Yaśasaḥ), possessed of copious milk (sudughāḥ i. e. containing fertilising or invigorating life-giving water).[4] Her waters are rich in fatness and sweet like honey.[5] Implored by Nāhuṣa, she alone provided him with her waters unctuous with butter and opulent milk to carry a sacrifice for one thousand years.[6] Her flood which was limitless (ananta), unimpaired (ahruta), swift-moving (tveṣaḥ), agile (cariṣṇu) and mighty (amaḥ) flowed ahead with a roaring sound,[7] or according to Skandasvāmī, her flood was as fierceful as a disease.[8] The flood of Sarasvatī had been causing havoc also sometimes. It has been hinted at in an invocation-6, 61, 14. 'With your waters bring prosperity to us, do not make us unthriving, with your water (i. e. flood) do not torment us. Respond to our friendship and obedience. (Uprooted by your flood) may we not go to the lands far-off which are barren (being devoid of you)'. In her grandeur Sarasvatī surpassed all other rivers, she flowed forward with fecility as it were on a chariot.[9]

The banks of Sarasvatī were evidently marked for their religious activities[10]. But one can also find out that there had been warlike activities on her banks. Divodāsa, a warrior of rank, who revenged the defeat of his forefathers and was thus styled as 'Cancellor of debts', who annihilated the Paṇis (the Churlish niggard) and hence said as fierce (rabhasa), who was

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(*Continued from last page*)

region of the Sarasvatī was the original land of the Aryans. From 'Tvt Viśvā Sarasvati śritāyuṁsi devyām' he infers that "this sacred river has been described to be the support of all life which probably means that all animals were evolved in the region of Sarasvatī". He further links it with the geological evidence of the existence of vast store of extinct mammalia in the region which is the source of the Sarasvatī and concludes that the Ṛgvedic Aryans must have been aware of – that the Sarasvatī was the source and support of all life. But Dr. Das' conjecture is baseless. The word 'ayuṁsi' can never mean 'animals who suckle their young ones'. In neuter gender 'āyus' means 'food' 'anna' (*Nigh.* II, 7); and in masculine 'āyuḥ' means 'man' (*Nigh.* II, 3). Besides, such a glorification of a deity that 'all beings take shelter in you', or all food is dependent on you is characteristic of a Vedic eulogy. cf. 1, 154, 2.

1. 2, 41, 16.
2. 2, 41, 18.
3. 1, 3, 10.
4. 7, 36, 6.
5. 9, 67, 32; 10, 64, 9.
6. 7, 95, 2, *Br. Devatā* VI, 20-24.
7. 6, 61, 8.
8. . – – *Yathā rogo bhayānakaḥ tadvad'āgacchati-.*
9. 7, 95. 1.
10. 3, 23, 4.

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born to Vadhryaśva by the benison of the goddess Sarasvatī, lived on her banks.[1] On her banks decisive battle with the Pārāvatas would have been fought in antiquity for which the river-goddess is said as 'Pārāvataghnī'[2] and was invited for protection in later days also with devoted songs.[3] The Pārāvatas – people alien to the Aryans, residing on the foothills where the Yamunā reaches the plains, when fleeing being defeated would have been swept away by the swift currents of the Sarasvatī. The Sarasvatī thus served as a natural Warden of the Marches for the Aryans. It is why she is said as an iron fortress and her swift current a guardian.[4] On account of the protection she extended to her devotees' sacrifices which were cast on her banks, she is said as 'Dhīnām avitrī'—'one who protects the prayers or yajñas', and 'Dhiyo viśvā virājati'—'She presides over all the prayers or yajñas'. Sarasvatī, the river-goddess was prayed and worshipped by the tribes who lived on her banks.[5]

Sarasvatī, who became a goddess of Learning and Intellect in the later literature never appears in such a form in *Ṛgveda*. Even in the Indo-Iranian

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1. Hillebrandt has given an account of his martial career. Refer to *Vedic Index* Vol. I. p. 363.

2. The interpretation of the scholiasts that 'Pārāvataghnī' means the 'one that cuts at its banks' is definitely wrong. First of all we have in *Nigh.* III, 26, '*Parāvataḥ*' – *dūranāma, Pārāvatāḥ*, would thus mean the 'people coming from distant lands'. Secondly, such a people actually lived on the hilly tracts of the Yamunā, who were sometimes at war and sometimes at peace with the Aryans. Refer to *Pañcaviṁśa Br.* 9, 4, 11. Thirdly, the equation of 'Pārāvata' with 'Pārāvāra' (*Nir.* 2, 24), is not convincing linguistically for want of morphological similarity in the second half of both the words. Fourthly, we have root 'han', *hiṁsāyām* but nowhere in Veda it has been applied to mean 'to erode'. On the other hand the suffixes han, ghnī mean slayer in the words 'vṛtrahā', and 'Vṛtaghnīra. Fifthly', Sarasvatī's epithet 'killer of the Pāravatas' is perfectly in apposition with her other attributes 'Ghorā' and 'Vṛtraghnī. Sixthly, in the context, Sarasvatī is said to be flowing in the hilly region. Erosion of bank is effected only when the river is in the second stage i. e. in the plains while it deepens its course when it flows in the hilly tracts. Sarasvatī, the easternmost region of the Aryans would have been subjected to repeated inroads of the Pārāvatas, They would have been defeated on the banks of the Sarasvatī, and while fleeing swept in the swift-billows of the river flowing in its hilly course.

3. Sarasvatī is *Vājeṣu Vājinī* (6, 61, 6) while Indra is *Vājeṣu Vājin* (1, 4, 8; 9). She is invoked like Indra at the onset of a battle for booty (6, 61, 5). Similarly she is invited here in this context also by devoted prayers for protection. This is alluded to by the words – *avase suvṛktibhiḥ Sarasvatīmā vivāsema dhītibhiḥ.* (6, 61, 2) Cf. Indra, who is also invoked for protection by the men at war – *yaṁ yudhyamānāḥ avase havante* – (2, 12, 9.)

4. 7, 95, 1.

5. The purus, the Vasiṣṭhas, the Śunahotras, the Bharatas (to which Divodāsa and Vadhryaśva belonged) in general terms the 'Five People', and the kings like Nāhuṣa and Chitra and many kinglings lived on the banks of Sarasvatī. Refer to my paper : Sarasvatī in Ṛgveda', read at golden celebrations of All-India Sanskrit Sahitya Sammelan, Delhi, 1966. pp. 4–6.

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or Indo-European days, she would have been popular amongst the peasantry or mercantile class being a deity of the 'third function' and not amongst the Brāhmaṇas, the Custodians of Learning.[1] The erroneous interpretation of the word 'dhī' has led the scholiasts like Sāyaṇa to interpret Sarasvatī as the goddess of Learning/Vedic Lore or the Muse of Poetry.[2] Though *Nighaṇṭu* (III, 9) takes the word 'dhī' as a synonym of wisdom, yet almost in all contexts of the *RV*. 'dhī' means 'karma'— 'Śilpikarma', artifice, 'stutikarma', eulogy or 'yajñakarma', sacrifice.[3] 'Dhī' also denotes the meaning of 'intellect' (prajñāna, prajñā) but this is relatively a modern meaning of the word. *Nighaṇṭu* has many such words e. g. 'Sarasvatī' meaning 'speech' is also a modern word recorded in the *Nighaṇṭu*.[4]

Even if we take for argument sake that 'dhī' stands for 'prajñā', intellect in the panegyrics of Sarasvatī and elsewhere, we cannot say that 'influencing intellect' is a distinct feature of Sarasvatī and hence Sarasvatī is a goddess of Intellect or Knowledge. In almost similar words and style, other gods are also invoked to protect 'dhī'. If Sarasvatī is invoked as the 'protectress of 'dhī' (Dhīnām avitrī), Bhaga, the Maruts and Indra are also invoked in the same tune.[5] Sarasvatī is said as 'one perfecting our 'dhī', knowledge[6] and prayed to 'inspire dhī', knowledge.[7] But all gods are said as 'dhiyamdhāḥ'—the inspirers of thought.[8] Indra is implored to bestow (dhāḥ) 'dhī';[9] he taught the poet the holy songs.[10] Mitra-Varuṇa are said as perfecting (Sādhantā) the oil-fed (ghṛtācī) 'dhī,.[11] The Vasus are perfecting 'dhī' (prayer) and 'yajña,[12]. Pūṣan makes each prayer (dhiyaṁ dhiyam) of ours effective (pra-siṣadhāti).[13] The epithet 'Dhiyāvasu' of Sarasvatī[14] is

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1. See Dumezil's views on the tripartite social structure of I-E society and its corresponding gods of first, second, and third function. Vedic Sarasvatī is the representative of Indo-Iranian Anāhitā- both of them are similar to Roman goddess Freyja in their characteristics. All the three goddesses represent a character of a female divinity of third function of I-E pantheon; refer to Littleton, *op. cit.* pp. 7-15

2. See note 3, *supra*.

3. See notes 63-68, *infra*; and aiso *Vedic Index* Vol. I p. 401.

4. Rajavade, Yāska's *Nirukta* Vol. I, 1940 p. 393.

5. (a) *Bhagam dhiyoSvitaraṁ no asyāḥ* — 7, 36, 8 (b)--- *Maruto mandasānā. dhiyaṁ tokaṁ ca vājinoSvantu*– 7, 36. 7 (c) *Dhiyo vajebhir avitha*- 8, 46, 11.

6. 8, 3, 8.

7. 6, 49, 7.

8. 7, 2, 2.

9. 1, 61, 16. (*Av.* 20, 35, 16); according to Sāyaṇa here 'dhī' stands for 'dhana' 'paśu, karma' and etc.

10. *Acetayad dhiya imā jaritre RV.* 3, 34, 5

11. 1, 2, 7.

12. 10, 74, 3.

13. 6, 49, 8.

14. 1, 3, 10.

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an attribute which is common to mostly Indra and Agni but also borne by Soma.[1] 'Dhī' (thought) and Purandhī (Bounty) are not only associated with Sarasvatī[2] but also with other gods.[3] Sarasvatī is not the only deity who impels the intellect, other gods in the *RV*.[4] and even quite late in a Khila-Sūkta, are implored to bestow sharp intellect (medhā) to the worshipper One need not, therefore, think with A. B. Purani that "the Vedic Ṛṣi refers to some psychological aspect of the power called Sarasvatī when he prays 'Sarasvatī— dhiyaṁ dhāt'; 'dhiyo viśvā virājati'; 'Sādhayanti dhiyo naḥ'; and etc."[5] Such functions are not distinct to Sarasvatī but as we have seen above, are ascribed generally to all Vedic deities.

Now the goddess Sarasvatī is identified with the goddess Vāk. Let us see why this identification came to be effected in the later Vedic literature. The goddess Vāk is seen in two forms in the *ṚV*. (i), Vāk is a Speech originated by the side of the sacrifice by the sagacious seers. In the form of mantras, she was discovered by them or she was delivered to them by Bṛhaspati.[6] The younger Ṛṣis performed penance to have a close look on her person when they found her as abiding with elder Ṛṣis.[7] This Vāk is the Holy Order, the Knowledge personified,[8] whose abode is the person of a peerless seer.[9] It is the first of all the creations of Holy Order.[10] (ii) Vāk is also the atmospheric Speech. Attached firmly to the gods– Indra and the Maruts, she roams about in seclusion.[11] Vāk, the Queen of gods gladdens the worshippers by shedding rain for their welfare like a milch cow when attended upon.[12] God generated Vāk, probably when conversing secretly with each other. In other words the whispering of the gods in the heaven, which is not comprehended by the man of this mundane sphere is what is styled as Vāk, the atmospheric Speech. Thunder, The voice of Heaven is the source of speech of all types of animals.[13]

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1. For Indra see, 1, 61, 16; 62, 13; 63, 9; 8, 80, 10. for Agni, 1, 58, 9, 60, 5, and for Soma. 9, 93, 5.
2. 7, 35, 11; 10, 65, 13.
3. with Indra, 8, 69, 1, with Bhaga, Śaṁsa and Riches. 7, 35, 2, with Bhaga, Agni and Nāsatyas, 7, 39, 4.
4. For example, Sun is supplicated to impel the intellect, 3, 62, 10; and so also Soma 9, 97, 34; 36, etc. Poetic wisdom (kāvya), the thoughts (manīṣā) and hymns of praise (uktha) spring from Agni – 4. 11, 3.
5. *Studies in Vedic Interpretation*, p. 111.
6. 10, 71, 1.
7. 10, 71, 3; 8, 59 (Vāl. 11), 69.
8. This form of Vāk is explained in some detail in 10, 71. See also my paper "Vāk - A Deity in Ṛgveda", red at XXIII session of *AIOC*, Aligarh, 1966.
9. 1, 164, 35. 10. *ibid*, 37. 11. 1, 167, 3. 12. 8, 59, 10.
13. *ibid*., 11; the word 'paśu' here includes the man also who is chief among the bipeds: *ŚBr*. 6, 2, 1, 18; 7, 5, 2, 6.

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Later on the deified Speech of the Ṛṣis, the Holy Order was thought not different from the Voice of Heaven whom gods originated in the aerial region. Their fusion was not unnatural because the former was thought to be a part of the latter and sound was the basic point of commonness between the two. The composite character of such a goddess is depicted in *RV.* 10, 125 and 1, 164.[1] Here it may be pointed out that the personality of Mādhyamikā Vāk stands quite akin to the Madhyamasthānā Sarasvatī because the qualities of 'balakṛti' and 'rasānupradāna' are found in both of them.

On the other hand the deified Speech of the seers (mantra-rūpā Vāk) which flourished on the banks of the Sarssvatī was identified in later literature with Sarasvatī, the deified river[2]. One mey think that their identification would have taken place on the analogy of the identification of atmospheric Sarasvatī with atmospheric Vāk. This was not improbable because the river Sarasvatī was thought to be of celestial descent or terrestrial form of atmospheric Sarasvatī[3] and the 'mantra-rūpā Vāk was a part of the atmospheric Vāk. But the association itself between the two (the mantra-rūpā Vāk and Sarasvatī, the deified river) for a very long time, possibly, would have led to their identification. Most of the identifications recorded in the Brāhmaṇas have 'close-association' as their basic reasons.[4] Ncw how can we say that the river Sarasvatī came to be identified with the Speech of the seers. In the Brāhmaṇas we came across references which allude to the fact that it is the river Sarasvatī which is identified with mantra-rūpā-Vāk. For example, we read in the context of the Preparation of waters for Consecrations: *Sa Sārasvatīreva prathamā gṛhṇāti --- tābhirabhiṣiñcati vāgvai Sarasvatī vācaivainametadabhiṣiñcati* --- (He first takes (water) from the (river) Sarasvatī. --- Therewith he sprinkles him, ---Sarasvatī being (the goddess of) Speech it is with Speech he thereby sprinkles him.).[5] We further have in this context — *na*

1. Refer to 'Vāk'- a deity in *RV.*, *op. cit.*

2. See notes 1-2, *Supra.*

3. The name of the aerial goddess Sarasvatī would have been linked with a river befitting her grandeur and majesty by the tribes who lived on her banks in Ṛgvedic times. In Purāṇas we find an illustration of the above phenomenon whereby the names of female divinities are assigned to terrestrial rivers by virtue of which they are deified and worshipped as goddesses. For example, we have the Sinīvālī (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.*), the Rākā (*Bhāgavata P.*), the Kuhū (*Vāyu P.*, *Vāmana P.*, and *Matsya P.*) the Vṛtraghnī (*Brahmāṇḍa P.*, *Matsya P*,. and *Kūrma P.*), S. C. Sircar, *Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 45-51.

4. e. g. Vāgvai Anuṣṭup-Ait. B, 1, 28; 3, 15; 6, 36; S' Br. 1, 3, 2, 16; etc. Vāgvai Yajñaḥ - Ait.Br. 5, 24; S' Br. 1, 1, 2, 2; 3, 1, 3. 27, 3, 2, 2, 3, Vageva Hotā-Go. Br. 2, 10 Vāgevāgniḥ S" Br. 3, 2, 2, 13, For identification see also *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*: Ek Adhyana-by Nāthu Lal Pāṭhaka, Jaipur.

5. S" Br, 5, 3, 4, 3.

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juhoti Sārasvatīṣu---.[1] *Atha yat Sārasvatīṣu na juhōti/vāgvai Sarasvatī vajra ājyaṁ nedvajrenājyena vācaṁ hinasānīti tasmāt Sārasvatīṣu na juhoti//*[2]. (He does not offer on the waters from the Sarasvatī---. And as to why he does not offer on (the water) from the Sarasvatī,--Sarasvatī to be sure, is (the goddess of) Speech, and the ghee is the thunder-bolt. "Lest I should injure (the goddess of) Speech! Thus (he thinks and, therefore) he does not offer on the water from the Sarasvatī)[3]---. Thus we find undoubtedly the identification of the river Sārasvatī with mantra-rūpā-Vāk. the speech of the seers. Now this identification resulted into the emergence of Sarasvatī as the goddess of Speech, Learning or Vedic Lore. The Purānic story of the descent of Sarasvatī in the form of river[4] also corroborates our assertion (though in a reverse manner) that the goddess of Speech is none else than the deified river Sarasvatī. This is the main reason on account of which the riverine characteristic is ever attached to Sarasvatī the goddess of Speech and Learning.

1. *ibid*, 23.
2. *ibid.*, 25.
3. Trans. J. Eggeling
4. The mythical story of quarrel between the cowives of Viṣṇu resulted into the descent of Sarasvatī, the goddess of Learning and Knowledge from heaven to earth in the form of a river. *Devī Bhāgavata*, P. *Skandha* IX, Adhs. 6-7: *Brahmavaivarta*, Prakṛti Khaṇḍa Adhs. 6-7.

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THE USE OF THE KARĪRA IN THE VEDIC SACRIFICE

BY

V. V. BHIDE, POONA

In connection with the different sacrifices a variety of materials such as plants, fruits, corns etc., is prescribed in the Vedic literature. A close study of such materials will definitely throw some light on the sociological aspects of Vedic Indians. In his article on the 'History of sesame' Shri Mehara has pointed out that 'A history of cultivated plants is interwoven with the history and migrations of the different people.'[1] Here in this paper it is proposed to collect references to the *Karīra,* the meaning of which is not ascertained. Late P. K. Gode, who is regarded as the founder of this aspect of Indological studies (i. e. History of Plants) has, almost, been neglected by scholars.[2]

The *Karīra* is used in the Kārīrīṣṭi and in the *Varuṇapraghāsa-Parvan* of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices. It seems that the name Kārīrīṣṭi is given only because the *Karīra* is used in that sacrifice.[3] Perhaps this is the only occurrence in the optional sacrifices *(Kāmyeṣṭis)* where the sacrifice is named after a substance used in that sacrifice. It is prescribed that the Kārīrīṣṭi is performed for obtaining rain. Therefore, it is very interesting to find out the relation between the procedure of this sacrifice and the rainfall.

To point out such relation a particular rite in this Iṣṭi is here referred to. It is prescribed that one should pray to the east-wind to bring forth rain and push back the west wind. According to *TS* "one should push back the west-wind. Thereby he produces the east wind to win the rain"[4] This rite is observed in the light of radiation theory by T. A. Bambawale, who has tried to point out the efficacy of Vedic Kārīrīṣṭi. He remarked: "Indra i.e. radiation, charged with electromagnetic energy, moves forward with the wind called *Purovāta* (east-wind-Indra is also the lord of the direction east)."[5] "The moisture-bearing radiation (i.e. Varuṇa) comes from the west. But

1. K. L. Mehara 'History of Sesame in India and its cultural significance', Visvesvaranand Indological Journal, Vol. I, 1967, page 93.
2. 'The plant lore of Ancient India'. Aryan Path, March, 1947.
3. *KS* XI. 10 सैषा कारीरी नामेष्टिः ।
4. *TS* II 4. 9. 1. पश्चाद् वातं प्रतिमीवति पुरोवातमेव जनयति वर्षस्यावरुध्यै ।
5. 'Veda Rahasya or the secrets of the Vedas' By T. A. Bambawale, Poona, 1952, page 94.

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it cannot turn into rain, until it contacts the heat bearing radiation or wind coming from the east".[1] Similarly, the use of the *Karīra* can be observed. In the Kārīrīṣṭi, the flour of the Kārīra is mixed with black honey and the balls are prepared out of that mixture.[2] One should hang these balls on the fore-part of the roof of a cart and wait for rain for one day. If it does not rain, he should hang the balls on the middle-part of the roof (towards the west) and wait again for one day for the rain. If it still does not rain, he should hang them on the rear part of the roof and wait for the rain. If it does not rain, then, finally, one should offer these balls on the fire.[3] The *BaudhŚS* XIII. 39, further, prescribes that " one should gaze at the smoke coming from the offering of these balls with certain formula. " This smoke of the *Karīra*-flour and the honey may turn into clouds which will produce rain.[4]

In connection with Kārīrīṣṭi, Vedic texts introduced a certain story about the origin of the *Karīra*:– " Indra gave away Yatis to the wild dogs who immediately killed the Yatis. When these Yatis were being eaten, their heads jumped away and were transformed into the Kharjūra. The sap which rose upwards was transformed into the *Karīra*. These Yatis were the drinkers of the Soma and thus the Karīra is identified with the Soma."[5] Hence for obtaining rain one should use the *Karīra* in this sacrifice. *KS*, further, prescribes that one should not hand over the *Karīra* to a woman or a Śūdra, because they are not entitled to drink the Soma.[6] It is again prescribed that after the performance of this sacrifice one should not eat the *Karīra* for one year.[7]

In the *Varuṇapraghāsa-Parvan* of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices the Karīra is used. The figures of a ram and an ewe, prepared out of the flour of barley-grain, are to be offered to Varuṇa and to Maruts respectively. The curds are added to the hot milk and when it becomes deformed, that mixture is purified. The hard substance is called *āmikṣā* and the liquid portion is called *vājina*. Two *āmikṣās* are then offered along with the figures to these very

1. *Ibid* page 85
2. *ApŚ*'S XIX. 26.1
3. The details of this *Iṣṭi* have been given by Prof. S. A. Upadhyaya : 'Velankar Commemoration Volume, Bombay, 1965, pp 161–175.
4. This Kārīrīṣṭi was performed in Poona, in June 1950.
5. Cf. *TS* II. 4. 9. 3, *MS* II. 4. 8. *KS* XI. 10, This story of Yatis is also referred in *ABr*. VII. 28, *TāṇḍBr*. VIII. 1. 4. and *JBr*. II. 134. While commenting on *ABr*. Sāyaṇa explains the words *Yati* as यतिवेषधरान् असुरान् and on *TaṇḍBr*, यतीन् वेदविरुध्दनियमोपेतान् ।
6. *KS* XI. 10. कारीराणि न स्त्रियै दद्यान्न शूद्रा यासोमपीथ इव ह्येषः ।
7. *KS* XI. 10. संवत्सरं करीराणां नाश्नीयद् य एतया यजेत् ।

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deities. When these two *āmikṣās* are prepared, it is prescribed that one should scatter the *Karīra* over the *āmikṣās* and place the figures of ram and ewe over these *āmikṣās*. And here in this connection the origin and importance of the *Karīra* is also explained in the Vedic texts. While commenting on these various references to the *Karīra* the commentators tried to identify the *Karīra*.

It is said in *ŚatBr*. that by scattering out of the *Karīra* over the two *āmikṣās* the Creator bestowed happiness upon his creation.[1] While commenting on *ŚatBr*. Sāyaṇa explains the *Karīra* as "a sweat fruit wellknown in northern part of the country."[2] Eggeling, who has translated *ŚatBr*., explained the *Karīra* in a foot-note as "The fruit of *Capparis Aphylla*."[3] Referring to the story of Yatis other texts identify the *Karīra* with Soma-plant. It is prescribed that one should pour the *Karīra* over the *āmikṣās* and in front of the figures along with the leaves of *Śamī*. By using the *Karīra* in the *Varuṇapraghāsa-Parvan* one causes rain to fall down from the sky.[4] Sāyaṇa on *TS*. I. 8. 3, explains the *Karīra* as "shoots resembling soma-creeper. According to some it is the fruit of Kharjūra."[5] While commenting on *TBr*. I. 6. 4 Bhaṭṭabhāskara explains the *Karīra* as "the Kharjūra or the fruits of Kharjūra."[6] It is remarked by Sāyaṇa that the *Karīra* and the *Śamī*-leaves are to be thrown in front of the figures of ram and ewe as their food.[7]

Another peculiar story about the origin of the *Karīra* is told in *MS* I. 10. 13 and *KS* XXXVI. 7. The mountains were the first creation of the Creator. They had wings and they could fly at their will. Thus the earth became flabby and hence to make it firm Indra cut the wings of the mountains. The earth, then, became steady, because of the weight of the mountains. The wings went high up and were transformed into clouds. They, then, roamed over the mountains where they were created. The liquid substance which flowed from the clouds became the *Karīra*.[8] In this way the *Karīra* is related with the clouds. The reason why there is the highest rainfall on the moun-

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1. *ŚatBr*. II. 5. 2. 11. कं वै प्रजापतिः प्रजाभ्यः करीरैरकुरुत।
2. मधुराः फलविशेषाः करीराणि तानि चोत्तरापथे प्रसिद्धानि।
3. Translation of *ŚatBr*. by Eggeling, Oxford 1882, part I, p. 394 FN.
4. *TBr*. I. 6. 4, *TS*. II 4. 9. 3. सौम्या खलु वा आहुतिर्दिवो वृष्टिं च्यावयति। Cf. *MS* I. 10. 12; *KS XI*. 10
5. करीरनामकाङ्कुरान्यङ्कुराणि सोमवल्लीसदृशत्वात् सौम्यानि। करीरशब्देन खर्जुरीफलान्युच्यन्त इति केचित्।
6. करीराणि खर्जूराणि खर्जूरफलानि।
7. Sāyaṇa on *TBr*. I. 6. 4. तानि शमीपर्णवद् भक्ष्यत्वेनोपचारेण तयोः पुरत उपक्षेयेत्।
8. *MS*. I. 10. 13. *KS* XXXVI. 7 यत् प्राक्षरत् तानि करीराणि।

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tains and why clouds roam over the mountains in the rainy season is, also, indicated here.[1]

From all these various references to the *Karīra* in the Vedic texts it is clear that the *Karīra* is closely related to rain-fall. But whether the *Karīra* is a fruit or simply shoots resembling the Soma-creeper is not directly mentioned in the Vedic Texts. Therefore, the commentators could not ascertain the meaning of the word *Karīra*. The Śrauta Sūtrakāras also do not mention whether the *Karīra* is a fruit or shoots of some creeper. But the commentators of the *Śrautasūtras* explained that 'the *Karīra* is a fruit.' Dhūrtasvāmī on *ĀpŚS*. VIII. 6. 13 explains the *Karīra* as 'the fruit of some tree resembling the Soma-plant.[2] Rudradatta says that "the *Karīra* is the fruit of the Karīra-tree."[3] Vāñcheśvara on *SatŚS. V. 2.* says that "the *Karīra* is a fruit of a tree resembling Soma-plant and well-known in the Kurukṣetra. According to some, *Śamī* leaves are regarded as the *Karīra*. If the *Karīra* is not available, one should use the fruit of *Badara* (Jujube tree)."[4] Thus it is clear that the *Karīra* is a fruit and the flour of this fruit is to be used in the *Kārīrīṣṭi* and the fruits are to be used in the *Varuṇapraghāsa-parvan* and it is not proper to use the flour of the *Karīra*.

As for the identification of the *Karīra*, the Vedic texts direct us that the *Karīra*-tree resembles the soma-plant. While prescribing the procedure of *Kārīrīṣṭi ĀpŚS*. XIX. 26. 1. prescribes that one should mix the flour of the *Karīra* or of the Kharjūra with black honey.[5] As there is a separate mention of the *Karīra* from the Kharjūra, both these trees must be different. While describing the life of the people in ancient India, Zimmar has mentioned Kharjūra (*Phoenix Doctylifera linn*) as a name of a tree;[6] but he has not mentioned the *Karīra*. The meaning of the word *Karīra* is given in *Vedic Index* as "a leafless shrub or its fruit *Capparis Aphylla*."[7] It is also possible, that the *Karīra* is a tree without leaves, as it is described in the well-known verse.[8] Lexicons assign the meaning of the *Karīra* differently. There are three different meanings of the word *Karīra* :- (1) The shoots of bamboo,

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1. *MS* I. 10. 13. प्रावृषि जीमूता : प्लवन्ते । Cf. *KS* XXXVI. 7 While commenting on *Kauṣītakī* III. 9, where the story of Yatis is referred to, Śaṅkarānanda remarks : अद्यापि च तेषां मस्तकविपाका : करीरा दृश्यन्ते ।
2. करीराणि सोमाकृतेर्वृक्षस्य फलानि ।
3. करीराणि करीरस्य फलानि ।
4. सोमाकृतेर्वृक्षस्य फलानि । शमीपर्णान्येव करीराणीति केचित् । तदभावे बदराणि फलानि करीराणि ।
5. खर्जूरसक्तून् करीरसक्तून् वा ....कृष्णमधुषा संयुत्य ।
6. See *Altindisches Laben*, p. 63.
7. *Vedic Index* I. p. 139
8. पत्रं नैव यदा करीरविटपे दोषो वसन्तस्य किम् । भर्तृ. २.८९

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(2) A kind of tree, and (3) A water-pot.[1] The second meaning is to be understood proper in the present contexts. *Amarakośa* gives three synonyms of *Karīra* as – Karīra, Krakala and Granthila.[2] According to Maheśvara, a commentator of *Amarakośa, Karīra* is Nebati in vernacular language[3] and according to Bhānuji Dīkṣit it is Karīla.[4] Kṣīrasvāmī has noted some qualities of the *Karīra*.[5] In the *Vaidyakaśabdasindhu* the meaning of the word *Karīra* is given as " the sprouts of a bamboo or a tree growing in a desert and liked by camels." The qualities of *Karīra* and the use of the *Karīra* in connection with certain diseases is, also, mentioned in *Vaidyakaśabdasindhu*,[6] and in the *Bhāvaprakāśa* (1. 6. 62). Weber also assigns the meaning to the *Karīra* as " a thorny plant described as growing in deserts and fed upon by camels, commonly Karil (Capparis Aphylla; Roth)."[7] The *Karīra* tree is, also, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* along with other trees like Bilva, Ingudi, Pīlu and Śamī growing on the bank of the river Sarasvatī.[8]

As for the Botanical identification of the *Karīra* I have referred to some books on Botany.[9] The *Karīra* is described as having top-shoots, young leaves and thorns.[10] A pictorial description of the *Karīra* is given in ' Forest Flora ' Vol. I, page 57. In the *Auṣadhīsaṅgraha*[11] the equivalents of the *Karīra* in other Languages are mentioned as : Karil (Hindi), Kari (Sindi) Kiram (Gujarati), Kiral (Tamil), Karile (Tuḷu), Kaṇile (Mal.), and Nepti (Marathi).

From all these references to the *Karīra* found in the Vedic literature and from the Botanical identification there is no doubt that the *Karīra* is *Capparis decidua Edgew* (Aphylla, Roth). Hence the fruit of this plant should be used in the *Varuṇapraghāsa-Parvan* of the Cāturmāsya sacrifices and the flour of this fruit should be used in the Kārīriṣṭi. The picture of this plant also helps to understand the exact identification of the *Karīra* which is described in this paper. The relation of the *Karīra* with the Kharjūra, the Badara, the Śamī and the Śindī is to be examined closely; but it is neccssary to collect the Botanical data of the *Karīra* and the other plants.

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1. Cf. अमरकोश III. 3. 173. वंशाङ्कुरे करीरोऽ स्त्री तरुभेदे घटे च ना।
2. II. 4. 77 करीरे तु कृकलग्रन्थिलावुभौ।
3. 'नेबती' इति ख्यातस्य। 4. 'करीलं' इति ख्यातस्य।
5. करीलं गूढपत्रं च शाकपत्रं मृदूफलम्। ग्रन्थिकं तीक्ष्णसरं च ऋकरं तीक्ष्णकण्टकम्।
6. वंशाङ्कुरे। मरुजे उष्ट्रप्रियवृक्षे। कटुतिक्ताम्लं कषायं लघुशीतलम्। पित्तरक्तदाहकृच्छ्रघ्नं रुचिकृच्च।
7. *Ind. Stud*, I. 412.
8. *Mbh*. III. 174. 23 - बिल्वेङ्गुदाः पीलुशमीकरीराः सरस्वतीतीररुहा बभूवुः।
9. I must thank Dr. V. D. Vartak, Maharashtra Association for the cultivation of Science, for instructing me the Botanical data.
10. " Glossary of Indian Medicinal plants " By Chopra 1956. p. 49.
11. Cf. औषधीसंग्रह By Shri. V. G. Desai; 1927; page 98.

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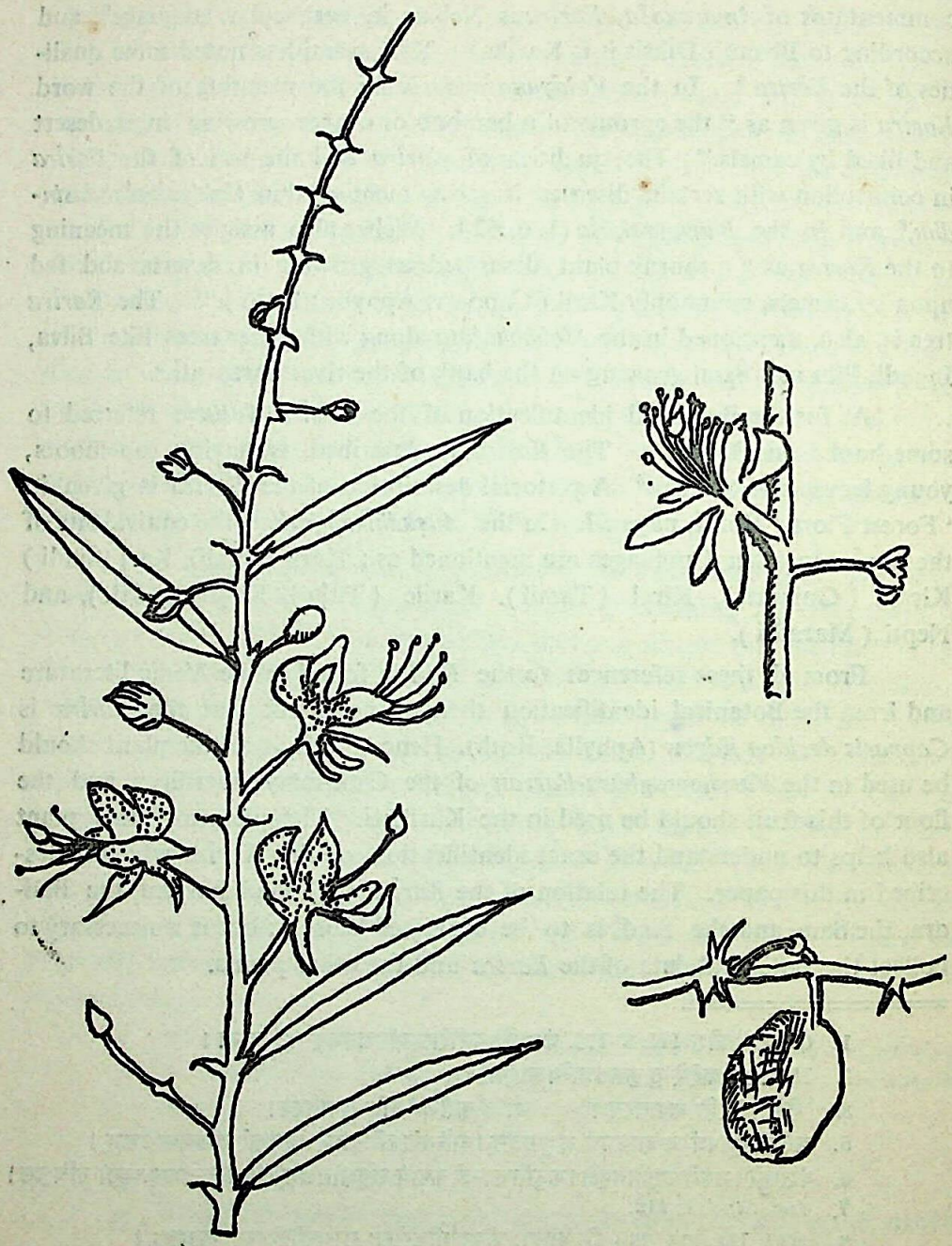

The Karira plant

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HUMAN SACRIFICE IN THE VEDAS

By

SAMIRAN CH. CHAKRABARTI, CALCUTTA

Human sacrifice in some form or other is found in almost all the ancient peoples. Prof. Keith and Macdonell are not inclined to accept human sacrifice as proved in the Vedic period. But though man-slaughter in Vedic Sacrifice may not be widely practised, its existence is beyond doubt.

Man-slaughter may be traced in the Puruṣamedha and some other sacrifices. Our attention is first drawn to the Puruṣamedha which suggests that a man was sacrificed in the same. Details of this sacrifice are described in two different ways. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and some other texts prescribe a symbolical sacrifice where a large number of human victims are bound to the sacrificial post, but after the preliminary rites all of them are set free. It says explicitly 'tat paryagnikṛtāḥ paśavo babhū burasaṁjñaptāḥ'.[1] The *Śrauta Sūtra* of Kātyāyana[2] follows the same tradition. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*[3] simply enumerates the human victims (brahmaṇe brāhmaṇam &c). The *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra*, however, prescribes a symbolical sacrifice. An enumeration of the victims is also found in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā*.[4]

The name of Puruṣamedha is not found in the *Ṛgveda*, the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, and the *Śrautasūtra* of Āśvalāyana. *A. B.* however, tells the famous story of Śunaḥśepa which should be critically examined in the present context. According to the legend Hariścandra who was not blessed with a son was advised by Nārada to pray to Varuṇa for a son and that if a son were born to him, he (Hariścandra) would sacrifice the son to Varuṇa. The king did accordingly and a son was born to him. But as the king was not willing to sacrifice the boy, he fell victim to disease as a result of Varuṇa's wrath. At last Śunaḥśepa, a son of Ajīgarta was purchased as a substitute. The preliminary rites were observed, but nobody except his father agreed to slay him. Śunaḥśepa prayed to the gods and was freed by them. He was later adopted by Viśvāmitra.

This legend is important. Śunaḥśepa was purchased for a real human sacrifice. The fact that the priests refused to slay is a proof of the fact that they did not approve the rite, but their refusal cannot prove the absence

1. *Ś. B.* XIII-6
2. *K. Ś. S.* XXI-1
3. *T. B.* III-4
4. *V. S.* XXX

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of such a sacrifice. If the sacrifice were not practised at all, how could Nārada advise the king to do so and how could the king promise to do the same? The king's promise to sacrifice his own new-born child may well be explained to be analogical with the habit of consigning the first born child in the Ganga-sagar which was once widely practised in our country and later prohibited by the British Govt. *A. B.* explains the root of the belief—'He, who has no son, has no place in the world.' The legend becomes meaningless if a real human sacrifice was never practised.

Śunaḥśepa is a seer of some Ṛgvedic mantras, and in some verses[1] this incident (that he was bound to the sacrificial post and released by the gods) may be traced, though the reference is not very explicit.

Nṛmedha is a seer of some Ṛgvedic verses, but whether he ever performed any human sacrifice is not known.

The Puruṣa-sūkta of the *Ṛgveda* (X. 90) is recited in the Puruṣamedha. The act of creation is treated in this hymn as a sacrifice in which Puruṣa is the victim. The gods are said to offer with the evolved Puruṣa a human sacrifice to the Primaeval Puruṣa. This hymn seems to refer to a symbolical sacrifice from which the creation arises. It is not clear whether a real human sacrifice is meant and mystic significance may be conveyed by the hymn,

A real human sacrifice where one human victim was actually slain is prescribed by the *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra*[2] (attached to the *RV.*) and the *Vaitāna Śrauta sūtra*[3] (attached to the A. V.), in contrast to the tradition preserved by the *S. B. Ś. Ś. S.* deals with the details of such a sacrifice. It narrates the story of Śunaḥśepa and tells that the same legend is to be recited in a Puruṣamedha. The ritual arrangements of the Puruṣamedha are developed out of those of the Horse-sacrifice ('Sarvamāśvamedhikam'). The rites, observed by the queen with the dead horse, are observed here with the dead man. *Ś. Ś. S.* connects some Ṛgvedic mantras with the rites, though the connection is not well proved. The question arises—'where from does the *Ś. Ś. S.* obtain this tradition?' The present recensions of the *RV.* and the *A. B.* do not contain explicit references to this sacrifice. The *Ś. Ś. S.* tells us that the Āpri hymn in a Puruṣamedha commences with 'Agnirmṛtyuḥ' &c., which is not found in the present recension of the *RV.* Most probably the sūtra followed a different recension (not known to us) which might have contained some particulars of the Puruṣamedha. The *V. Ś. S.* supports the tradition of the *Ś. Ś. S.* Thus we get two different schemes of the sacrifice.

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1. *RV.* I-24-12, 13. *V*-2-27
2. *Ś. Ś. S.* XVI. 10-14
3. *V. Ś. S.* XXXVII. 10—XXXVIII. 9

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We think that the idea of real human sacrifice was a natural outcome of the conception of a sacrifice. *A. B.* says[1] that he who consecrates himself (in a sacrifice) offers himself to all the gods and the animal victim is nothing but a substitute. If one of the five sacrificial animals (man, horse, ox, sheep and he-goat) was to be selected, another man would appear to be the best substitute for the sacrificer. This hypothesis is supported by the legend of Śunaḥśepa, who was purchased as a substitute for the son of Hariścandra.

In a Sarvasvāra sacrifice,[2] the sacrificer himself enters fire and courts death. The *Rāmāyaṇa*[3] records such a case of self-sacrifice of Śarabhaṅga. This is also a form of human-sacrifice, but it is to be distinguished from the Puruṣamedha. Indian tradition maintains sincere faith in a sacrifice. The animal sacrificed goes to heaven and attains a celestial form. So the slaying of a victim in a sacrifice is no murder. It seems, therefore, that a real human sacrifice was once practised but gradually the moral sense of the people did not approve the same. The *Ś. B.* says[4] (in connection with the Puruṣamedha) that while the victims were ready for sacrifice a bodiless voice announced-Puruṣa, do not slay these victims, for it means that a man would eat man. The account of the rite as in the *Ś. B.* itself can be explained only on the hypothesis that it was a modification of a prior rite in which human beings were immolated.

The gradual tendency towards substituting the lower for the higher animals is also notable in a story told in the *Ś. B.*[5] and the *A. B.*,[6] which deserves our special attention. The gods slew man as a victim in sacrifice, but when he had been slain, the sacrificial essence (medha) went out from him and entered the horse. Gradually it passed from one to another of the five sacrificial animals and thus rendered the previous one useless for sacrifice. This story recognises the human sacrifice to be the oldest form which was later replaced by the animal offerings. This also strengthens our previous suggestion that originally a man was sacrificed as a substitute for the sacrificer himself.

Apart from the case of a Puruṣamedha, the slaying of a man in the Vedic sacrifices is not unknown. The Horse-sacrifice which acts as a model for the Puruṣamedha also requires human victim. In a 'cayana' (the building of the fire-altar) heads of five sacrificial animals including man are required in laying down the bottom layer of the altar.[7] The *Ś. B.* tells us

1. *A. B.* II. 1.3
2. *Āpa. Ś. S.* XXII.7.24, *Ś. Ś. S.* XV-10, *K. Ś. S.* XXII.6, *P. B.* XVII-12 &c.
3. *Rāmāyaṇa-Āraṇyakāṇḍa*
4. *Ś. B.* XIII-6-2-13.
5. *Ś. B.* I.2.3
6. *A. B.* II.1.8
7. *Ś. B.* VII-5, *T. S.* V-5-3. *K. Ś. S.* XX-8 &c.

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that Prajāpati was the first and Śyāparṇa Sāyakāyana the last to perform this rite.[1] Some alternatives for the human head were developed and heads, made of clay or gold were used. But they are rejected by the *Ś. B.* The immolation of a man in construction work had widespread usage and even in recent days such an incident was reported from Rajasthan. In a later period, the immolation of a man was widely practised in the Tantric rites, and thus India maintained the tradition of a human sacrifice in some form or other.

Now the relation between the two different systems of the Puruṣamedha should be discussed. It is not easy to solve whether the real human sacrifice was followed or preceded by the symbolical one or whether the systems were concurrent. It is extremely difficult to assert the period when the real human sacrifice was performed. If we admit the hypothesis that the mystic and symbolical ideas were followed by the practical rites performed by the priests of less spiritual magnitude who failed to follow the tradition of mysticism or symbolism, the symbolical sacrifice should be older than the real one. But if we admit that crude and primitive rites were later on interpreted with a colour of mysticism by the people of an advanced culture we arrive at an opposite conclusion. We have already shown that the above-mentioned stories of the *A. B.* and the *Ś. B.* and the account of the Puruṣamedha in the *Ś. B.* support that the real human sacrifice yielded place to the animal sacrifices and symbolical sacrifices.

It is not stated whether a part of the dead man was eaten by the priests and the sacrificer, as required by the practice of 'iḍābhakṣaṇa'. On this question depends the value of Weber's suggestion that 'when the eating of the victim became part of the rite, the human sacrifice would naturally become more and more impossible.' Keith thinks 'that if the human sacrifice was ever usual, every probability points to the victim having first been eaten.'[2] But his supposition may not be correct, because no proof is yet available that horse was eaten of by the Vedic people and still the Horse-sacrifice was practised.

Besides, there are some persons who are otherwise vegeterian, but take meat of an animal sacrificed to the gods. An Aghori eats of a dead man. So the time of the real Puruṣamedha or the comparative priority of the two systems can hardly be ascertained from the food-habit of the Vedic people.

Neither can it be argued that a crude and primitive act like human sacrifice is contradictory to the cultural advancement of the Vedic people;

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1. *Ś. B.* VI.2.1-39
2. Introduction to Prof. Keith's translation of the Saṁhitā of the Black Yajus School.

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because many such horrible acts were performed even by more advanced people, if religious belief demanded so. Westermarck says—" the practice of human sacrifice cannot be regarded as a characteristic of savage races. On the contrary, it is found much more frequently among barbarians and semi-civilised peoples than among genuine savages, and at the lowest stages of culture known to us it is hardly heard of. "[1]

It is probable that in certain period when the transition took place, both the systems were practised concurrently. While some people followed the tradition of the *Ś. Ś. S.* others practised the symbolical rite as described in the *Ś. B.* Further research studies in this field are invited.

1. Westermarck—*Origin and Development of the Moral Ideals.*

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A READING IN THE MAITRĀYAṆĪ SAṀHITĀ
तस्मान्नावगाहे Instead of तस्मान्नावगाहेत
(मैत्रायणी संहिता 3. 6. 9.)

By

V. P. LIMAYE, Poona.

While going through the proofs of the तैत्तिरीयसंहिता (1. 2. 8) along with the भाष्यs of भट्टभास्कर and सायणाचार्य, a work undertaken by the वैदिक संशोधन मंडळ of Poona, I chanced to look into the काशिकावृत्ति on पाणिनि's अष्टाध्यायी (3. 4. 14 कृत्यार्थे तवै केन् केन्य त्वनः); this सूत्र is in the orbit (अधिकार) of छन्दसि ... (पा 3. 4. 6); the example given by काशिकावृत्ति on the प्रत्यय केन् is नावगाहे (= नावगाहितव्यम्). As is my wont I tried to find out this quotation from the Vedic literature, the best tool being the वैदिकपदानुक्रमकोष edited by विश्वबन्धु, this year's General President of the Conference, and published by the V. V. R. I. of Hoshiarpur, but I could not find it under अव √ गाहू ; then I began to search for the normal verbal forms; leaving aside those in the पैप्पलाद अथर्ववेद, the only place where I got अवगाहेत was मैत्रायणीसंहिता (3. 6. 9) (p. 449 of Vol. I संहिता) but to my surprise with two different accents अवगाहेत (thrice) and अवगाहेत (once). This roused my suspicions and I looked into the संहिता text of मैत्रायणी (published by पंडित सातवळेकर from औंध. I give below the relevant extract with accentuation:—

" यदपो दीक्षितोऽवगाहेत (a) यज्ञमेव कृश्चीयात् ...
" यदपो दीक्षितोऽवगाहेत (b) विहादिनीः स्युः
तस्मान्नावगाहेत (c)
" यद्यवगाहेत(d), लोष्टꣳ विमृणꣳ स्तरेत्

Clauses (a) (b) and (d) are dependent clauses, so the verbs in them are accented according to पा. 8. 1. 66 यद्वृत्तान्नित्यम्; but that is not the case with clause (c) तस्मान्नावगाहेत, which is an independent one and therefore we expect अवगाहेत unaccented, and तस्मात् and न accented; the औंध edition prints the principal clause thus तस्मान्नावगाहेत which is nearer the true and correct पाठ, if we but drop the final त in अवगाहेत and emend it to तस्मान्नावगाहे, from which काशिका obviously has taken the illustration नावगाहे (=नावगाहितव्यम्).

In this connection, Von Schroeder's edition is no better; if we search for Mss. of मैत्रायणी text, it is perhaps possible to find out the emended text as the tradition of recitation handed down by word of mouth has practically vanished from the land. Thus it will be seen that grammar, which is the प्रधान वेदाङ्ग, as पतञ्जलि says in the very beginning of his महाभाष्य, is for the preservation i. e. right understanding of the वेद :

" रक्षार्थं वेदानां अध्येयं व्याकरणम् ॥ "

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THE CONCEPT OF TAPAS ACCORDING TO THE ṚGVEDA

BY

LIMA MARINA, SIMLA

When we listen to the oral traditions of today and study the earliest Sacred Scriptures, we find ourselves faced with almost two different connotations of the same concept of *tapas*. Questioning modern *sadhus*, one gets the following ideas:

There are three kinds of *tapas*: of mind, of speech and of body. *Tapas* is an ascetical exercise, a practice of austerity or of penance, meant to control the mind, the speech or the body. It is a specific feature of asceticism which produces physical and psychical power and strength for man to attain ... (the "Absolute" or the "Realization", "Mystical Union" etc.).[1]

In the earliest Scriptures, however, one does not find such an ascetical feature or connotation of the term. Renou explicitly denies any connection between the Vedic *tapas* and "ascesis" even in those few passages where such a connection could somehow be possible.[2] Zaehner too, in his commentary on the line taken from the Creation Hymn: "the one was generated by the power of *heat*", notes the two different meanings of *tapas*. He writes: "the word for 'heat' (tapas) is also the word used in the later language to mean 'austerity' or 'ascetical practices".[3] But he does not give any further explanations. In fact, in Vedic literature, *tapas* seems rather to indicate a cosmic power, a creative force, the energy of the One to concretize Itself.[4]

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1. This is a typical answer I myself got from various *sādhus* whom I found strikingly in agreement. One of them even showed me how to perform some exercises to produce *tapas*. The main thing is to stop the flow of "the five elements" which form the body. This same "ascetical" definition of *tapas* is given in many books about Hindu Mysticism. Cfr, e. g. G. S. GHURYE, *Indian Sadhus*, Bombay, 1953 (2nd ed. 1964) p. 179, etc. Similarly in many books about Hinduism in general. Cfr, e. g,. S. DASGUPTA, *Indian Philosophy*, Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1951, vol. I. passim; R. C. ZAEHNER, *Hinduism*, London, Oxf. Univ. Press, 1962, p. 55.

2. L. RENOU. *Etudes sur le vocabulaire du Ṛgveda*, Premiére Sèrie, Pondicherry, Inst. Fran. d' Indol., 1958, p. 55 and references. Contra, cfr, among others Ch. BLAIR, *The Heat in the Rig Veda and Atharva Veda*. N. Haven, Connect., Amer. Orien. Soc., 1961. p. 108 ff.

3. R. C. ZAEHNER. *op. cit.*, p. 55. The quotation is taken from RV. X. 129.

4. Cfr Ch. BLAIR, *op. cit.*, p. 68 and passim; L. RENOU. *op. cit.*, p. 55 ff. For a commentary, cfr also, among many others, F. EDGERTON, *The Bhagavat Gītā*, abbr. ed.. N. York. Harper & Row, 1964, pp. 129 ff. and most of the works of VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA,

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It is also connected with a certain human activity, that is, with a human sacred action; but this *tapas* or rather this human activity -- expressed by the verb *tapati* and not yet by the noun *tapas* -- still lacks the connotation which it acquires from the Upanishadic times on[1].

Nevertheless, among so many and different notions we can perhaps discover a certain basic unity which can permit us to refer to the same concept though with different features. A study of the etymological root can help us understand better the real and deep meaning of the word, how it could adapt itself to the change of mentality which took place around the sixth century B. C. and finally how it ended up by assuming a cosmic and cosmological meaning on the one hand and an ascetico-mystical meaning on the other.

If the word *tapas* appears relatively late, and only rarely, in the *Ṛg Veda*, the verbal form *tap-* is very frequent from the very beginning of the Scriptures. In his book *The Heat in the Ṛg Veda and Atharva Veda*[2] Ch. Blair has collected all the passages found in these Vedic texts wherein figures the verbal root *tap-*. Being quite complete and well systematized according to special grammatical rules, his book is very helpful to our purpose. We shall therefore make great use of it.

The Aryo-european root *tap-* literally means -- as we have already noted in passing -- "to burn" or "to heat" something[3]. Such an action is especially attributed to the sun and also to fire. It is generally used in transitive sense, the object heated being a person, an enemy, the sacrificial vessel, heaven and earth themselves, etc. But to "heat" something is to produce energy, and the word "heat" or "flame" is often used to indicate the power of a god. "Headheated" or "toothheated" are terms applied to Agni or Indra and designate their power[4]. The effects of "heating" are generally said to be very strong and an excess of "heat" can even be the cause of death. That is why the gods are requested to slay or to "burn up" the enemy, or the demons, with the power of their "heat"[5].

Besides a destructive power, heat has a creative power as well, and the verb *tapati* is used in both of these connections. If to "burn" an object means to "destroy" it, the use of *tapati*, in this meaning, is frequent in ritual

1. Cfr Ch. BLAIR. *op. cit.*, p. 3 and passim
2. *op. cit.*
3. *ibid. passim*. Cfr also L. RENOU, *op. cit.*, p. 55. MONIER-WILLIAMS. *s. v.* The same root *tap-* and with the same meaning is found in many Aryo-european languages, especially in the Celtic and Slavic linguistic grounds.
4. Cfr RV. VII, 3, 1; VIII, 23, 4. Ch. BLAIR, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
5. *ibid.*, pp. 15 ff.

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texts whose aim is either the destruction of the enemy or of the demons, or, at least, to ward off their action[1]. But this verb also means to create or give life to an object, to confer on it the power to attain the end of its nature. The earth's products need heat to ripen, rain need heat to fall and even procreation needs heat to take place.[2] "To heat" heaven and earth and "to create" them become synonymous.[3]

It is easy to understand then why the production of heat plays such an important role in Vedic fertility and other rites. In Vedic cult, the heating of the *gharma* (ritual vessel), the cooking of food, the boiling of milk, etc., all suggest an increase of power. During the heating of the *gharma*, in a rite addressed to Indra, the Maruts are besought to *heat*, that is, to *energize* and *make effective*, the hymns of praise sung to the god.[4] Similarly it is with the production of heat that Agni can induce the gods to come down for the performance of the sacrifice.[5] Since heat produces energy, it bestows on the sacred action the power to achieve the end for which it is done. Indeed, so important is the production of heat in Vedic cult that the latter without the former is hardly conceivable. An absence of heating is even a characteristic of non-Vedic cult and of hostile sorcery.[6] The verb *tapati* is mostly used in ritual contexts: it is, in fact, essentially linked with the sacrificial fire of which it represents the energy-giving action.

To return now to our starting-point. The noun *tapas* can be explained by the verbal root *tapati*. As we have already said, *tapas*, as an abstract noun, appears only relatively late, and rarely, in the *Ṛg Veda*. As a matter of fact, it occurs only twenty-one times and mostly in the tenth book. These we can classify in four groups according to their various shades of meaning:

1. *tapas* against enemies and demons (8 times)
2. *tapas* for ritual purposes (3 „)
3. *tapas* as an attribute of Ṛṣis and pitṛs (4 „)
4. *tapas* as a creative power (6 „)

It is interesting and significant to note that *tapas* in the first and second meaning is found in the earlier part of the *Ṛg Veda* (i.e. up to Hymn

1. Cfr RV. VI, 59, 8: VII. 83. 5.
2. Cfr Ch. BLAIR, *op. cit.*, p. 116 and passim, and the saying in English when a female animal is said to be "on heat".
3. Cfr RV. III, 31, 10; X, 27, 23; X, 88, 9; etc.
4. Cfr RV. VIII, 89, 7. The passage is controversial and has been differently translated. In any case, what interests us here is the idea that *saman tapata* means to give more energy to the hymns and make them effective by "heating" them. Cfr Ch. BLAIR, *op, cit.*, p. 25.
5. Cfr RV. VIII, 102, 16.
6. Cfr Ch. BLAIR, *Op. cit.*, pp. 166 ff.

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X. 87) whereas it takes on the third and fourth meaning only in the later part (i. e. from Hymn X. 109 on).

As we can see, *tapas* in the first meaning is still in harmony with the essential meaning of the verbal root. *Tapas* is the burn to be inflicted on the enemy during certain rites;[1] it is the heat or power created by the enemy's rites against the priest or the devotees;[2] it is the energy which "stretches out" the sacrifice;[3] it is, finally, the power of fire in the funeral rite[4]. Only later does *tapas* begin to acquire new nuances and to be used in cosmic contexts.

We have here translated *tapas* not only by "*heat*" but also and especially by "*power*" and "*energy*". *Tapas* and *tapati*, in fact, both suggest such an idea of a dynamic and energy-giving power so essential to any sacred action and even to any kind of magic spell. Actually, in such contexts, the heat produced by the sacrificial fire, by the offerings burn in it and by the ritual sweat of the officiating priest has a particular importance; it is an energy with a power to act both in the so-called 'natural' world as well as in the so-called 'supernatural' one:[5] it is *tapas* which renders the sacred action efficacious.

There is no need to develop here at length the significance attached to the sacrifice by the Vedas and the importance given by the Vedic people to ritual in their entire life and *Weltanschauung*. Sacrifice is the connecting link between spirit and matter, heaven and earth, gods and men, Creator and the created. It is the focal point around which the Infinite and the finite revolve, meet and fuse into one another. It symbolizes the vertical dimension of man which brings him into contact with the Ultimate and through which the grace of "God" (or of the "gods") is channelled down to him.[6] By it, man can control the Universe and handle, maintain and even modify its laws. It is through the sacrifice that *Ṛta* (the universal order and harmony) is preserved, sunrise regularly assured, rain called down and fertility granted.[7] In a word, the sacrifice is the means available to man by and through which he can control the dynamism of creation, insert himelf into the cosmic energy and perhaps even revitalize it.

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1. Cfr RV, VII. 1, 7; X, 68, 6; etc. See also Ch, BLAIR *Op. cit.*, pp. 63 ff.
2. Cfr RV, VII, 82, 7; etc. Ch. BLAIR, *op. cit.*, pp. 64, 18 ff.
3. Cfr RV, VIII. 59, 6 (Val. 11) and IX, 113, 2.
4. Cfr RV, X, 16, 4.
5. Cfr RV, VIII, 89, 7; etc.
6. For the place of the sacrifice in the world's religions, see M. ELIADE, *Patterns in Comparative Religions*, London (Sheed & Ward) 1958 and *Le Sacré et le Profane*, Paris, Ed. Gallimard, 1965.
7. For relevant passages in the RV (and AV), see Ch. BLAIR, *op.cit.* A broader vision of the "cosmic" importance of the sacrifice is found in the other Vedas, especially in the Brāhmaṇas.

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All this points to a very essential feature of the sacrifice: man's active and conscious participation in it. It is necessary that man be fully aware of the action he performs, dominate it and lead it towards the aim he himself intends to achieve. Eventually, the efficacity of the sacrifice depends on him. To have forgotten man's necessary role in the sacrifice and to have, instead, attached an exaggerated importance to the outward material rite was one of the causes which brought about the profound religious crisis in the sixth century B. C. throughout the whole world.[1]

In order, then, that the sacred action be really effective it is necessary that the same value be attached to the *object* offered in the fire, to the *word* ("brahman") pronounced during the rite and the *man's power*. The three have to be equally present and proportionately balanced. Even where we find that the outward mechanical action assumed a preponderant place in the whole sacrificial ritual -- thus transforming it into ritualism -- it is always the personal power of the officiating priest which, more or less magically, is said to guarantee the efficacity of the sacrifice.[2]

But now we can ask ourselves: how can this personal power of the officiating priest be acquired, or at least, increased? Through *tapas*: *Tapas*, in point of fact, is not only the creative energy of the sacrifice but it is also the human effort to concentrate such an energy. Like in a circle where -- as always in religious matters -- a 'before' and an 'after' lose their meaning, the heat of the sacrificial fire increases in man, by its action on his physical body, his energy-giving power and, at the same time, the heat of man, visibly indicated by his sweat,[3] increases the heat of the sacrificial fire. *Tapas* has therefore a personal character and it can hardly be separated from the human effort of man. It is produced both by an "objective" and by a "subjective" act.

It is precisely this connection of *tapas* with both the energy-giving power of the sacrificial fire and the human effort to concentrate such a power that allows us to hit upon the inner core of its deep dynamic meaning.

Since in the sacrifice heaven and earth are thrown wide open to one another and God and man interpenetrate one another, the energy which emerges

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1. For references of such a critical period. cfr the bibliography in our doctoral thesis: "Dio, uomo, salvezza in alcuni aspetti del rivolgimento spirituale del VII-VI sec. a.C. in Asia e in Grecia", Roma, Univ. di Roma, Fac. di Lettere, 1961-62.

2. Cfr Ch. BLAIR, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff; N. J. SHENDE *The Religion and Philosophy of the Atharva Veda*, Poona, 1952, p. 82. etc. For a further development of this power and of the consequences of its loss, we refer to our "Tapasel' origine della guosi" *Messina*, 1968.

3. Cfr Ch. BLAIR, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff. For the importance and meaning of the ritual sweat, cfr, among others, M. ELIADE, *Chamanisme et les techniques archaiques de l'extase*, Paris, 1952.

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from it must belong to both heven and earth, to both God and man. The old *ṛṣi* realized that the energy or power he experienced during his sacred performance,[1] a power increased both by the sacrificial fire in front of which he did *tapas*[2] and by his own effort of concentration, could not possibly be merely human but that it originated from whither the sacrifice tends and from whence it proceeds; in other words, from exactly the same source -- since, in the Ultimate, Alpha and Omega coincide. By entering into communion with God, man not only becomes a partaker of the divine energy but also begets the power to revitalize such an energy. *Tapas* is a creative activity, born of *Karma*;[3] it is a creativity which belongs both to the Ultimate Reality and to the ancient *ṛṣi* who is both *tapasvato* (*tapas*-possessing) and *tapojan* (*tapas*-born).[4]

When man begins to develop an inquisitive consciousness and starts asking questions about the " divine ": " What is it ?"[5] or rather, (because, after all, the " scientific " inquiry is, at least in the beginning, still tied up with an attitude of reverence and adoration), " What is it that we can adore it ?"[6], he can do no better than express " the divine " in the power he experiences during his " sacred " action.

nā sad āsīt no sadāsīt tadānīṁ...
tama āsīt tamasā guḷham ágre
praketāṁ Salilaṁ sárvaṁ ā idāṁ

" Then neither Being nor Non-Being existed..
In the beginning was darkness swathed in darkness;
All this was but unmanifested water ".[7]

The human mind first discovers the priority of " *Chaos* ". But what was it that rendered possible the arising of the One, of the Existent? The same Hymn continues :

tuchyenābhv apihitam yad āsīt tapásas tán
mahinājāyataikam.

" Whatever was, the One, coming into being,
hidden by the void, was generated by the
power of *tapas* ".[8]

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1. Cfr RV, X, 109, 4.
2. Cfr RV, IX, 113, 2; etc.
3. Cfr AV, XI, 7, 17.
4. Cfr RV, X, 154, 5.
5. Cfr RV, X, 129.
6. Cfr RV, X, 121.
7. Cfr RV, X, 129, 1 & 3. Translation by R. C. ZAEHNER, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
8. Translation, *ibid.*

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The superhuman energy hidden in the sacrifice, which man can reproduce in himself through ritual efforts of concentration, is precisely that energy, potentially hidden in the " Chaos ", which enables the " Non-Existent" to come into Existence.

It is therefore by the power of *tapas* that the One came into Being; it is by the selfsame power, or energy, that the principal foundations of the Universe were laid :

ṛtaṁ ca satyam cābhīddhāt tápasōdhy ajāyata
táto rātryajāyata tátaḥ samudró arṇavaḥ

" Both Universal Order and Truth were produced from incandescent heat. From that (heat) night was born. From that (heat) the billowing ocean (was born)".[1]

Thus, in the earliest Scriptures, *tapas* was gradually revealed as an essential feature of the Divine, as the potentiality hidden in the First Principle, indeed as the First Principle itself.

It would certainly be relevant here to draw attention to the fact that many religious and philosophical movements reached independently the same conclusion. One could recall, for example, the primordial significance attached to Fire by the Zoroastrian Reform, the pre-Socratices' (particularly Heraclitus') conception of Fire as the "*Primum Principium*" and the Old Testamentarian theophanies in the form of Fire. The Ṛgvedic mythology, too, attempts to unify its idea of the divinity especially in Agni, the Fire : it is He who is most often referred to as the One. We need hardly point out that "heat" is the essential characteristic of fire.

For the believer, however, it is only because God is already " power " that he could experience and express Him as such. To say that it is the other way round would be, according to him, sheer nonsense and gross blasphemy. Man can only apply to God what essentially belongs to Him already. God must retain absolute priority.

To summarize, *tapas* is the power of concentrating energy causing the Unmanifested to manifest Itself, the One to become multiplicity. In other words, *tapas* is what causes creating. But the aspiration and finality of this multiplicity cannot be other than to regain its lost Unity. The means to achieve this is none other but *tapas* itself. In his effort to return to God, man cannot but utilize the selfsame power by which God had descended down to him. And the locus of this encounter between God and man is the sacrifice, Man understood, in fact, that by such a sacred action, the "above"

1. Cfr RV, X, 190, 1. Translation by Ch. BLAIR, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

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became accessible to him and that he could partake (*part-take*) of the innermost power of God Himself.

When, in the Upanishadic times, the material performance of the rite begins to lose more and more of its importance and to yield it to the inner effort of man, the meaning of *tapas* begins to be gradually detached from the former to be attached to the latter. Man now strives to interiorize his offering to God and his attempts to reach Him. All material instrumentality is slowly being done away with.

But *tapas*, as we have seen, is born of Activity[1] and is therefore essentially tied up with an external and material act. Concentration of energy requires a physical effort. Hence, when the external and material sacrifice was replaced by the internal effort of man, *tapas* automatically took the form of mere physical exercises of concentration of the mind, of the speech and of the body. Little by little it began to lose its original "divino-cosmic" significance only to retain its "ascetico-mystical" one.

In other words, the original and basic meaning of *tapas* is derived from the deep notion of sacrificial energy which, endlessly circulating between the Creator and the created, causes the One to become multiplicity (first aspect) and multiplicity the One (second aspect). The *Ṛg Veda* emphasizes the first aspect whereas, through a change of mentality in Indian religious history, the Upaniṣads, and still more subsequent traditions, emphasize the second. With the lapse of time, the emphasis of the second aspect became so strong that it almost totally eclipsed the first. Even today, the "divino-cosmic" significance of *tapas* remains unknown to most of the *tapasvins*.

1. Cfr AV, XI, 7, 17.

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THE VEDIC ARYANS, THE ṚK-SAṀHITÂ AND THE HARAPPA CIVILIZATION

By

V. G. PARANJPE, POONA

As against the current views about the dates of arrival into India of the Vedic Aryans (V. A.) and of the composition of the *Ṛk-saṁhitā*, viz. that they may be placed somewhere near 1700 B. C. and 1500 B. C. to 1400 B. C., and as against Prof. R. E. M. Wheeler's view that the Vedic Aryans destroyed the Harappa civilization (H. C.) the present paper will try to adduce evidence to show that

(1) Aryan Colonies existed some time before 2500 B. C. in Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Sind and Punjab, all ideas about their having separated from the Iranian Aryans on account of a religious schism being misconceived;

(2) that these colonies were invaded from the west and the north-west by a people called Asuras by the V. A.;

(3) that these Asuras were identical with the H. C. people;

(4) that the V. A. were dispersed to the north-eastern mountains and had to make preparations for a struggle with the Asuras;

(5) that they took measures to preserve the old Vedic hymns and the sacrificial ritual;

(6) that the formation of the *Ṛk-saṁhitā* was due to a sort of collegium during the lengthy period from 2500 B. C. to about 1600 B. C.;

(7) that the linguistic and other arguments against this early date are untenable; and

(8) that the H. C., instead of being destroyed by the V. A., was received into their fold and obtained an honoured place.

These points will be taken seriatim and the conclusions stated briefly.

(1) Shri B. B. Lal (*Ancient India*, Nos. 18 and 19, p. 208 and elsewhere) has ascertained the C-14 dates of the following places excavated:

Kili Ghul Mohammed (Baluchistan) 3690 ± 85 B. C.

Kot Diji (Sind) 2605 ± 145 B. C.

Iran and Navdatoli (her P.) 2035 ± 75 B. C.

Burzahom (Kashmir) 1850 1850 ± 130 B. C.

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Prof. Casal of Paris, in his latest books on Mundiguk in Afganistan and Amli in Sind, has affirmed that both these places have earlier strata with gray ware (characteristic of Aryans) superimposed by higher strata with the characteristic Harappa ware and although, following Wheeler, he declares the lower strata as belonging to the Bronze Age Peasant Settlements he wonders how the name of the Aryans does not figure anywhere. R. C. Majumdar's *Explorations in Sind* would point to the same conclusions. It is the misconceived date for the *Ṛgveda* lurking in the background which has misled these scholars. The supposed schism between the followers of Zaratushtra and the Vedic people, based on the perverted meaning of the word Asura, and the supposed rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa, for which there is no foundation, which have distorted our notions of Vedic chronology. The Vedic Aryans were a pastoral people and had come to India in search of fresh lands. This will be clear from the words कृष्टि, चर्षणी (from कृष्, चृष् to cultivate) and विश् (from विश् to settle) as applied to the Vedic people in the *Ṛgveda*.

(2) RV. X. 51-53 and X. 124 are our authorities for saying that the sacrificial institution of the V. A. had been practically suspended for a time on account of some political catastrophe. Agni's flight from the gods signifies such a suspension of sacrifice and it is occasioned by the Asuras, for, when Agni returns, his first anxiety is: तद्द्य वाचः प्रथमं मसीय येनासुराँ अभि देवा असाम (X. 53. 4). This is one version of the flight and Agni has here taken recourse to the waters. According to the second version he has gone to the Asuras, who have treated him well and whom he also served well, but now that they have lost their power he was willing to leave non-adepts in sacrifice to return to those that were adepts. Now he extorts Varuṇa to resume his sovereign power and Soma to come out (X. 124. 5, 6). For long years he had stayed with the Asuras; there was a political revolution and now he would save it by his return (X. 124.4). The word 'asura, has changed its meaning; it was an adjective before and an epithet of the gods meaning 'mighty but it is applied to 'mighty enemies' in the word असुरहन्. This change of meaning is to be found out in the very late hymns of the RV., which are probably contemporaneous with the *Yajurveda-saṁhitās* and the early Brāhmaṇas, which are more explicit. There we find constant wars waged between the gods and the Asuras, the Asuras being the winners in the earlier literature. The gods were defeated by them in all directions except the north-east. The Asuras take advantage of the internal quarrels of the gods. Their wives also are clever at deceit. They bury their dead with pomp and sometimes they bury their dead in big jars in a vertical position. It must be observed that the Asuras are never confounded with the Dāsas. The Asuras won because they had a king, that is, were politically organised and

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constructed citadels for their towns. The Asuras in the epics are expert architects and magicians and kings marry their daughters.

(3) These Asuras have to be regarded as an historical reality and the archaeological discoveries have unearthed facts about the Harappans which will establish their identity with the Asuras. They were masters of the north-western regions of India for a long time. They had fortifications and they were certainly more organised politically than the V. A. They buried their dead with costly offerings and fractional burials and burials in a sitting postures in jars have been known. They were skilful in the building art and constructed roads, drainage and fortifications. That they worshipped fire is the surmise of Marshall, but A. L. Perkins in her *Comparative Archaeology of early Mesopotamia*, p. 125, has made it absolutely clear that there was fire-worship in ancient Mesopotamia. As regards the name 'asura' given to them, in Saggs' *Greatness that was Babylonia* we find in the Index fifteen names beginning with aśśur, pronounced as 'assur' in the dialect and six names ending with assur, which will explain the name. In the first great war French soldiers and German soldiers, living close to each other in the trenches, nicknamed their antagonists as 'les Bosches' and 'Didons' from the expressions they constantly heard viz. 'bursche and 'dis done.'

(4) The references under (3) will show the helplessness and the cause of the helplessness of the Vedic Aryans. Their election of Indra as king would mean their political organisation, especially the creation of a warrior community and the construction of fortifications.

(5 & 6) There was danger of the ancient hymns being lost and the ritual forgotten, since the V. A. were illiterate. There must have been a deliberate search made of the old hymns which were known by heart in the *ṛṣi* families and now henceforth it was the duty of each boy (and girl) to learn the Veda by heart and there must have been a Collegium (parṣad) functioning which made a muemonic collection of the Veda, to which new hymns, discovered or composed, were added at the pleasure of the Collegium until the canon was closed. The first Collegium had fixed principles for the grouping and the arrangement of the hymns, but these were lost sight of by the later collegiums, and they were capricious also in the adoption of new hymns, so that there were acute differences, which led to the closing of the canon many of the older hymns must have been lost, but the earliest *Saṁhitā* certainly contained some old hymns and therefore, we might regard the date of the composition of the *Ṛgveda* as extending from 2500 B. C. to 1600 B. C. when the canon was closed.

(7) Linguistic affinities between the *Avesta* and the *Ṛgveda* are made a ground for a late date for the *Ṛgveda* but Meillet, himself the

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exponent of a late date for *RV.* says in his *Trois Conference Sur les Gāthas,* "there is no standard for the time in which languages change; a literary language may persist without substantial modification for centuries." This observation applies with even greater force to the language of a sacred literature with an exclusively oral tradition. Actually the resemblances between the Vedic and Avestic languages have been exaggerated and the differences minimised.

(8) Far from being massacred in a body, the clever Harappans could get admission to the incipient Brāhman caste. Tilak has shown how the Mesopotamian deities have figured in the *Atharvaveda* and they probably were the authors of the bulk of it. The story of the Deluge in the *Ś. Br.* has definitely been borrowed from Mesopotamians. We owe our knowledge of astronomy, and probably of medicine, to them. Our Vedic Aryans were not incapable of magical incantations, but the Harappans might have helped them. The *Atharvaveda,* not recognized as a Veda, was ultimately so recognized and the important offices of the priest Brahman and the royal purohita were eventually captured by them. Maya, the architect of the Pāṇḍavas, was an Asura. Kṛṣṇa's granddaughter-in-law and the wife of the founder of the Lunar Dynasty have been mentioned by the *Bhāgavata* as Asura princesses. The Asuras therefore were not admitted to the Indian community as outcastes.

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THE RITUAL OF THE VEDA AND THE BRĀHMAṆAS

By

D. VISWANADHA SASTRY, MUKKAMALA

The Vedas–the *Ṛgveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, the *Yajurveda* and the *Atharvaveda* are divided into three distinct parts–Saṁhitā, Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra. The Saṁhitā of *Ṛgveda* is used upon the institution of a worship with fixed ritual. The Saṁhitā of the *Yajurveda* and the Saṁhitā of the *Sāmaveda* consist only of such Richas (verses) and sacrificial formulas as had to be recited at the ceremonies of the soma offering and other sacrifices. The Saṁhitā of the sāman consists of songs in praise of various deities that are intended to be worshipped.

The oldest and most important of the sources of Indian religion and ritual is the collection of 1028 hymns known as the *Ṛgveda* Saṁhitā. The *Ṛgveda* is a definitely practical collection of hymns arranged according to their connection with the sacrificial ritual. All other Saṁhitās except *Atharvaveda* are the formulae used by the priests in the ritual. Some hymns are addressed to Soma Pavamāna and Soma is poured through the filter and was offered to Gods. Varuṇa, Indra and Agni retain their importance during the Vedic period. The growth of religious thought is also shown by the hymns. There are signs of considerable elaboration of ritual and of the employment of priests at the sacrifice in the later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

The Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas stress upon the performance of certain rites noted in the Vedic ritual. In order to attain knowledge one should perform Śrauta Karma. It is also stated that this body becomes suitable to know about Brahman only by the performance of sacrificial rites, महायज्ञैश्च यज्ञैश्च ब्राह्मीयं क्रियते तनुः. So the sacrifices as noted in the Veda and the Brāhmaṇas make a person purify his heart and thus make him attain salvation and become one with Brahman.

The conception of sacrifice can be noticed to be evolving during the period of *Ṛgveda*. Ṛgvedic Aryans with the ideas of divinity and social prosperity were prompted to undertake sacrificial performances. The passages in the hymns contain the ideas of the propitiation of the divinity and the Aryan gods are said to be extremely propitious to those who performed sacrifices. Vedic sacrificial ritual is believed to aim at the emancipation of the individual. The sacrificer and the officiating priests are influenced by the sacrifice for their attainment of progress in the society along with

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spiritual enlightenment. People belonging to all strata of the society were involved in the performance of sacrificial activities which promote a kind of social solidarity.

The hymns of the Vedic Saṁhitās mainly intended for being recited in the sacrifices in certain cases and in certain other cases they are descriptions of the methods of performance relating to several acts to be performed in the sacrifices. These methods and rules relating to procedure were handed down by oral tradition. A need was felt to preserve them intact and consequently various sages began to sit at them and codify the rules relating to the procedure. The Brāhmaṇas and the Āraṇyakas were of immense use to them in the preparation of the codes of procedure. A comparison of these codes with the respective Brāhmaṇas of the Śākhā to which the Sūtra belongs will convince anybody of the truth of this statement. The *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra* is mainly based on the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, the *Sāṁkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra* is based on the *Sāṁkhyāyana Āraṇyaka* and so on. Thus the Śrauta Sūtras are the natural outcome of the Brāhmaṇa literature. The Brāhmaṇas originated from the opinions of the individual sages imparted by oral tradition and preserved as well as supplemented in their families and by their disciples. They elaborately deal with the functions of the priests and the various aspects of the sacrifice. The Adhvaryu and his assistants recite the hymns and perform their duties as noted in the Brāhmaṇas. The Brāhmaṇa priest supervises the whole performance of sacrifice.

The object of the Brāhmaṇas is to connect the sacrificial songs and formulas with the sacrificial rites by pointing out their mutual relation and their symbolical connection with each other. They give the particular ritual in their detailed way so that the oldest rituals with the oldest traditional narratives are found in them.

The *Aitareya* and the *Sāṁkhyāyana* are the two Brāhmaṇas of *Ṛgveda* which are closely connected with each other. In the *Sāṁkhyāyana Brāhmaṇa*, a perfectly arranged work embracing on a definite plan on the entire sacrificial procedure is found. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* treats mainly with particulars relating Soma sacrifice.

During Brāhmaṇa period successive generations of priests gradually came into existence as the ritual developed. The Brāhmaṇas are conscious of higher philosophical views but people turned mostly for the ritual purposes. The *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* has mentioned the origin of Nacikethas fire. In the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* the idea is also expressed that the various gods, plants, trees etc. are all manifestations of Brahman. Hence it is clear that little progress can be seen in the Brāhmaṇas towards the development of a real philosophy which is fully developed in the Upaniṣads.

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Though a number of details are given in the Brāhmaṇas they present a perfectly definite body of opinion as to the fundamental nature and sacrifice. This theory of sacrifice is the independent part of the Brāhmaṇas. The basis of the whole system is the identification of the sacrifice with Prajāpati, who is the Creator. Viṣṇu is often identified with the sacrifice. The consecration is a process by which the sacrificer is given eternal peace.

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IRANIAN SECTION

DĀTISTĀN Ī DĒNĪK-PURSIŠN VI

By

M. F. KANGA, BOMBAY

Transcription.

1. Sašōm pursišn ān ī pursīt ku ēmāk martōm bē ōgētāh čē rāδ dāt ēstēt, ut-mān andar <gētāh>čē apāyēt kart?

2. Passoxᵛ ē, ku pat-ič passoxᵛ ī ham-pursišn nipišt ku dām āfurrīhist bē[1] rāstīh <ut> kāmišngarīh ī dātār ut purr-vēhīhā vīnārtan ī ān ī akanārak nēvak-rōβišnīh ī dāmān, kē-š[2] bēm utbēš čēγōn hast fraškart ī abrātarōt ān ī vīnārišn bavēt hač spurr pātoxšā<y>īh ī dātār<ut>a-pātoxšā<y>īh ī drūj.

3. čēγōn-aš guft pat dēn ku: 'andar ān ī Zamān spurr pātoxšāy bavom man kē Ohrmazd hom, nē pat čiš-ič pātoxšāy bavēt gannāk mēnōk.

4. Ut apar-ič[3] nēvak-rōβišnīh ī dām ut dahišnīh Ošmūrt ku: 'nēvak man, ka-m ētōn dām dāt<ut>čēγōn man katār-ič-ē kāmak ō man Xᵛatāδīh dahēnd[4], Xᵛatāδīh-ič āδēnd[5] ka ō kāmišngarīh ī pat-ič masēnišn[6] ī-š Xᵛatāδīh dāt ēstom

5. Ut-mān andar gētāh ētōn apāyēt būt<an> čēγōn-mān rāst bandakīh[7] Xᵛēš <ut> apartōm Xᵛatāδīh ī dātār druvistvīmand-tar dāšt bavēt.

6. Rās ī ō ān ī rāst bandakīh[8] pat xrat dānīhēt, pat rāstīh vāvarīhēt <ut> pat vēhīh sūtīhēt

7. Ut-aš vitarγ ī aβiš apērtar vēh mēnōk rāstīhā pat mēnišn[9] gās kartan, dānišnīkīhā griftan,[10] ut dānišnīkīhā hištan[11]

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1. *BR'* = Ir. *bē* stands for *PWN* = pat. Mark the use of *BR'* in the sense of the preposition for the dative case.

2. DF *AMT-š* = *Ka-Š*. 3. J[1] *MMN-č* = *Čē-ič*. 4. DF. *YHBWNT* = *Ir dāt*.

5. T. D. Anklesaria suggests *Xᵛatāδīh Čāšēnd* for the words *Xᵛatāδīh...čē āδēnd* better *aδēnēnd* as suggestd by Zaehner. Zurvan p. 247.

6. following J[1], J[2], DF. Text gives *masānīšn*.

7. Better *bandakīh* as suggested by T. D. Anklesaria; text gives *bavandak-ē*. *BWNYKWY*. Cf. Sec. 6 below *bavandakīh* for *bandakīh*.

8. text gives *bavandakīh-BWNYKYH*-for *bandakīh* service.

9. Thus *TD*.; rest *manīšn MNŠN*.

10. Corrected; text gives *grift WAYNT* as per TD; rest give WAYN*BYN* ligature *BYN*-here stands for *TNN* = *tan*. inf suff.

11. Corrected; text gives ŠYKWN *YND* = Ir, hitend; ligature *YND* stands for inf, *tan*,

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8. čēγōn pat dēn gōβīhēt ku Ohrmazd bē ō Zartōšt guft ku: 'Vohuman pat axᵛ ī tō apēčak apākēn-hā ku-š mahmān bē kunēnd, čē ka[12] Vohuman pat axᵛ ī tō apēčak apākēnēy ku-š mahmān bē kunēnd, ētōn dō rās[13] bē dān-hā, kē hu-rōβišn kē-č duš-rōβišn.

Translation:

1. The sixth question is that which you ask thus: 'Why are we men created for the world and what should we do therein?'

2. The reply is this that even in the reply to the same question it is written (above) that the creatures are created for[1] (*bē*) truthfulness and for the execution of the will of the Creator and for setting up[2] thoroughly well the unlimited and virtuous progress[3] of the creatures whose dread and vexation will be such (upto) the unrivalled[4] Renovation when will there arise control from the complete predominance of the Creator and the powerlessness of the 'druj.'

3. Just as it is said of it in the Religion thus: 'During that time I who am Ohrmazd will become completely predominant, in nothing whatever will the Evil Spirit be powerful.'

4. And also about the happy progress of the creatures and creation it is recounted thus: 'Happy (am) I when the creatures are so created by Me and according to any wish whatever of Mine they attribute sovereignty to

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12. Mss. J_1, J_2, H. DF *MWN* = Ir *bē*.

13. Mss. J_2. H. DF. *rāst*, just, true, equal.

1. *bē*–BR' = PWN, pat. Mark the use of BR' in the sense of the preposition for the dative case. Dr. Unwala (King Husrav and His Boy—*The Pahlvi Text* p. 6) remarks: "For the later author PWN (formerly *pa*), the preposition for the dative case and BR' (formerly *bē*), the verbal particle have become consonant, he pronounced both of these words be (to-day *bi*) and thus it happened, that he used one for the other. It is quite out of question to look upon this BR' as a verbal particle, as the latter can only be separated from the verb by the negative particle." See *S. B. E.* Vol. XVIII. p. 25 f. n. 3.

2. *vīnārtan*, to establish, to set up, to maintain. See Zaehner, Zurvān, *A Zoroastrian Dilemma*, p. 475.

3. *nēvak-rōβišnīh*, Pahlavi translation of Av. *ušta-āt. sb fem.* "prosperity, success." (Bartholomae), "health, prosperity, happiness" (Kanga). Nairyosang Skt. version is शुभप्रवृत्ति. Dr. Taraporewala (*Selections from Avestā*. p. 194–195) remarks: "besides the meaning given by Barth it means also "the winning of happiness" which is to be got by actively following the teaching given in the verse beginning 'ušta ahmāi yahmāi ušta kahmāi-čit."

4. *abrātarōt*: without a rival, without antagonism, without an antagonist, derived from a-neg. part, not and *brātarōt*, antagonist, rival, adversary. See *BSOS. X.* p. 311 and Zaehner, Zurvān p. 193. Menasee (*SGV.* p. 30) translates the word *brātartō* "semblable at apparentó", i.e. similar or alike and related.

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Me and they lead[5] the sovereignty when I will have given them for the execution of (My) will that which is the sovereignty, even with (all its) greatness.'[6]

5. And it is necessary for us to behave so in the world that our own true service (*bandakīh*)[7] and the supreme sovereignty of the Creator may be kept in more proper bounds.

6. The way to that true service (*bandakīh*) is known through wisdom, is confirmed through truth and is utilized through goodness.

7. And the passage (leading) to it is to lodge, more properly and rightly, the good Spirit in the thought, to adopt (it) wisely and to relinquish (the evil Spirit) wisely.

8. Just as it is said in the Religion that Ohrmazd spoke to Zartōšt: 'Thou shouldst accompany Vohuman with thy immaculate conscience so that they make him welcome, for if thou dost accompany Vohuman with thy pure conscience so that they make him welcome, thou shalt thus understand the two ways (viz.) that which is good conduct and that which is bad conduct'.

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5. *adēnd*, better adēnēnd, they lead; MPTurfan 'dyn- 'herbeiführen' to bring on, to lead near (Andreas-Henning, Mittelirranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan ii). Zachner (Zurvān p. 247) remarks: "adēnd seems to be haplography for adēnēnd". Cf. DKM. 470.12. adēnēnd Ō ān ī yāvōtānīk anākīh,=they lead them to eternal torment. See my paper on "Pursisnīhā ī Bōxt-mārā utsān passoxᵛīhā" in *Prof. Baburam Saksena Com. Volume 1964-65* p. 11 and p. 20. Cf. adēnītar in DKM 822. 22; 797. 22. and 798. 2. In Rām Stāyēnitārīh (*Zand i Khurtīk Avistak* p. 249) we find the word adēnēnd in the quotation 'kō dāmānī Ohrmazd hupānākīhā ut druvist-dārisnīhā Ō fraškart Zamān *adēnēnd*' i.e., who lead the creatures of Ohrmazd with good protection and with sound preservation at the time of Renovation. Ervad Dhabhar did not correctly grasp the sense of the word *adēnēnd* and hence he amended it to *āsānēnd* and translated "facilitate." But the word occurs several times in Pahlavi literature. This emendation of the word is not necessary. See his Translation of *Zand-i Khurtak Avistāk* p. 460 where he has left untranslated the words *Ō fraškart Zamān* in the sentence there in the text Ervad. T. D. Anklesaria also could not understand the word in question adēnd and amended it to Čāsēnd. vide *Datistān i Dinik*. Part I. p. 22 f. n. 15.

6. *masēnīšn* as per Mss. J1, J2 and DF. T. D. gives *maṣānīšn*. The word means magnifying, greatness, from inf masēnītan, to magnify. See Nyberg, Glossar p. 147 and my *Cītak Handarž ī Pōryōtkēšān* p. 95 S. V.

7. *BWNYKWY*: So all Mss. better bandakīh, service. Cf. sec. 6 below where the text gives bavandakīh, perfection, completion instead of bandakīh as required in the context.

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AVESTAN *VĘEWĂ* (n., f.)

By

M. A. MEHENDALE, POONA

The word *vęewa* occurring in the *Avestā* has been assigned the meaning 'a herd, a flock, a multitude.' The word occurs both as a single expression and in compounds. From the contexts in which it appears, it is clear that the meaning of word cannot be considered doubtful. E. g. in Yašt 10. 28 we read: *āat ahmāi nmānāi daδāiti gāušča vęewa vīranąmca yahva xšnūto bavaiti* "herds of cattle (and teams) of slaves he bestows on the house in which he is propitiated" (Gershevitch). In Yasna 62. 10 we read *upa ewā haxšōit gāuš vęewa upa vīranąm pourutās* "Es mögen dir zuteil werden Herden von Vieh, zuteil eine Fülle von Männern" (Wolff). In Yašt 8. 15, 17 and 19 we get expressions like *vīrayąm vęewąm, gaoyąm vęewąm*, and *aspayąm vęewąm* 'a troop consisting of heroes', 'a herd consisting of cattle', and 'a troop consisting of horses'. The word *vęewa* is thus used with reference to animals and human beings. When it is used with the expression *fšaoni* it can mean 'a group of animals of one kind or of different kinds (horses, cows etc.).' In Yašt 9. 9 we have *yatha azem fšaoni vęewa avabarāni avi mazdā dāmabyō* "....dass ich den Geschöpfen des weisen Herrn fette Herden (rather: herds of animals), verschaffe....." (Lommel).

Bartholomae in his Wörterbuch does not give any etymology of this word. Louis H. Gray[1] accepts Jackson's derivation of the word from **u̯ene* (> Skt. √*van*) 'strive, desire, gain' (Cf. Jackson's *Avesta Reader*, First Series, which is not accessible to me). Gray cites for comparison words from the Germanic group like Goth. *winja* etc. 'meadow.' He adds, ".....the formation of the Avesta word implies that *vęewa*-was THE desirable possession of a pastoral and agricultural folk. From 'meadow' to 'herd' is not a difficult transition, nor is the reverse."

The above etymology implies derivation of *vęewa* from √*van*- with the primary suffix *-tva*. But the words derived with the primary suffix *-tva* in Sanskrit and Avestan are adjectives. "Als Bildungselement für primäre Adjektive ist -tva- nur für das Indoiranische sicher nachgewiesen."[2] Such

1. Language, 25. 387 (1949)
2. Alt. Gr. II, 2 § 526, p. 711.

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adjectives have the meaning of gerundives: e.g. Sk. *hantva*, Av. *Jǫewa* '(deserving) to be killed', SK. *vaktva*, Av. *vaxeewa* 'to be spoken.' But since *vǫewa* is a substantive and not a gerundive adjective, the above derivation remains doubtful.

It is therefore proposed to derive *vaewa* from **tvantva*, a compound formed with Sk. *tva* 'one, some, several' and comparable in formation with Sk. *dvandva* 'pair, couple.' In Sanskrit, when in a sentence, *tva* is repeated, it means, when used in the singular, 'the one.....the other', and when used in plural it means 'these.....those, some.....some.' In such usage there is not always clear opposition implied by the use of *tve.....tve*. E.g. in RV 10. 71. 7 we read *ādaghnāsa upakakṣāsa u tve hradā iva snātvā u tve dadṛśre* "Some of them (i.e. the *sākhāyaḥ*) appeared like ponds reaching upto mouth, (some like ponds) reaching upto armpit, and others like those fit to bathe in." Thus what are indicated by *tve....tve* are only different kinds of ponds. If an iterative compound like **tvantva* is formed with *tva* 'some', it can easily mean 'a group, a collection, a herd.'

Semantically, the derivation of *vǫewa* from **tvantva* therefore does not seem to encounter any difficulty. The word can refer to a composite herd consisting of 'some' animals of one kind (e.g. cows) and some of the other (e.g. horses); or, it can refer to a herd consisting of only one kind of animals, 'some' of which may be of one type and 'some' other (showing the difference in colour etc.).

Phonetically, the derivation of *vǫewa* from **tvantva* faces some difficulty which, however, is not unsurmountable. Avestan *ew* regularly corresponds to Skt. *tv* (Jackson § 94). Medial *ew* of *vǫewa* is thus well explained. But in the initial position, *tv* should have shown *ew* and not *v*, e.g. Skt. tvām : Av. *ewǫm*. We, therefore, expect to get *ewǫewa* and not *vǫewa* if we wish to derive the word from **tvantva*. But this difficulty can be explained in the following way. Double treatment of a comparable cluster in the initial position is seen in *Avesta* in the case of the cluster *dv*. It shows both *dv* and *b*., e.g. Av. *dvaram* : Sk. *dvāram*, Av. *bitīm* : Sk. *dvitīyam*. Similarly, *tv* can be looked upon as showing two treatments initially, *ew* and *v*. To explain *vǫewa* we have only to assume that the simplification of the initial cluster *ew* to *v* was due to dissimilation (to avoid repetition of *ew* in two successive syllables). The initial *v* may have the phonetic value of Avestan *v* (corresponding to Skt. *v*). Or it may only be a graphic representation of the voiced spirant *w*. Occurrences of *v* for *w* in the internal position have been already noted by Jackson § 87. He also notes one instance of initial *v* for *w*, Cf. *vaēibya* 'with both' for *waēibya*=*uwaēibya* : Sk. *ubhābhyām*. If in *veǫwa* initial *v* is only graphic, then *vǫewa* = *wǫewa* < **ewǫewa* < **tvantva*.

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CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION

MEANING OF अभिपन्न IN THE ARTHAŚĀSTRA OF KAUṬILYA (13-4-52)

A FUNDAMENTAL RULE OF WAR BASED ON THE LAW OF THE BIRD (JUS NATURALE)

By

A. S. NATARAJA AYYAR, VARANASI

The department of प्राचीन राजशास्त्र, अर्थशास्त्र has been recently started in the Sanskrit University, Varanasi; and working under Pandit Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid, Head of the said department, I am herewith placing the results of my Research before the world of scholars at this session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

The question for decision is the meaning of अभिपन्न and what it connotes in the 52nd Sūtra of the 4th Adhyāya of the thirteenth Adhikaraṇa of Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra*. The Sūtra runs as follows:

परदुर्गम् अवस्कन्द्य स्कन्धावारं वा
पतित-पराङ्मुख-अभिपन्न-मुक्तकेश-शस्त्र-भयविरूपेभ्यः च
अभयम् अयुध्यमानेभ्यश्च दद्युः।

R. P. Kangle the latest translator of *Artha* states at page 259 of his *Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra*, Part *III, A Study*—University of Bombay 1965:—Chapter Eleven, Defence and External affairs "It is laid down that when attacking the enemy in the open battlefield or when storming a fort, care should be taken to see that the following categories of persons are not attacked by his troops: (1) पतित-Those who have fallen down, (2) पराङ्मुख-Those who have turned their back on the fight, (3) अभिपन्न-Those who have surrendered, (4) मुक्तकेश-Those whose hair is loose (as a mark of submission), (5) मुक्तशस्त्र—Those who have abandoned their weapons, (6) भयविरूप-Those whose appearance is changed through fear, (7) अयुध्यमान-Those who are taking no part in the fight."

Let us investigate the meaning of the term अभिपन्न more closely.

It is an irony of *Artha Śāstra* Studies in Ancient India that there is no ancient commentary on this Adhikaraṇa.

The Malayalam commentary now fixed as of the 12th century A. D. is available upto the end of the 7th Adhikaraṇa. The said commentary on

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Adhikaraṇas 4 to 7 has been edited (1960) by the Madras University and Dr. S. K. Nair, Head of the Malayalam Department, University of Madras, writes in his Foreword: "The fact is that the Malayalam commentary is definitely the product of the 12th century A. D. or thereabouts." The rest of the five commentaries are in Sanskrit and are in fragments. The *Jayamaṅgalā* is on the 1st Adhikaraṇa only. *Cāṇakya Ṭīkā* is on the 2nd Adhikaraṇa and on the 1st Adhyāya of the 3rd Adhikaraṇa and is still being published in the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. *Naya-Candrikā* begins with Adhyāya 7 of the 7th Adhikaraṇa and comes at an end on 12-4-11. *nīti-nirnit* is available from 2-1-1 to 2-4-1. The *Pratipadapañcikā* is available from 2-8-5 to the end of the 2nd Adhikaraṇa. The dates of these commentaries are not definitely known and are awaiting research.

In the absence of the aid from the commentaries it is our duty to turn to the aid which is available from a study of Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra*. Kauṭilya in Adhyāya 3 of the 1st Adhikaraṇa defines the Vedas in Sūtras 1 & 2 साम-ऋग्-यजुर्वेदाः त्रयः त्रयी। अथर्ववेद-इतिहासवेदौ च वेदाः। and states in Sūtra 17 that त्रय्याभिरक्षितो लोकः प्रसीदति न सीदति। The entire Dharma is based on the Vedas and the Vedas include इतिहास.

The word त्रयी in Sūtra 17 includes the entire Vedas as defined in Sūtras 1 & 2 and thus includes the Itihāsa also. It is thus certain that Kauṭilya took as one of his sources of Dharma the Itihāsa and we are therefore entitled to look to the Itihāsa for all help available therefrom. Before proceeding further what the meaning of the word *Itihāsa* is Kauṭilya states in I. 5. 14.

पुराणम् इतिहासम् आख्यायिका उदाहरणम् धर्मशास्त्रम् अर्थशास्त्रं च इतिहासः।

By Itihāsa we have to understand Purāṇa, Itivṛtta, Ākhyāyikā, Udāharaṇa, Dharma Śāstra and Artha Śāstra.

Kangle in his volume III-*A Study of Kauṭilya's Artha Śāstra* remarks at page 57 "This (Sūtra 1-5-14) is a very unusual description of what constitutes Itihāsa. Purāṇa is always distinguished from Itihāsa. And Dharma Śāstra and Artha Śāstra are also not regarded as forming part of Itihāsa. Moreover this description is not in conformity with the position assigned to Itihāsa, that of a Veda as seen from 1-3-1, 2."

"It is obvious therefore that the Sūtra 1-5-14 is a marginal gloss, explaining the word Itihāsa occurring in the preceding Sūtra which got into the text. But the explanation is far from accurate. By Itihāsa the author may be understood to mean only the ancient tales either of a mythical or historical character. The text refers to such tales, some of which can be traced to the two epics, the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa."

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Without deciding this question, of the narrower or wider meaning of *Itihāsa* it is sufficient for the present to state that Kauṭilya took the two Itihāsas the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* as the sources of Rāja Dharma along with the Vedas.

Now coming to the *Rāmāyaṇa* for help in understanding the word अभिपन्न, we are struck with a remarkable coincidence. Sargas 17 & 18 of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa are the Sargas dealing with the discussion as to what should happen when Vibhīṣaṇa running from his warring brother seeks help of Rāma on the eve of crossing the ocean and before the actual battle begins.

Vibhīṣaṇa seeks help in these words:

सर्वलोकशरण्याय राघवाय महात्मने।
निवेदयत मां क्षिप्रं विभीषणम् उपस्थितम् ॥

Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa VI-17-17
(M. L. J. 2nd Ed. Madras, 1958)

Rāma after a discussion among his councellors declares his response.

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मि इति च याचते।
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददामि एतत् व्रतम् मम ॥

(*Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* VI. 18-33½, 34½)
(M. L. J. 2nd Ed. Madras, 1958)

Any reader would at once be struck with the exact similarity of the two words: The अभिपन्न of Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra* and the प्रपन्न of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. The situation being identical any further help and assistance which *Rāmāyaṇa* gives in elucidating प्रपन्न could be used for elucidating the meaning of अभिपन्न in Kauṭilya.

Before going into such details of the comparative study, it is necessary to clear the ground of a possible source of mistake viz. confounding that the *Rāmāyaṇa* through Rāma's declaration teaches solely the religious doctrine of *Śaraṇāgati*–the doctrine of Surrender-of the surrender of the soul to God Almighty for reaching *Mokṣa*.

Rāma in the above declaration was laying down the Rājadharma doctrine when using प्रपन्न in the same terms as Kauṭilya did later when using अभिपन्न.

This identity could be definitely established when we quote the following from the Presidential address of Dr. Raghavan at the All-India Oriental Conference-21st Session at Srinagar 1961. After quoting the 2 ślokas from the *Rāmāyaṇa* as noted above, Dr. Raghavan states:

"Vibhīṣaṇa declared सर्वलोकशरण्याय.....*Rāmāyaṇa* VI-17-17
and Rāma responds सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय.....*Rāmāyaṇa* VI. 18-32

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affording protection and security. This grant of security by Rāma is not something which he specially made because he was divinity incarnate. What is contained here is not a religious doctrine but a general heroic act which all righteous and chivalrous warriors were enjoined upon to do as part of the Rāja Dharma they should uphold on or off the battlefield. The words निवेदयत and निवेदन are used technically in the sense of one declaring oneself to the opposite person to anybody else as his own (तव अस्मि इति च याचते) and seeking his protection. Yājñavalkya in I–166 states यश्च आत्मानं निवेदयेत् and Vijñāneśvara on this states यश्च वाङ्मनकायकर्मभिः आत्मानं निवेदयति तवाहम् इति। Such a person who has surrendered shall not be killed but taken under protection and given अभय-security under any circumstances. Manu, Yājñavalkya and the *Mahābhārata* say the same.

Manu says :

न च हन्यात् स्थलारूढं न क्लीवम् न कृताञ्जलिम्।
न मुक्तकेशम् न आसीनम् न तवास्मि इति वादिनम्॥

Manu VII, 91.

Yājñavalkya in I–326 under the same Rājadharma context declares

तवाहं वादिनं क्लीवं.....न हन्यात् विनिवृत्तं च।

The *Mahābhārata* Śānti Parva, Rājadharma 97–3 (Bhandarkar Institute's Critical edition) states :

विशीर्णकवचं चैव तवास्मीति च वादिनम्।
कृताञ्जलिं न्यस्तशस्त्रं गृहीत्वा न विहिंसयेत्॥

and also we may refer to *Viduranīti* 33–75 Kumbakonam Edition, Critical Ed. 33, Footnote 181."

"Thus what is a Sāmānya Rāja Dharma has been made into a विशेष मोक्षधर्म for providing the religious doctrine of प्रपत्ति. While taking on this new complexion the declaration spoken by Rāma has undergone a revision which it was thought necessary for making its application universal. The Pāda (पाद) अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यः making Rāma promise this to the whole world read originally with more contextual and syntactical propriety as अभयं सर्वथा तस्मै as this is attested by the quotation in this form in the Bhāṣya on the *Viṣṇusahasranāma* of Śaṅkara; and the word सर्वथा-'under any circumstance'-is necessary in the context."

Having thus established the basic foundation of the Rule of war in Kauṭilya on the earlier and identical Rule of war in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, we may pursue the thesis further by discussing the two fundamental foundations on which Rāma based his rule of प्रपन्न and by concluding that the same two foundations of this rule should have been in the mind of Kauṭilya when he framed his rule as to अभिपन्न.

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A

Rāma bases his doctrine of the grant of on the Kapota-Upākhyāna in the following term:

श्रूयते हि कपोतेन शत्रुः शरणमागतः ।
अर्चितश्च यथान्यायं स्वैश्च मांसैर्निमन्त्रितः ॥
स हि तं प्रतिजग्राह भार्याहर्तारमागतम् ।
कपोतो वानरश्रेष्ठ किं पुनः मद्विधो जनः ॥

Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa VI. 18. 24–25
(M. L. J. Ed. 1958)

The reference to कपोत-उपाख्यान in this context by Rāma is genuine and should have formed part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from the earliest times. We find support for this statement in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Kambar in Tamil of the 10th to 12th century A. D. and the stanza in Tamil narrates the story of the कपोत in identical terms. Again fortunately we have now the critical edition of the *Kamba Rāmāyaṇa* edited by the Swaminatha Iyer Research Institute of Madras and this stanza of *Kambar* quoting the Kapota Upākhyāna finds a place as part and parcel of the genuine text of Kambar.

Having thus determined the text, the student of International Law in Ancient India finds himself most happy when the entire story of the कपोत is narrated extensively in the *Mahābhārata*, Śānti-Parva, *Āpad-Dharma Parva*–Adhyāyas 141 to 145 (Critical Edition). This कपोत-उपाख्यान clearly proves that Rāma bases his rule of war on the identical आपद्-धर्म as mentioned in the कपोत-उपाख्यान. Superficial readers would be carried away by the अतिथिसत्कार offered by the कपोत. Really the अतिथिसत्कार is a part and parcel –an integral part of शरणागतधर्म preached and emphasised in the कपोत-उपाख्यान.

The references to the शरणागति are absolute and clear beyond doubt. The story begins:

शरणं पालयानस्य यो धर्मः तं वदस्व मे । 141–1.
नृगप्रभृतयो राजन् राजानः शरणागतान् ।
परिपाल्य महाराज संसिद्धिं परमां गताः ॥ 141–3.

The hunter, when he seeks the tree as his resting place, states शरणं यामि यानि अस्मिन् दैवतानि भारत । 141–26.
The female कपोत addressing her mate states—

शरणागतसंत्राता भव कान्त विशेषतः । 142–14
यो हि कश्चित् द्विजं हन्यात् गां च वा लोकस्य मातरम् ।
शरणागतं च यो हन्यात् तुल्यं तेषां च पातकम् ॥ 142–16

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The male bird addresses the hunter

प्रणयेन ब्रवीमि त्वां त्वं हि नः शरणागतः । 142–24

शरणागतस्य कर्तव्यम् आतिथ्यमिह यत्नतः । 142–25

The उपाख्यान ends :—

गोघ्नेष्वपि भवेत् अस्मिन् निष्कृतिः पापकर्मणः ।

निष्कृतिर्न भवेत् तस्मिन् यो हन्यात् शरणागतम् ॥ 145–18

A remarkable feature in the *Mahābhārata* Upākhyāna is the reference to the Kings who followed the शरणागतिधर्म. Adhyāya 141–3 states :

नृगप्रभृतयो राजन् राजानः शरणागतान् ।

परिपाल्य महाराज संसिद्धिं परमां गताः । 141–3

and this धर्म is narrated of old by one king to another

भीष्म उवाच ।

शृणु राजन् कथां दिव्यां सर्वपापप्रणाशिनीम् ।

नृपतेः मुचुकुन्दस्य कथितं भार्गवेण ह ॥ 141–6

The notes to the critical edition state : " The शरणागतपालन-नृग is not found in the *Mahābhārata* in the various recensions (e.g. 6-17-10) to famous kings of antiquity beginning with नृग. "

So far for the first support of the Rule of war on the Law of the Bird.

B

The second support to the Rule of war stated in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is the कण्डु-गाथा-the enunciation of the doctrine by कण्डु, a Ṛṣi. The गाथा is mentioned in 4½ ślokas. For convenient reference the ślokas may be quoted :—

ऋषेः कण्वस्य पुत्रेण कण्डुना परमर्षिणा ।

शृणु गाथां पुरा गीतां धर्मिष्ठाम् सत्यवादिना ॥ 18–26

(1) बद्धाञ्जलिपुटं दीनं याचन्तं शरणागतम् ।

न हन्यादानृशंस्यार्थमपि शत्रुं परंतप ॥ 18–28

(2) आर्तो वा यदि वा दृप्तः परेषां शरणागतः ।

अपि प्राणान् परित्यज्य रक्षितव्यः कृतात्मना ॥ 18–29

(3) तं चेत् भयात् वा मोहात् वा कामाद्वापि न रक्षति ।

स्वया शक्त्या यथान्यायं तत्पापं लोकगर्हितम् ॥ 18–30

(4) विनष्टो पश्यतो यस्य रक्षितुः शरणागतः ।

आदाय सुकृतं तस्य सर्वं गच्छेत् अरक्षितः ॥ 18–31

(4½) अस्वर्ग्यं च अयशस्यं बलवीर्यविनाशनम् 18–32.

Then Rāma after quoting the 4½ ślokas of Kaṇḍu Ṛṣi concludes :—

करिष्यामि यथार्थं तु कण्डोः वचनमुत्तमम् । 18–32

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Rāma's reference to the Ṛṣi Kaṇḍu shows how the law of the bird in the कपोत-उपाख्यान took deep root and was followed as a code of conduct. To compare a modern instance, like Bhave of the भूदान movement, Ṛṣi Kaṇḍu should have been the expounder of the Śaraṇāgati doctrine and his गाथा in 4½ ślokas has come to us. Vedānta Deśika and Periyavacchan Pillai of the 13th century in the South of India have referred to these ślokas in their Tamil-cum-Sanskrit (*Maṇipravala*) essays and commentaries on the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Hence this Kaṇḍu-Gāthā reference and exposition as a classic text is at least definitely seven centuries old and should have been an integral part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, though this Kaṇḍu Ṛṣi is not found in the Tamil *Kambar Rāmāyaṇa* of the 10th to 12th century A. D.

To the student of International Law in Ancient India, the most important aspect lies in the *sanction* (as used in Austin's *definition of Law*) to the violations of the rule of law laid down to be followed on the battle-field. The sanction is referred to in the 4th śloka quoted above. If the person who seeks protection is not given protection, then the person who seeks such protection takes away the सुकृतम् of the person who denies the protection. सुकृतम् would embrace all the good acts performed by one together with the merit which would accrue here and in the next world. No doubt this is a religious sanction. But surely in days when belief in the next world was a guiding principle of men's conduct, this religious sanction would have been as equally efficacious as any legal sanction. This religious sanction together with the censure by the good and great men would be the compelling force for any one to follow the rule of law.

After quoting the कपोत-उपाख्यान and कण्डुगाथा, Rāma emphasises this doctrine in two immortal ślokas in his own words:

सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय तवास्मीति च याचते ।
अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम ॥ 18–33
आनयैनं हरिश्रेष्ठ दत्तमस्याभयं मया ।
विभीषणो वा सुग्रीवो यदि वा रावणस्स्वयम् ॥ 18–34

Rāma's declaration of Law is an article of faith and creed and is his व्रत. Again the exact use of the term तवास्मि when seeking protection is not necessary. Indeed Vibhīṣaṇa, in all his long address to Rāma, does not use the term. As Medhātithi, the Bhāṣyakāra on Manu in the corresponding śloka of Manu, observes that the surrender should in effect amount to the declaration of तव अस्मि. Rāma using the term तव अस्मि declares that Vibhīṣaṇa's appeal falls under the rule of war न हन्यात् तव अस्मि इति वादिनम् and hence saves Vibhīṣaṇa. Rāma in the second śloka enunciates an explanatory rider to the proposition that his grant of अभय to one who surrenders admits

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of no exception. Even if Rāvaṇa should come as Vibhīṣaṇa did, Rāvaṇa, the arch-enemy, would be saved.

How this rule of war enunciated by Rāma developed into the Śaraṇāgati doctrine of the *Rāmāyaṇa* culminating in essays proving that the *Rāmāyaṇa* is a शरणागतिवेद, is another interesting chapter in Indian History reserved for another paper.

Thus we have explained the Rule of war contained in the term अभिपन्न of Kauṭilya. Without exaggeration one may say that the entire explanation of the term as given by us in all its elaboration in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki should have been in the mind of Kauṭilya. And surely the *Artha Śāstra* commentators, had their writings been complete, would have mentioned all this. And now it forms part of the sacred task of the Head of the Rāja Śāstra Artha Śāstra Department to expound the same to the world of scholars.

A student of Comparative Jurisprudence would at once launch a comparison as to how *Jus Naturale* grew in the West and how a rule of law the most important of Rules of war in Ancient India was based on the Law of the *Bird*. Rāma applies the doctrine *a fortiori* by saying किं पुनः मद्विधो जनः. This chapter in the study of Comparative Jurisprudence is reserved for a future occasion. We may anticipate by saying that by such comparison Kauṭilya will shine better.

We may conclude by stating that if Coleridge preached in the 19th century that

> "He prayeth well, who loveth well
> Both man and bird and beast"
>
> (The Rime of the Ancient Mariner)

the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Kauṭilya following the *Rāmāyaṇa*, millenniums before Coleridge, enunciated the rule of Law as the Dharma—as the best prayer by stating that the Ruler

> He prayeth well who *ruleth* well
> Both man and bird and beast.

thus governing men by the law of the bird and beast. And this is the lesson of Kauṭilya's *Artha Śāstra* to modern Bhārata–the union of States, the Chakravarti Kshetra of Ancient India.

And thus I am laying this न्यायकुसुमाञ्जलिः first instalment at the feet of the Head of the Prācīna Rāja Śāstra and Artha Śāstra Department, Sanskrit University.

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FRESH LIGHT ON PĀṆINI'S SŪTRA – 'TASYĀDITA UDĀTTAMARDHAHRASVAM' – (I. 2. 32)

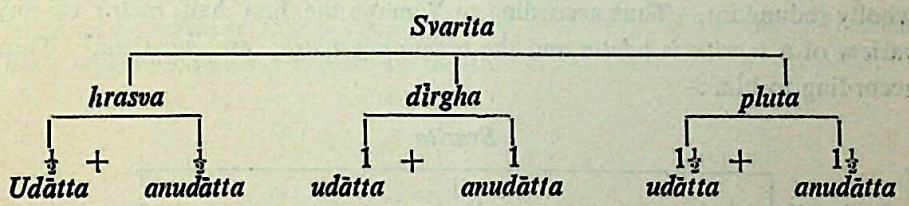
By

PROF. A. N. JANI, BARODA

After describing the *svarita* accent as a combination of *udātta* and *anudātta*[1], (I. 2. 31) Pāṇini specifies in the succeeding *sūtra* (I. 2. 32) as to which part of a *svarita* is consisting of *udātta* element and which one of *anudātta*. He says-*Tasyādita udāttamardhahrasvam* (I. 2. 32). There the pronoun *tasya* refers to the noun *svarita* of the preceding *sūtra*. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita while interpreting this *sūtra* remarks that the word *hrasva* in the *sūtra* is unscientific or not serving any purpose. In other words it is redundant.[2] Thus omitting this word he interprets the *sūtra* as follows :–

The first half of a *svarita* should be known as *udātta*, while the latter half is by the rule of remainder, *anudātta*.[3]

Thus according to Bhaṭṭoji a *hrasva svarita* has first half *mātrā* udātta and the latter half *anudātta*; a *dīrgha svarita* consists of first one *udātta mātrā* and the latter one *anudātta mātrā*. Similarly the *pluta svarita* is a combination of first one and a half *udātta mātrā* and of the latter one and a half *anudātta mātrā*. Represented by a diagram it stands thus–



Above interpretation of Bhaṭṭoji is intended to get rid of one difficulty. If the word *hrasva* is retained, it can be explained in two ways (1) *hrasvasya ardham* or (2) *ardham ca tad hrasvam ca*. First explanation means the half of a *hrasva*. Thus according to this interpretation the first half of a *hrasva svariti* will be *udātta* and the remaining half *anudātta*. Thus the scope of the *sūtra* will be restricted to the *hrasva* variety of a *svarita* only. If the second explanation is accepted it will mean that *hrasva* which is half i. e. it will refer

1. समाहारः स्वरितः । I. २. ३१.
2. ह्रस्वग्रहणमतन्त्रम् । सि. कौ. p. १२.
3. स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धमुदात्तं बोध्यम्, उत्तरार्धं तु परिशेषादनुदात्तम् । सि. कौ.

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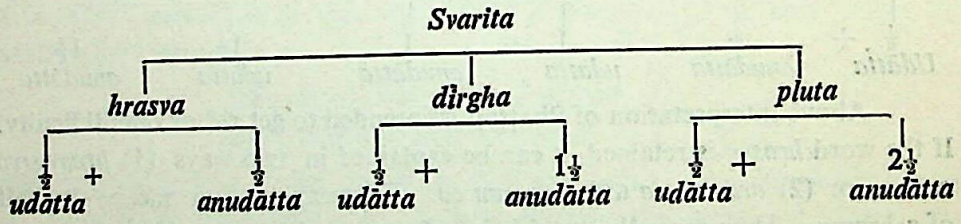
only to the *dīrgha* variety of a *svarita* of which the first half portion is made up of a *hrasva mātrā*. Thus the first explanation excludes the *dīrgha* and *pluta* varieties and the second explanation includes the *hrasva* and *pluta* varieties. In other words the *sūtra* will not refer to all the three varieties of a *svarita* which is actually intended by Pāṇini who by using the pronoun *tasya* indicates that he speaks of the divisions of *svarita* (i. e. all the three varieties of it) in general and not a particular variety thereof. To make the *sūtra* applicable to all the three varieties, Bhaṭṭoji advises to safely omit the word *hrasvam* from the *sūtra*. i. e. according to him the *sūtra* should better have been framed as *tasyādita udāttamardham*. Keeping this in mind he therefore shows the division of the three varieties of a *svarita* as illustrated above.

As in many cases Bhaṭṭoji has taken the expression *hrasvagrahaṇamatantram* directly from the *Kāśikāvṛtti*. But there is a clear difference of opinion between these two authorities. Vāmana says that *ardhahrasvam* is intended to indicate the *ardhamātrā* only[1] i. e. the word *hrasva* here does not refer to the *hrasva* variety which is its primary meaning but is used here secondarily to refer to one *mātrā* of which it consists. Thus *hrasva*=one *mātrā*; hence *ardhahrasvam* = ½ of one *mātrā* i. e. half the *mātrā*. It is only if the word *hrasva* is taken in the secondary sense of one *mātrā* which is its measure, then and then only the *sūtra* will be applicable to all the three varieties of a *svarita*. Hence the acceptance of *hrasva* in the *sūtra* is not to be understood in its primary sense. Thus according to Vāmana the word *hrasva* is partially redundant being used in its secondary sense, unlike Bhaṭṭoji who understands it as wholly redundant. Thus according to Vāmana the first half *mātrā* of any variety of a *svarita* is *udātta* and the remaining *mātrās* are *anudātta*.[2] Thus according to him :–



Thus there is a fundamental difference between these two authorities regarding the quantity of the two parts of a *svarita*.

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1. अर्धह्रस्वमिति चार्धमात्रोपलक्ष्यते । काशिका.
2. शिक्यमित्यत्रार्धमात्रा आदित उदात्ता, अपराऽर्धमात्रा अनुदात्ता, एकश्रुतिर्वा । 'कन्या' इत्यत्रार्धमात्राऽऽदित उदात्ता, अध्यर्धमात्रा अनुदात्ता । माणवका ३ माणवकेत्यत्रार्धमात्राऽऽदित उदात्ता, अर्धतृतीयमात्रा अनुदात्ता । काशिका.

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It seems however that the interpretation of Vāmana seems to be nearer to Pāṇini than that of Bhaṭṭoji. Firstly because Vāmana follows the view of the Bhāṣyakāra who remarks that *ardhahrasvam* should be understood as *ardhahrasvamātram* and that this *mātrac* termination should be taken as dropped,[1] secondly because if Pāṇini had intended equal distribution of *mātrās* in the two parts of a *svarita* as taken by Bhaṭṭoji, he would have preferred to drop the word *hrasva* from the *sūtra*. But that he uses the word *hrasva* in the *sūtra* is an indication that here *ardhahrasvam* is either a contraction of *ardhahrasvamātram* or *ardhahrasva dīrgha-plutam* i. e. the word *hrasva* either stands for one *mātrā* or it is a representative of the other two varieties also.

Thirdly Pāṇini has given these divisions according to the Prātiśākhyas which were the direct precursors of Sanskrit grammar. *Ṛkprātiśākhya* while discussing this matter says that the half *mātrā* of the former part of a *svarita* is more *udātta* than a regular *udātta*; or the half of (the whole quantity of) a *svara* consisting of two *mātrās* is like a half *mātrā*; the remaining part is *anudātta*.[2]

The *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* on the other hand lays down that "of this circumflex, in case it immediately follows an acute, the first part to the extent of half a short vowel, is uttered in a yet higher tone' (Whitney; pp. 31–32).[3] The wording of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*,, especially the expression '*Yāvad ardham hrasvasya*'[4] at once makes it clear that Pāṇini has before him the tradition preserved in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* and that the expression '*ardham hrasvasya*' is contracted by him as *ardhahrasvam*. Thus the word *hrasva* certainly denotes one *mātrā* and not the *hrasva* variety of a *svarita*.[5] As such the word '*hrasva*' in the *sūtra* is not at all redundant as Bhaṭṭoji observes. However he seems to follow the alternative view recorded by the *Ṛkprātiśākhya* which recommends equal distribution of the two halves of a *svarita*.

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1. अर्धह्रस्वमित्युच्यते । तत्र दीर्घप्लुतयोर्न प्राप्नोति । कन्या । शक्तिके ३ शक्तिके ॥ नैष दोषः । मात्रचोऽत्र लोपो द्रष्टव्यः । अर्धह्रस्वमात्रम् अर्धह्रस्वमिति । महाभाष्य.
2. तस्योदात्ततरोदात्ताद् अर्धमात्रा, अर्धमेव वा । ऋ. प्रा. ३. ४.
3. Whitney.
4. तस्यादिरुच्चैस्तरामनुदात्तादनन्तरे यावदर्धं ह्रस्वस्य । तै. प्रा.
5. cf. also ऋ. प्रा. which describes ह्रस्व as मात्रा ह्रस्वः (I. 27). Thus ह्रस्व can be used to denote one मात्रा.

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A NOTE ON THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN APPAYA AND JAGANNĀTHA

By

RAMARANJAN MUKHERJI, CALCUTTA

Sanskrit Poetics regards coalescence of conscious thought and emotion as necessary for creation of great Poetry : a combination of critical intellect and aesthetic sensibility, it asserts, brings a successful image into being. And what is essential from the stand-point of the poet is essential from the stand-point of the connoisseur of poetic art also, since he experiences the fact lying originally in the mind of the poet and transplanted subsequently into him through delicate diction and rich imagery. The skill of the poet is to make out of language and the effects of language a reliable symbol of his experience to create which he utilises not only the aesthetic sensibility, but the critical intellect, as well. And the symbol is understood, when the provocations of its imagery reverberate in emotion and allusions through the mind of the connoisseur in such a way that they finally collect themselves into an imaginary experience exactly corresponding to the original experience in the poet's mind. When the poet requires both conscious thought and feeling to make up the symbol, why should not the appreciative reader require both of them to receive the symbol of the poet's experience ?

In his *Citramīmāṁsā* the noted Ālaṁkārika Appaya makes this stand of Sanskrit Poetics clear. Rhetoricians usually cite the stanza :

> " Breast-slopes free of sandal-paste,
> And redness nil in lower lip ;
> Glances have no soothing salve :
> Slender frame shows bristling skin.
> Liar 0' courier ! Knowest thou not
> A friend's sufferings - agony hot;
> Reachest the lake for pleasing dip
> And never near that wretched mean."

as an example of the best specimen of Poetic Art. The expressed content comprised of a description of changes appearing in the limbs of the messenger, they say, bring into light through suggestion the idea that the messenger approached the wretched lover, and that too for enjoyment : in the matter of revelation of this implicit, they continue, the expression ' wretched mean '

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plays a prominent role. Appaya gives a novel explanation of the stanza in order to show how power of understanding and aesthetic sensibility both help the refined reader to arrive at the charming implicit. Analysing the psychology of the cultured heroine the speaker of the verse, he says that, though meanness is in a position to refer to poverty in point of descent as also to that in point of deed, it is not possible for the refined speaker to refer to inferiority in point of birth of her lover. Inferiority through perpetration of an act, therefore, is left out alone to which only reference is capable of being made by the cultured heroine; this act refers further to a deed done by the lover after the sending of the messenger since all actions done in past have been tolerated by the heroine as is evident from the very fact of sending of the message of love to him. This consideration enables the connoisseur of poetic art to arrive at the implicit idea of dalliance in the matter of revelation of which the expressed contents presented by different clauses render substantial assistance, since they are in a position to bring into light acts that are accessories to amorous sport. The word 'wretched mean' attended with the expressed contents presented by different clauses used in the verse, Appaya concludes, enables the power of understanding and aesthetic sensibility of the connoisseur to arrive at the charming implicit of amorous toying, and the idea introduced by the term 'liar' also proves itself conducive to revelation of the said suggested.

Jagannātha, the author of *Rasagaṅgādhara* takes the point amiss and subjects his interpretation of the verse to vigorous criticism. Appaya, he says, is of the view that the expressed content in Poetry is a definite and unfailing pointer to the suggested: this view, he continues, puts too much premium on the faculty of reasoning and thereby lands the very existence of *Vyañjanā* in jeopardy. Excessive importance attached to intellect in the scheme of Appaya, Jagannātha observes, is fraught with danger, since in those cases where the expressed is a faithful indicator to the unexpressed in the same way as smoke is to the fire, *Anumāna,* necessitating to a great extent the operation of the power of understanding is likely to step in and replace *Vyajñanā*. As a matter of fact, unfailing indication or inseparable association is but another name of universal concomitance, which facilitates the operation of *Anumāna,* and consequently proves itself detrimental to *Vyañjanā*, that does not follow the path of reason or logic. Hence, Jagannātha concludes, the explanation furnished by Appaya practically invites the process of inference to cause cognition of the so-called implicit and thus cuts at the root of *Vyañjānā* itself.

Continuing his criticism of Appaya's interpretation, Jagannātha points out to another difficulty to which the explanation of his learned predecessor is sure to lead to. The implicit in the verse under consideration is comprised

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of two parts, the first being the idea of approaching the wretched lover and the second that of amorous toying. The argument that the changes appearing in the limbs of the messenger are capable of being caused by amorous sport alone, and not through any other factor as a dip in the lake or a friction with robes is sure to invite the secondary power of signification to cause cognition of the idea of approaching the mean lover and thereby to take out that content from the scope of the implicit. So far as the second part of the suggested, namely the idea of amorous toying is concerned, Jagannātha says, the interpretation of Appaya makes it cognizable through the process of logical postulation by maintaining that it is not possible for a noble heroine to refer to inferiority in point of descent of her lover and consequently what is intended to be insisted upon is inferiority through perpetration of an atrocious deed that is nothing other than dalliance. And a meaning arrived at through the process of logical postulation is incapable of being recognised as the content of an expression, because extension of such recognition militates against dictum which states that the content of an expression is that which is not known through any other instrument of valid cognition. Thus the exposition of Appaya, Jagannātha thinks, makes both the ideas constituting the entire body of the suggested content comprehensible through processes other than *Vyaañjnā* and thereby endangers the existence of *Dhvani* itself to exemplify which the verse is cited. In his attempt to trace lack of justification in the exposition put forward by his learned predecessor Jagannātha says that by asserting that the explicit, comprised of a wretchedness of the lover, as also the changes appearing in the limbs of the messenger depends for its establishment on the understanding of the implicit, it makes the stanza an example of Poetry of mediocre type. This is opposed not only to established tradition of the Ālaṁkārikas, but to the experience of the connoisseur of Poetic Art as well.

An analysis of Jagannātha's criticism of the stand of Appaya shows that he interprets his learned predecessor as a protagonist of intellect, according to whom the inner content in Poetry is arrived at through power of reasoning alone. This, however, is far from truth, since Appaya really wants to bring home the point that for appreciation of Poetry what is necessary is a combination of intellect and aesthetic sensibility. And this represents the traditional view of the *Dhvani* theorist, who though emphasising the role of appreciative genius in understanding of the unexpressed recognises knowledge concerning the speciality of the speaker, the person spoken to, the context and such other factors as an accessory to this understanding; and thereby practically smuggles the active critical intellect in the process of comprehension of the symbolic. Appaya, therefore, is not alone in holding this view. His fault possibly lies in making an honest attempt to analyse the state of mind

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of the connoisseur as he proceeds to arrive at the implicit, since it is this endeavour that lands him into difficulties. This learned critic never asserts that the changes appearing in the limbs of the messenger are as a rule incapable of being caused through both: what he says is that though the symptoms are common to ablution and amorous sport, as also to other factors, the power of understanding of the connoisseur grasps their association with amorous toying and thereby helps his aesthetic sensibility to arrive at the symbolic. In the beginning the connoisseur accepts the changes as results of a dip in the lake; and it is only at a subsequent stage that his critical intellect shuts out this dip and enables his appreciative genius to comprehend the implicit. This goes to prove the unsoundness of the second point in the animadversion of Jagannātha, namely the point that the explanation of Appaya practically solicits the presence of indication to cause cognition of the idea of approaching the wretched lover. And the third point is as unsound as the second one. It is never the intention of Appaya to establish that the wretchedness predicated of the lover stands unjustified without amorous toying. By asserting that it is not possible for a cultured lady to refer to inferiority of her lover in point of descent the learned predecessor of Jagannātha simply tries to bring out the nature of the speaker, as also to set forth the considerations that work in the mind of the connoisseur and enable him to catch the symbolic. These observations go to render the fourth point in the animadversion equally untenable. As the unexpressed in the shape of amorous toying is cognised at a subsequent stage after the understanding of the import of the proposition, it is wrong to say that the expressed depends on the unexpressed for its establishment, as a result of which the Poetry is relegated to the status of one of mediocre type.

That Appaya considers coalescence of critical intellect and aesthetic instinct necessary for appreciation of Poetic image becomes all the more evident from his exposition on the stanza;

"Eye-lash gives a moment's berth
To the rain-drops first,
Trouble tastes the lower lip
As they do trickle fast;
Breast-slopes break soon forth
Crash as they on them
And skin-folds cause to halt
Drops in downward game:
Time rolls; and they too role
To sink in navel last.",

in explaining which he shows how the expressed comprised of gradual move-

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ments of the first rain-drops in the limbs of Pārvatī brings into light her state of *Samādhi* as also the super-normal charm pertaining to her frame. Of these two unexpressed contents the first is cognised chiefly through critical intellect and the second through aesthetic sensibility: both these ultimately raise into comprehension the profound feeling of love that impels Pārvatī, possessed of super-normal beauty to engage herself in absolute meditation to win over the heart of her spouse. And as this is comprehended the connoisseur derives a blissful experience exactly corresponding to the original in the poet's mind.

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GRAMMATICAL SOURCES OF THE KAVIRAHASYA OF HALĀYUDHA

By

Dr. Satya Pal Narang, Delhi

Halāyudha has collected the roots sounding alike from various sources and has used them in conjugational forms of third person singular to adjust them as an activity of an object. All the roots are used in the eulogy of the King Kṛṣṇa-rāja III.

Similar words having similar meaning; similar words having different meanings, same words having the same meaning; same words having different meanings; similar appearing having one meaning–all such types of roots have been collected by Halāyudha[1]. His sources of choosing and enlisting these roots are mentioned by him such as from Loka, Śāstra and words used by well-known poets.[2]

Some of the sources of Halāyudha can be traced but which poems were used by him in the compilation of these roots, is not known. Here is an attempt to search the technique of illustrations as well as various Dhātu-pāṭhas to whom his work can be traced.

1. *Roots having many senses*: Halāyudha has not used all the senses of the roots having a variety in sense. In most of the cases only one sense is illustrated.[3] The illustrated sense is according to the most befitting adjustment in poetry.

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1. *Kavirahasya*, 4, 5.

एकार्था एकशब्दाश्च भिन्नार्था एकवाचकाः ।
तुल्यार्थास्तुल्यशब्दाश्च नानार्थाः सदृशाक्षराः ॥
एकार्थाः समशब्दाश्च निबध्यन्तेऽत्र धातवः ॥

2. *Ibid.* 3.

लोकेषु शास्त्रेषु च ये प्रसिद्धाः
काव्येषु ये सत्कविभिः प्रयुक्ताः ।
उच्चित्य तांश्चित्तविनोदनाय
शब्दानहं धातुभिरुद्धरामि ॥

3. (i) *Kavirahasya*, 33. क्न्यूयी शब्दे उन्दने च ।
Halāyudha has used the root Knūyī in the sense of शब्दे and not उन्दने.

(ii) *Kavirahasya*, 82. गूरी हिंसागत्योः ।
It is illustrated in the sense of गति only. Similarly, *Kavirahasya*, 117, 155, 215.

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But in a few cases, more than one sense is also illustrated.[1]

2. *Ubhayapadī roots*: A few roots having both the padas are used by Halāyudha in one pada only. Such roots are not many in number.[2]

Sources of his roots: Not only the Pāṇinian Dhātupāṭha and its commentators, Halāyudha has used other prevalent Dhātupāṭhas also, as a few forms can only be traced from the Dhātupāṭhas other than Pāṇini. Besides, he has used a few Nāmadhātus;[3] roots belonging to Kaṇḍvādi[4] group and Sautra roots.[5]

(a) *Mahābhāṣya*: Halāyudha has used the form Arthāpayati (*Kavirahasya*, 228) which can be formed by the Vārtika of the *Mahābhāṣya*[6] found in a different form in the *Kāśikā* also.[7]

(b) *Śākaṭāyāna*: In a few cases, it appears that Halāyudha has accepted the opinion of Śākaṭāyana either in the text of the root, or Gaṇa or the meaning of the root.[8] Some of the roots are found both in Śākaṭā-

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1. *Kavirahasya*, 166. कुथि हिंसासंक्लेशनयोः।
Here he has illustrated both the senses viz. हिंसा and संक्लेश.

2. *Kavirahasya*, 171. नेद् is उभयपदी but Halāyudha has used it in आत्मनेपद only. Likewise श्रीञ् पाके- Here all the Dhātukāras have accepted it in the उभयपदी (Palsule, G. B. *Concordance of Dhātupāṭhas*, Poona, 1955, p. 142), but Halāyudha has used it in परस्मैपद only.

3. मृशायते (*Kavirahasya*, 118)
मन्दायते (*Ibid.* 155)
सुखायते (*Ibid.* 197)
अर्थापयति (*Ibid.* 228)
नमस्यति (*Ibid.* 286)
निद्रायते, निद्रायति (*Ibid.* 288)

4. महीयते— (*Kavirahasya*, 51; Kaṇḍvādi group No. 30)
खेलायति— („ 69; „ No. 25)
हृणीयते— („ 95; „ No. 29)

5. स्तभ्नाति, स्तभ्नोति— *Kavirahasya* 121; Pāṇ. 3. 1. 82.
विष्कभाति, विष्कभोति— „ 122; „ 3. 1. 82.

6. Vedavrata, Ed. *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, Jharjhara, 1963, Vol. III, p. 79.
'णिविद्यावर्थवेदसत्यानामापुक् च'

7. *Kāśikā*, p. 147; *Pāṇ.* 3. 1. 25.
'अर्थवेदसत्यानामापुग् वक्तव्यः'

8. (a) *Kavirahasya*, 30 संज्ञपयति. Here Halāyudha has illustrated आज्ञापयति, संज्ञपयति and उपज्ञपयति in the sense of मारण, तोषण and निशामन respectively. *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* (p. 546) quotes the opinion of Śākaṭāyana in whose opinion, all the three meanings of 'jñapa' are known अन्ये तु

(*Continued on next page*)

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yana and Jainendra.[1]

(c) *Kāśakṛtsna and Halāyudha*: Some of the roots in their pada[2] and text[3] can be traced to Kāśakṛtsna only.

(d) *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya*: Only once, it appears, Halāyudha has used the text of the root found in the *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya*.[4]

(e) *Śarvavarman*: Four roots found in the Dhātupāṭha of Śarvavarman, which are found in the *Kavirahasya* also, are not traced to any of

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(*Continued from last page*)

शाकटायनानुसारिणः 'ज्ञप भारणतोषणनिशामनेषु भिच्च' इति पठन्ति।
So perhaps Halāyudha is following Śākaṭāyana here as he has illustrated ज्ञपभिच्च in all these three senses.

(b) *Kavirahasya*, 15. ग्राथयति is not belonging to Pāṇini's Dhātupāṭha in Curādigaṇa. It is found in Jainendra and Śākaṭāyana only (Palsule—*Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas* p. 37.)

(c) दरति (112) *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* reads केचित्तु 'भये दरति' इति घटादिपाठा This *kecit* can be traced to Jainendra, Śākaṭāyana, and Kāśakṛtsna who read 'दृ भये' (Palsule, *Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, p. 187).

(d) *Kavirahasya*, 151.

नावद्यं घोषति द्वारे तस्य कश्चिदुपद्रुतः।
घोषयन्ति परं सर्वे दीर्घमायुर्मुदान्विताः॥

Here the sense of Halāyudha in both the words 'Ghoṣati' and 'Ghoṣayanti' is *śabdane* or *viśabdane* and not 'Aviśabdane.' Here Halāyudha is not congruent with Kṣīrasvāmin or Sāyaṇa who read it 'Aviśabde' but appears to be following Jainendra and Śākaṭāyana who read it in the sense of 'Viśabdane.'

(e) *Kavirahasya* 17. मर्षयाते, मर्षति and मषते. *Mādhavīyadhāturvṛtti*, p. 567 has quoted the opinion of Puruṣakāra, a commentary on Daivam who attributes its Ātmanepadatva to Śākaṭāyana.

पुरुषकारेण अयं स्वरितेत् इत्युक्त्वा शाकटायनस्य त्वात्मनेपदी इत्युक्तम्।
मर्षयति, मर्षति and मषते।

1. *Kavirahasya*, 15. ग्राथयति।
Ibid. 112. दरति etc.

2. *Kavirahasya*, 19. निष्कलति Here according to *Mādhavīyavṛtti* the form should be कलते in Ātmanepada and not कलति. It is only in Kāśakṛtsna that the root is accepted as Parasmaipada (*Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, p. 16).

3. *Kavirahasya*, 283. पेणन्ति, only Kāśakṛtsna has read the root Piṇ (*Concordance*, p. 82). All the other Dhātukāras have omitted it.

4. *Kavirahasya*, 134. On the root मुष्यति. *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* has used here the dental स् in the sense of 'Khaṇḍana' मुस् खण्डने. He quotes दन्त्यान्त इति सर्वे.....तथा च राघवस्यामुषः कान्ताम् इति भट्टिकाव्ये प्रयोगश्च।
(cf. *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya* XV. 16). So it appears that the root has been taken from the *Bhaṭṭi-Kāvya*.

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the Dhātupāṭhas.[1] So it appears that Halāyudha consulted the roots used by Śarvavarman also.

(f) *Maitreya and Halāyudha*: It cannot certainly be said whether Maitreya followed Halāyudha or vice-versa. Maitreya in his *Dhātupradīpa* has never quoted the opinion of Halāyudha by his proper name. But some of the forms of Halāyudha found in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* also, are attributed to Maitreya.[2]

(g) *Daivam*: Nothing can be said about the relationship of Daivam, a Dhātupāṭha by Deva and Halāyudha as the date of former is not certain as yet. Only once in the controversial sense both of them have shown

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1. (i) *Kavirahasya*, 10. क्षीयन्ते-Śarvavarman has enlisted it in the दिवादिगण and no other grammarian has done it so (Palsule, *Concordance of the Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, p. 28).

(ii) *Kavirahasya*, 108. द्रुह्यन्ति. द्रुह् in दिवादिगण is found only in Śarvavarman Dhātupāṭha. (*Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, p. 63).

(iii) *Ibid.* 233. अभिलष्यति. All the grammarians read उभयपदी in भ्वादिगण and क्षीरस्वामिन्, सायण and हेमचन्द्र read it in चुरादिगण. But Śarvavarman only read it in the दिवादिगण. So he appears to be following Śarvavarman strictly. (*Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, p. 120).

(iv) Similarly आक्राम्यति (272) is read by Śarvavarman in दिवादि०. All the other Dhātukāras have not given it so. (*Concordance*, p. 25).

2. *Kavirahasya*, 96. आक्रन्दयति. Here *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* has quoted the opinion of Maitreya and has attributed it to Maitreya and Kāśyapa.

अत्र काश्यपमैत्रेयौ आङः परः क्रन्दिः सातत्ये णिचमुत्पादयति इदं च सातत्यं कुसयतेरनन्तरं मैत्रेयेण गणान्तस्थातनूद्य पुनर्द्वितीयं परस्मैपदप्रकरणमधुनोच्यते इत्युक्तत्वादयमपि भौवादिकस्यानुवाद इति। तत्र क्रन्देर्योऽर्थ आह्वानादिस्तदपेक्षमिति बोद्धव्यम्।

Dhātupradīpa, p. 142.

Here, Halāyudha has used it in the sense of आह्वान. Similarly the form उद्घस्नाति (*Kavirahasya*, 208), is found only in the *Dhātupradīpa* of Maitreya followed by *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*. All the other Dhātukāras have omitted it. *Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, p. 9.

अङ्कयति (*Kavirahasya*, 210) is found only in *Dhātupradīpa* and *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* in the Curādigaṇa.

Likewise in भावयते and भवते (*Kavirahasya*, 34).

भावयति भवति

here Mādhavīya reads:

भू प्राप्तौ आत्मनेपदी। अयं प्राप्तौ वा णिचमुत्पादयति। अत्र केचनात्मनेपदं णिच्सन्नियोगेनैव तेनान्यथा न इत्याहुः।

Here, according to Maitreya, the root is Ātmanepada without *ṇic*. Here *ṇic* is not optional but आत्मनेपद is optional. Thus Maitreya has given both the forms which are corresponding to Halāyudha.

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congruency.[1] So nothing exactly can be said about them.

(h) *Kṣīrasvāmin and Halāyudha*: Kṣīrasvāmin in a few senses has shown a congruency with the usages of Halāyudha.[2]

(i) *Ātreya on Kātantra*: Only once the text of a root found in the *Kavirahasya* has been attributed by *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* to Ātreya on Kātantra.[3]

(j) *Vopadeva*: Padas of two roots used by Halāyudha are found in Vopadeva's *Dhātupāṭha* only.[4]

(k) *Sāyaṇa and Halāyudha*: Sāyaṇa in his *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* appears to be contradicting the sense of Halāyudha. In a dozen cases, Mādhavīya is not congruent with Halāyudha in his roots which are used by Halāyudha in a particular sense. On the other hand he has never directly quoted the opinion of Halāyudha. So we may conclude, perhaps Sāyaṇa was not acquainted with his work.[5]

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1. *Kavirahasya*, 81. कुथ्नाति-*Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* p. 531, reads कुन्थ संश्लेषणे (क्र्यादिः). But the sense is not congruent in the *Kavirahasya*. Here *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* (p. 531) has quoted 'कुन्थ संक्लेशे' attributing it to Daivam which is parallel with the sense of Halāyudha.

2. (a) *Ibid.* 16. तृप्नोति। क्षीरतरंगिणी reads स्वादो क्षुम्नादित्वात् पाठ उन्नेयः (p. 214). This use in स्वादि is found in Cāndra, Kāśakṛtsna and Hemacandra also (*Concordance*, p. 62).

   (b) *Kavirahasya*, 74. अधिपत्यते. It is not given in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*. Kṣīrasvāmin has quoted it and attributes it to the name of Dramiḍa. *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* (p. 207).

   (c) *Ibid*, 106. खिन्दति. खिद् परिघाते *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* quotes the opinion of Kṣīrasvāmin viz. परितापे इति क्षीरस्वामी. Halāyudha here has used in the sense of परिताप.

3. *Kavirahasya*, 134. मुष्यति. Mādhavīya reads–
   मुस खण्डने 'मुस्यति' इत्यान्त इति सर्वे। आत्रेयस्तु कातन्त्रे मूर्धन्यान्तोऽयमिति ॥

4. (a) *Kavirahasya*, 47. ग्रहते. It is neither traced in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* nor in the *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī*. Graha as Ātmanepada has only been given by Vopadeva and the rest of the grammarians accept it to be Ubhayapadī of Krayādigaṇa (*Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, p. 38.)

   (b) *Kavirahasya*, 199. शालन्ते. Vopadeva reads शाल् as Ātmanepada. While none of the other grammarians has followed it (*Concordance of Sanskrit Dhātupāṭhas*, p. 136.)

5. (a) *Kavirahasya*, 36. तप्यते *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* says अयं धातुरैश्वर्ये वा तङ्श्यनौ उत्पादयति. But here in 'तप्यते च मुनिवत् परं तपः' i.e. तङ् and श्यन् are in the sense of सन्ताप and not ऐश्वर्य. So the optional form of Sāyaṇa cannot be traced to Halāyudha.

(*Continued on next page*)

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Thus, Halāyudha tried his best to collect all such roots from varied sources and adjusted them nicely in his poem.

(*Continued from last page*)

(b) *Kavirahasya*, 44. तिल्लन्ति. *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* has used तिल्ल शैथिल्ये and चिल्ल शैथिल्ये भावकरणे च क्षीरतरंगिणी (p. 80) reads तिल्ल गतौ. But both these meanings are not congruent with the text of Halāyudha. Here Halāyudha has given तिल्ल in the sense of भावकरण. All the Dhātukāras read चिल्ल and not तिल्ल in the sense of भावकरण.

(c) *Kavirahasya*, 66. लोट्यति. Halāyudha has used it in the sense of विलोडने while the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* used it in the sense of Bhāṣā (in Curādigaṇa).

(d) *Kavirahasya*, 68. शोकन्ति and शोकयन्ति. The form is found in 'आधृषाद्वा'. Here the contradiction is in the sense. Halāyudha has used it in the sense of सेचने.

(e) *Kavirahasya*, 94. अर्जयति. In the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* it is given in the sense of प्रतियत्न which is not adjusted in the *Kavirahasya*.

f) *Kavirahasya*, 119. शलन्ति. शल गतौ Halāyudha has used it in a different sense.

(g) *Kavirahasya*, 163. लोकृ भाषार्थः चुरा०). But Halāyudha has used it in the sense of looking.

(h) *Kavirahasya*, 210 घोरयन्ति and घुरन्ति. Halāyudha has used it in the sense of Śabda which is enlisted by Sāyaṇa in Tudādigaṇa.

Similarly संगिरते (227), लोठते (251), and द्रोघते (285), are differing in sense, found in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*.

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कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणि

By

राम अवध पाण्डेय, गोरखपुर

कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्ररचयिता :—

१. आख्यातान्तभागस्य कातन्त्रव्याकरणस्य शर्ववर्मणः संक्षेप्तृत्वे लेखकत्वे वा सिद्धे व्याकरणस्यास्य कृत्प्रकरणस्य कर्ता कात्यायनो वर्त्तत इति कातन्त्रव्याकरणस्य प्रसिद्धः संस्कर्ता प्रथमष्टीकाकारो दुर्गसिंहो वर्णितवान्, यथा—

वृक्षादिवदमी रूढाः कृतिना न कृताः कृतः ।
कात्यायनेन ते सृष्टा विबुद्धप्रतिहेतवे ॥

न केवलमेतावतैव सन्तुष्टोऽपि तु कृत्प्रकरणस्य प्रथमसूत्रान्तर्गतं 'सिद्धि' पदमवलोक्य स व्याचष्टे—

"सिद्धिग्रहणं भिन्नकर्तृकत्वान्मङ्गलार्थम्"

२. 'पादप्रकरणसङ्गतिः' इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धस्य ग्रन्थस्य कर्ता योगराजस्तु शाकटायनः कृत्प्रकरणस्य कर्ता इति स्वीकरोति यथा—

कृतस्तव्यादयः सोपपदा अनुपपदाश्च ये ।
लिङ्गप्रकृतिसिद्ध्यर्थं ताञ्जगौ शाकटायनः ॥

पा० प्र० सं० श्लो. १४

३. कातन्त्रार्णवाभिधायाष्टीकायाः कर्ता शिरोमणी रघुनन्दनः कथयति—

"अथ कृदन्ताः शर्ववर्मणा कथं न व्युत्पादिताः वररुचिना वा कथं व्युत्पादिताः इति शिष्यजिज्ञासायां प्रतिपादयन्नाह वृक्षादिवदित्यादि ।"

एतेषां 'शिरोमणि' महाभागानां वररुचि-कात्यायनयोरभेदस्वीकार एव भ्रमः, वररुचि-गोत्रोत्पन्नस्य कात्यायनस्य सत्त्वेऽपि कात्यायन इति नाम्ना प्रसिद्धानां बहूनाम् आचार्याणां संस्कृतवाङ्मये सद्भावात्, वररुचिगोत्रोत्पन्नेन कात्यायनेनैव कृत्प्रकरणमिदं विरचितमित्यत्र प्रबलप्रमाणसद्भावा-भावाच्च किं कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणि कृत्प्रकरणान्तर्गतानि ?

यद्यपि तिङ् प्रत्ययान् विहाय यावन्तः प्रत्ययाः धातोः विधीयन्ते तावन्तः सर्वे कृत्प्रत्यय-त्वेन स्वीक्रियन्ते तथापि यथा पाणिनिना पाणिनीयोणादिसूत्राणि कृत्प्रकरणे न पठितानि अपि तु अन्यैः अन्यत्र पठितानि

(क) "उणादयो बहुलम्" इति सूत्रं पठता यथावत् स्वीकृतानि; तथैव, प्रतीयते, कृत्प्रकरणे कात्यायनेन कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणि न निर्मितानि पठितानि वा अपि तु यथास्थितं आख्यातान्तभागं व्याख्याय व्याकरणस्यास्य सर्वाङ्गपरिपूर्णतासिद्ध्यै स्वयम् दुर्गसिंह एवेमानि उणादि-सूत्राणि विरचय्य पश्चाद् योजितानि । कस्यापि व्याकरणस्य सर्वाङ्गपरिपूर्णता "धातुसूत्रगणोणादि-

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वाक्यलिङ्गानुशासनम् । आगमाः प्रत्ययादेशाः उपदेशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥ " धातुसूत्रादिभिरेव सम्भविनी, नान्यथा । अनयैव दृष्ट्या दुर्गसिंहेनैव कातन्त्रलिङ्गानुशासनं पठितम् । बेलवल्कर महोदयाः दुर्गात्मेति-नाम्ना प्रसिद्धः कश्चन विद्वान् लिङ्गानुशासनस्य कर्तेति स्वीचक्रुः (Outside Kashmir the place of these sections is taken up by a Linganushasana in 86 Aryas, attributed to Durgātmā, who is probably not the same person as Durgasiṁha.) सोऽपि तेषां भ्रम एव,

" दुर्गसिंहोऽथ दुर्गात्मा दुर्गो दुर्गप इत्यपि ।
यस्य नामानि तेनैव लिङ्गवृत्तिरियं कृता ॥ "

दुर्गसिंहकृतं लिङ्गानुशासनम् श्लो० ८७

(ख) कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणां प्रारम्भे पठितेन माङ्गलिकेन पद्येनाप्येतत्सिद्धं भवति । स्वयम् दुर्गसिंहः सन्धिवृत्तेः प्रारम्भे पठति —

देवदेवं प्रणम्यादौ सर्वज्ञं सर्वदर्शनम् ।
कातन्त्रस्य प्रवक्ष्यामि व्याख्यानं शार्ववर्मिकम् ॥

अत्र पद्ये ' शार्ववर्मिकं व्याख्यानं प्रवक्ष्यामि ' अर्थात् शार्ववर्मिकस्य व्याख्यानस्य प्रवचनं करिष्यामि इति प्रतिज्ञा वर्तते किन्तु—

उणादिसूत्रप्रारम्भे—

नमस्कृत्य गिरं (शिवं) भूरिशब्दसन्तानकारणम् ।
उणादयोऽभिधास्यन्ते बालव्युत्पत्तिहेतवे ॥

' उणादीनामभिधानं करिष्ये ' इति प्रतिज्ञा । अत्र मम तु ' अभि ' पूर्वकस्य ' धा ' धातोः नूतनतया कथनं वा सूत्राणामभिनवं निर्माणं वेति अभिप्रायः सुस्पष्टं प्रतिभाति ।

(ग) अन्यच्चापि ध्यातव्यमिदमस्ति यत् कृत्प्रकरणस्य विभागेषु कुत्रचनापि उपविभागो नावलोक्यते परन्तु उणादिसूत्राणां हि व्याकरणान्तरोणादिसूत्रेषूपविभाग इवात्रापि पादात्मका उपविभागा दृश्यन्ते ।

(घ) एतदपि सर्वथा विचार्यमेव यत् दुर्गसिंहेन यथा उणादिसूत्राणां प्रारम्भे मङ्गलात्मकं पद्यं पठितं न तथा प्रकरणान्तरारम्भे । अतोऽपि हेतोः उणादिसूत्राणि दुर्गसिंहनिर्मितान्येवेति प्रतिभाति ।

(ङ) अपरञ्चैतत्सर्वतो भावेन महत्वाध्यायकमस्ति यत् कृत्प्रकरणस्य प्रत्येकं विभागस्य कातन्त्रवृत्तितोऽन्याटीका उपलभ्यन्ते परन्तु न च ताः उणादिसूत्रविषयिण्यः कथम् ?

डा० बेलवेल्कर महोदयं विहाय अन्ये सर्वे विद्वांसः कृत्प्रकरणस्य प्रारम्भिकं पद्यं ' वृक्षादिवदमी रूढा..... ' दृष्ट्वा उणादिसूत्राणां रचयितारं कात्यायनमेव मन्यन्ते । कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणां संपादकाः श्रीमन्तः टी. चिन्तामणिमहोदया अपि कात्यायनमेवोणादिसूत्राणां कर्तारं मन्यन्ते ।

कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणां पादविभागः

१. दण्डनाथीयवृत्त्या सह भोजीयोणादि सूत्राणि दुर्गसिंहवृत्त्या सह कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणि चैकत्र श्रीमतां टी० चिन्तामणिमहोदयानां सम्पादकत्वे मद्रासविश्वविद्यालयसंस्कृत-

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ग्रन्थमालायाः सप्तमे अङ्के चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकैकोनविंशतितमे ईशवीये वत्सरे (१९३४) प्रकाशितानि। एतस्मिन् उणादिसूत्राणि षट्सु पादेषु विभक्तानि सन्ति।

२. दुर्गसिंहवृत्त्याऽन्याभिश्च टीकाभिः सह कातन्त्रापरनामधेयं कलापव्याकरणं श्रीमतां भट्टाचार्याणां गुरुनाथ विद्यानिधिमहोदयानां संपादकत्वे पञ्चपञ्चाशदधिकाष्टादशे (१८५५) शकाब्दे कालिकातः प्रकाशितं विद्यते। अत्र उणादिसूत्राणि केवलं दुर्गसिंहवृत्त्या सह प्रकाशितानि सन्ति। यद्यपि दुर्गसिंहस्य कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्रवृत्तिः। यदि तस्यैव कलापोणादिसूत्रवृत्त्या तुलनीया भवेत्तदा तयोः महान् भेदो दृक्गोचरी भवति।

अत्र कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणि पञ्चसु पादेषु विभक्तानि सन्ति।

३. वाराणसेयसंस्कृतविश्वविद्यालयस्य सरस्वतीभवनपुस्तकालये "उणादिपरिभाषा-सूत्रसंग्रह" इति नाम्ना एको हस्तलेखो वर्तते। अस्यान्ते लिखितमस्ति—"संवत् १६६१ पाँच सुदि षष्ठी दिने रवौ लिखितं गुणाकरेण शुभमस्तु। शर्वः सर्वस्मै शं व्यतरतु।" प्रारम्भे चास्य ग्रन्थस्य दुर्गसिंहवृत्तौ उपलभ्यमानः स एव मङ्गलश्लोकः पठितो विद्यते।

अत्र कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणि चतुर्षु पादेषु विभक्तानि दृश्यन्ते।

तुलनयेदं सुस्पष्टं यत् कातन्त्रोणादेः चत्वारः पादा एव कलापोणादौ पञ्चसु पादेषु विभक्ताः सन्ति। कातन्त्रोणादेः द्वाविंशतितमसूत्रं (२२) यावत् कलापोणादेः चतुर्थः पादः समाप्यते त्रयोविंशतितमात् (२३) सूत्राच्च पञ्चमः पादः। कातन्त्रोणादेः अन्तिमानि चत्वारि सूत्राणि कलापोणादौ नोपलभ्यन्ते।

अत्र ध्यातव्यन्त्विदमस्ति यत् कलापोणादेः कानिचित् सूत्राणि कातन्त्रोणादौ नोपलभ्यन्ते एवमेव च कातन्त्रोणादेः कानिचन सूत्राणि कलापोणादौ न दृग्गोचरी भवन्ति यथा—

(१) प्रथेष्विन् संप्रसारणञ्च कला० १, १० कातन्त्रोणादौ नास्ति

(२) उषे गः कला० १, १८

इत्थञ्च कलापोणादेः दश सूत्राणि कातन्त्रोणादौ न सन्ति। कातन्त्रोणादेः कृञः पास कात० उ० ४, ५४ आदीनि त्रीणि सूत्राणि कलापोणादौ न सन्ति।

इदमत्रावधेयं यद् यद्यपि कस्यचिदुणादेः कानिचन सूत्राणि कुत्रचिदुणादौ नोपलभ्यन्ते, मा तानि उपलभ्यन्ताम्, किन्तु अनुपलब्धैः सूत्रैः तत्र सिद्धाः शब्दाः अन्यैः कैश्चनोपलभ्यमानैः सूत्रैः तेषां शब्दानां मूलरूपाणां धातूनां पाठात् बाहुलकाद् वात्रापि सिद्धाः शब्दा अवलोक्यन्ते एव यथा—कलापोणादेः पञ्चम पादस्य एकचत्वारिंशदधिकद्विशततमस्य (५, २४१) सूत्रस्य "उष्ट्रः" इत्यस्य कातन्त्रोणादौ अभावे सत्यपि तत्र पठितेनान्येन सूत्रेण 'उष्ट्र' शब्दस्य साधनप्रकार प्रदर्शित एव।

एवमेव च कातन्त्रोणादौ 'पुत्र' शब्दसाधनार्थं 'पूजो ह्रस्वश्च' (४-४१) 'पुमान्' शब्दसाधनार्थञ्च 'सिर्मनन्तश्च' (४, ४२) इति सूत्रद्वयं पठितमस्ति किन्तु कलापोणादौ एकमेव सूत्रं 'पूजो मनस् ह्रस्वश्च' (५, २४३) इति 'पुमान्' शब्दसिध्यर्थं पठितमस्ति एतादृश्यो बह्व्यः समस्याः सन्ति। तास्ताः समस्याः दर्शं दर्शमिदं प्रतिभाति यत् प्रथमे द्वे सूत्रे वृत्तेर्भागौ विद्येते इदानीञ्च सूत्रत्वेन पठिते स्तः अथवा ते सूत्रे एव स्तः इदानीं कातन्त्रोणादौ वृत्तिभागत्वेन रूपेण स्वीकृते वर्तेते।

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कुत्रचिद् धातूनां भेदादपि पाठभेदा दृश्यन्ते । यथा–कृ शृ–शौटिम्यईरः" (कला० ३,१८०) इति कलापोणादौ "कृ शृशोण्डृभ्यईरः (का. उ. ३, ४८) इति कातन्त्रोणादौ सूत्रं पठितं वृत्तौ च कलापे "शौटीरः गर्वत्यागः वीरश्च" व्याख्यातं कातन्त्रे च "शौण्डीरः" सत्यवान् दाता' इति व्याख्यातमस्ति । धातुभेदादेव सूत्रयोः पाठभेदः वृत्योश्च भेदः अर्थयोश्च भेद इति । इत्थमिदं सर्वथासंभवम् यत् पश्चाद्भवानां सम्पादकानामव्यवस्थाया अयं परिणामः ।

कुत्रचित्कुत्रचिच्च विशुद्धात् सम्पादकीयप्रमादादेव पाठभेदा उपलभ्यन्ते, यथा—

लक्षेरीर्मान्तश्च (कला० उ० ३,१६७)

लक्षेर्मान्तश्च (का० उ० ३,३५) इति सूत्रद्वयमुभयत्र पठ्यते, किन्तु उभयत्रापि पूर्वसूत्रतः ई प्रत्ययानुवृत्तिसम्भवेऽपि पुनः ई प्रत्ययपठनं प्रमादद्योतकमेवेति सर्वेषां शाब्दिकशिरोमणीनां सुस्पष्टमेव ।

कातन्त्रोणादि उणादिपरिभाषासूत्र सङ्ग्रहयोस्तुलना :—

उणादिपरिभाषासूत्रसङ्ग्रहे उणादिसूत्राणि, काश्चन परिभाषाः कानिचान बलाबलसूत्राणि कानिचन च शिक्षासूत्राणि संगृहीतानि सन्ति । वस्तुत इदमेकं पुस्तकं नास्ति अपितु विभिन्नेभ्यः पुस्तकेभ्यः विभिन्नानि वस्तूनि सम्भवतोऽध्ययनार्थं संगृहीतानि विद्यन्ते ।

अनयोः कातन्त्रोणादि-उणादिपरिभाषा-सूत्रसंङ्ग्रहयोस्तुलनया सूत्रेषु विचारणीयाः अनेके पाठभेदाः दृश्यन्ते, यथा —

	उ. प. सू.	का. उ.
१.	दृङः षोन्तो गुणश्च	धृञ् षोन्तोऽगुणश्च १, ५१
२.	जनेर्वधश्च	हनेर्वधश्च २, ३७
३.	कृपेर्वृद्धिश्च	कृपेर्वृद्धिर्वा ४, १४
४.	नास्ति	सर्वधातुभ्यो मन् ४, २८

इत्थं प्रायः सप्तविंशतौ सूत्रेषु पाठभेदाः अवलोक्यन्ते। कुत्रचित्-कुत्रचिच्च सूत्रेषु क्रमभेदोऽपि चिन्त्य एव, यथा—

कातन्त्रोणादौ प्रथमपादे पञ्चचत्वारिंशत्तमं (१, ४५) "शीङोबालवलजौ" इति सूत्रं पठितं विद्यते एतदनन्तरमेव उणादिपरिभाषासूत्रसंग्रहे कातन्त्रोणादौ प्रथमे पादे यद् एकोनपञ्चाशत्तमं (१, ४९) "मुदिगृभ्यां गग्गौ" सूत्रं, तत् पठितम् ।

कातन्त्रोणादौ चतुर्थे पादे त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तमं (४, ३३) "मद्यसिवसि(वासि)भ्यः सरः" सूत्रं तदनन्तरं चतुस्त्रिंशत्तमं "शृणातेः करः" इति (४, ३४) पठितं, किन्तु उणादिपरिभाषासूत्रसंग्रहे अनयोर्मध्ये एकमधिकं सूत्रं दृश्यते —

"देविवचि अभिवालिभ्यां रः" एवमेव कातन्त्रोणादौ चतुर्थे एव पादे अष्टात्रिंशत्तमं (४, ३८) "घुणेर्डोरः" इति तदनन्तरं एकोनचत्वारिंशत्तमं (४, ३९) "सर्वधातुभ्यष्ट्रन्" इति पठितम् अनयोर्मध्ये उणादिपरिभाषासूत्रसङ्ग्रहे "मातेर्डवतुः" इत्येकमधिकं सूत्रं पठ्यते। एवमेवानेकत्रैषा स्थितिश्चिन्त्या एव।

कातन्त्रोणादौ चतुर्थे पादे एकोनचत्वारिंशत्तमं (४, ३९) "सर्वधातुभ्यः ष्ट्रन्" इति सूत्रं पठ्यतेऽस्मिन्नेव च पादे षट्पञ्चाशत्तमञ्च (४, ५६) "सर्वधातुभ्योऽसुन्" इति। उणादिपरि-

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भाषासूत्रसंग्रहे चानयोः स्थाने केवलं "ष्ट्रन्" "असुन्" इत्येव पठ्यते। इदमत्रावधेयम् यत् पाणिनीयोणादौ पञ्चपाद्यां "सर्वधातुभ्यः" इति पठ्यते किन्तु दशपाद्यां "धातोः" (पा. ३,१,९१) इति अधिकारादेव सिद्धे सर्वधातुभ्य इति व्यर्थमिति प्रकल्प्य केवलं 'ष्ट्रन्' 'असुन्' इत्यादयः सर्वधातुभ्यो विधेयाः प्रत्यया एव पठ्यन्ते। इत्थमत्र संग्रहोपरि कल्पाद्याः प्रभावः सुस्पष्ट एवेत्यत्र विद्वद्भिरेव भवद्भिर्विचारणीयम्।

इत्थमेव सर्वेषामुपर्युक्तानां त्रिविधानामपि कातन्त्रीयोणादिसूत्राणां मिथस्तुलनया केषाञ्चनोदाहरणानां पर्यालोचनया चेदं सुस्पष्टतरं प्रतिभाति यद् उणादिपरिभाषासूत्रसंग्रहोपरि कातन्त्रोणाद्यपेक्षया कलापोणादेः प्रभूततरः प्रभावः परिलक्ष्यते।

उणादिपरिभाषासूत्रसंग्रहस्य पाठभेददृष्ट्या सूत्रक्रमभेददृष्ट्या यन्महत्त्वं तन्महत्त्वं विराजतां, मम तु सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया विचारे कृते अस्य ग्रन्थस्य सर्वाधिकं महत्त्वमिदं प्रतिभाति यदत्र उणादिसूत्राणि चतुर्षु पादेष्वेव विभक्तानि सन्ति। वस्तुतस्तु दुर्गसिंहेन कातन्त्रीयोणादिसूत्राणि चतुर्षु पादेष्वेव विभक्तानिस्युरिति। स्वयं पाणिनीयोणादिसूत्राणि येषां पञ्चसु पादेषु विभागात् पञ्चपाद्युणादिसूत्राणि —इति प्रसिद्धिः तत्रापि वस्तुतः चत्वार एव पादाः सन्तीति तत्त्वधिया निश्चितं भवति। पादस्य, प्रकरणस्य, अध्यायस्य सर्गस्य वा प्रारम्भोऽन्तो वा कदा क्रियेत इति नाविदिते केषाञ्चिदपि भवादृशां विदुषाम्। पादस्य प्रारम्भोन्तो वा यादृच्छिको नास्ति इति सर्वैः स्वीकर्त्तव्यमेव। यत्र समानोद्देश्यकस्य समानविषयकस्यैकस्य वस्तुनः प्रतिपादनं समाप्तं तत्र पादस्य अन्तः। यत्र च समानोद्देश्यकस्य समानविषयकस्यान्यस्य वस्तुनः प्रतिपित्सा तत्र पादस्य प्रारम्भः।

कलापोणादौ हि चतुर्थपादस्य द्वाविंशतितमसूत्रं यावत् परिपूर्णता स्वीकृता तदनन्तरञ्च पञ्चमपादस्य प्रारम्भस्य किञ्चिदपि कारणं न विद्मः। समानोद्देश्यकस्य समानविषयकस्य च वस्तुनोऽग्रिमेऽपि पादे प्रवर्त्तनात्।

मद्रासविश्वविद्यालयसंस्कृतग्रन्थमालायाः श्रीमतां टी चिन्तामणिमहोदयानां संपादकत्वे प्रकाशितानां षट्सु पादेषु विभक्तानां कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणां पञ्चमपादस्य प्रारंभिकांशमवलोकनेनेदं सर्वथा सुस्पष्टं भवति यत् कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणि चतुर्षु पादेष्वेव विभक्तानि सन्ति। तत्र हि पञ्चमपादस्य प्रारम्भे "उणादिविषये प्रसिद्धं पञ्चमं पादं प्रकाशयन्नाह" इति लिखितमस्ति। अत्र उणादिविषये अप्रसिद्धम्' उणादिविषये प्रसिद्धम् इत्युभयथा पाठकल्पनासम्भवे यदि 'अप्रसिद्धम्' इत्येव स्वीक्रियेत चेत्तदा स्पष्टतया पञ्चमः षष्ठश्च पादौ पश्चात् योजितौ स्वीकर्त्तव्यौ। यदि च 'प्रसिद्धम्' इति पाठः स्वीक्रियेत चेत् तदा किं नाम प्रसिद्धत्वम् इति शङ्कायाम् स्वयम् ग्रन्थकारस्य कृते अप्रसिद्धावपि पादौ कस्यचिदन्यस्य कृते प्रसिद्धौ इति स्वीकर्त्तव्यमन्यथा कथं चत्वारः पादाः अप्रसिद्धाः सन्ति, अथ चायं पञ्चमः पादः प्रसिद्ध इत्यत्र किमपि विनिगमकं नास्ति। अन्यच्चाप्यत्रावधेयं यत्केवलं चतुर्षु पादेषु (२८) अष्टाविंशतिः गणसूत्राणि पठितानि किन्तु अनयोर्द्वयोः एकमपि गणसूत्रं नास्ति।

अतोऽपि दृढतरं प्रमाणमिदं विराजते यत् केवलं पञ्चमपादस्य प्रारम्भ एव माङ्गलिकं पद्यं पठ्यते नान्यस्य कस्यचिदपि पादस्य प्रारम्भे। तत्पद्यं यथा—

शब्दात्मिका या त्रिजगद्विभर्ति स्फुरद्विचित्रार्थसुधां स्रवन्ती।
या ऋद्धिरी.....(ड्या हृदये सदैव) मुखे च सा मे वशमस्तु नित्यम्॥

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इदं पद्यं मद्राससंस्करणे त्रुटितमस्ति अत इदं व्याकरणदर्शनेर इतिहासाभिधाद् ग्रन्थात्पूरितम्। इत्थं षष्ठपादस्यान्तेपि पद्यमेकं पठितं यथा—

शब्दानामानन्त्यात् व्युत्पत्तिर्दृश्यते येषाम्।
तेषां विज्ञैः कार्यामान्यो धातोः ततः प्रत्ययान्तात्॥

(तेषां विज्ञैः कार्या मृग्या धातोः ततः प्रत्ययान्तात्)

इदमपि व्याकरणदर्शनेर इतिहासनामकाद् ग्रन्थादेव पूरितम्।

अतोऽत्रेदं पर्याप्तं संभवं यत् पञ्चमः षष्ठश्च द्वौ पादौ केनचिदन्येन पश्चाद् योजितौ। इदमपि सर्वथा संभाव्यते यत् स्वयमेव दुर्गसिंहः चतुर्षु पादेषु स्वकीयमुद्देश्यमपरिपूर्णं मन्यमानः इमौ द्वौ पादौ पश्चात् विरचय्य योजितवान्। संकेतश्चास्यान्तिमे पद्ये कृतो यथा—

शब्दानामानन्त्यात्.....।

पण्डितप्रवराणां श्रीमतां युधिष्ठिरमीमांसकमहोदयानां मतेन कातन्त्रव्याकरणं काशकृत्स्नव्याकरणस्य संक्षिप्तरूपमेव।

"संस्कृत व्याकरणशास्त्र का इतिहास" नामके ग्रन्थे द्वितीयस्मिन्भागे स लिखति—

"इस ग्रन्थ के प्रथम संस्करण के प्रकाशित होने के अनन्तर काशकृत्स्न धातुपाठ कन्नड टीका सहित प्रकाश में आया। कन्नड़ टीका में काशकृत्स्न के लगभग १३५ सूत्र भी उपलब्ध हो गये। काशकृत्स्नधातुपाठ और कातन्त्रधातुपाठ की पारस्परिक तुलना करने पर विदित होता है कि कातन्त्र धातुपाठ काशकृत्स्न धातुपाठ का संक्षेप है। इसी प्रकार काशकृत्स्न के उपलब्ध सूत्रों की कातन्त्र सूत्रों से तुलना करने पर यही परिणाम निकलता है कि कातन्त्र काशकृत्स्न तन्त्र का ही संक्षेप है।"

परन्तु कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्राणां पाणिनीयोणादिसूत्रैस्तुलनया कातन्त्रोणादिसूत्रोपरि पाणिनीयोणादिसूत्राणां प्रभावः सुस्पष्ट एवेति सुधियो विभावयन्तु।

कातन्त्रोणादेः केषाञ्चन सूत्राणां सैवानुपूर्वी या पाणिनीयोणादिसूत्राणां विद्यते। यथा—

१.	स्यन्देः संप्रसारणं (धश्च) का. उ. १, ७	स्यन्देः संप्रसारणं धश्च उ. द. १, १२
२.	नावञ्चेः का. उ. १, १४	नावञ्चेः उ. द. १, १८
३.	अवमुह्योष्टिपः का. उ. १, २०	अविमुह्योष्टिषच् उ. द. १, ४६
४.	रुहेर्वृद्धिश्च का उ. १, २१	रुहेर्वृद्धिश्च उ. द. १, ४८

इत्यादीनि बहूनि सूत्राणि समानानुपूर्वीकाणि सन्ति। भेदस्त्वियान् वर्त्तते यद् यत्र नित्, चित् आदयः पाणिनीयव्याकरणे स्वरसाधका अनुबन्धास्ते कातन्त्रे स्वरचिन्ताभावाद् बहिष्कृता इति।

पाणिनीयोणादिसूत्रप्रभावस्येदं फलं यद् यत्र तत्र कातन्त्रे प्रयोजनाभावेऽपि 'असुन्' 'ष्ट्रन्' इत्यादयो नित्प्रत्ययाः पठिताः। इदमपि तथ्यमङ्गीकरणीयमेव यत् दुर्गसिंहः सर्वथा छान्दस प्रयोगाणां विद्वेषी नासीत् इति।

स तृतीयपादस्य सप्तत्रिंशत्तमे सूत्रे लिखति —

"कुर्विः.....गिर्विः, छान्दसावेतौ" (का. उ. ३. ३७)

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एतावतापि कातन्त्रव्याकरणं पाणिनीयवत् वैदिकमपि व्याकरणमिति निश्चिनोतुं न शक्यते, प्रमाणाभावात् स्वतन्त्रतया "कातन्त्रछन्दः प्रक्रियायाः" निर्माणाच्च। कातन्त्रछन्दः प्रक्रियायाः कृत्प्रकरणस्य तृतीयः पादः उणाद्यात्मक एव। अस्य रचयितारः श्रीमन्महामहोपाध्यायाः चन्द्रकान्ततर्कालङ्कारमहोदयाः सन्ति। ते स्वयं भूमिकायां वर्णयन्ति यत् पाणिनीयव्याकरणस्य वैदिकप्रकरणमेवाधारोऽस्याः कातन्त्रः छन्दः प्रक्रियायाः। केवलं प्रकृतिप्रत्ययौ कातन्त्रव्याकरणानुसारिणौ।

इति शिवम्

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF RĪTI

By

P. MADHAVA SARMA, HYDERABAD

Ācārya Vāmana who lived during the latter half of the 8th century A. D., was one of the most brilliant thinkers whose contribution to Indian literary criticism was unique and of lasting value. His philosophy-oriented investigation into the constitution and nature of a Kāvya revealed certain strikingly new facts and factors. His analysis of a Kāvya and treatment of its elements were highly imaginative and refreshingly original.

Vāmana's *Kāvyālaṁkāra Sūtra* rises much above the routine treatises on the science of poetics, and justly claims to be regarded as the first attempt at evolving a philosophy of literary aesthetics. His contemplative mind regarded the Kāvya as a living human being–a charming young lady–and penetrated deeper and deeper into it until it could catch a glimpse of its soul. Unlike his predecessors and most of his successors he presented his findings in the form of Sūtras following the tradition of the Darśanas which sought to discover the soul of things–the ultimate principle of the Universe.

He was the first poetician who perceived clearly and stated categorically that the differentia of a Kāvya as a literary species was Beauty. He was also the first to make a distinction between the natural Beauty and artificial beauty of a Kāvya, and to trace the two forms of beauty to distinctly different causes. Again it was he that suggested for the first time that a Kāvya had two bodies –the gross and the subtle–the *Śabda Śarīra* and the *Artha Śarīra*. Moreover, Vāmana was the first critic to discover, define and designate the Soul of a Kāvya.

He opened his treatise with the famous dictum :

काव्यं ग्राह्यमलङ्कारात् सौन्दर्यमलङ्कारः ।

A Kāvya becomes agreeable on account of Alaṁkāra and Alaṁkāra means Beauty. At the very outset Vāmana struck a brilliantly original note by drawing a sharp distinction between Alaṁkāra as Beauty and alaṁkāra as a figure of speech. Regarding the relation between Beauty and figures of speech his views were at variance with those of his predecessors. Daṇḍin maintained :

काव्यशोभाकरान् धर्मानलङ्कारान् प्रचक्षते ।

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The factors that produced the Beauty of a Kāvya were Alaṁkāras. Vāmana disagreed with Daṇḍin and explained that Guṇas produced the Beauty of a Kāvya and that the alaṁkāras only heightened it.

काव्यशोभाया: कर्तारो धर्मा: गुणा: । तदतिशयहेतवस्त्वलङ्कारा: ।

It is here that Vāmana introduced the idea of two kinds of beauty-the natural beauty which proceeded from the Guṇas and the artificial beauty caused by the alaṁkāras. Vāmana denoted natural beauty as Śobhā and its heightened form as Saundarya.

Śobhā, Kānti, Dīpti, Mādhurya, Sukumāratā etc. were mentioned by Bharata as the natural graces–Sahajālaṁkāras of a youthful lady. The Guṇas, Mādhurya etc. which are constitutional to the Kāvya should be regarded as its natural graces or Sahajālaṁkāras. Alaṁkāras like Yamaka, Upamā etc. are external and artificial and can at best be structural to the Kāvya. Hence Vāmana stated that the Guṇas were compulsory to the Kāvya while the alaṁkāras were optional. This view influenced the later poeticians so profoundly that the alaṁkāras gradually came to be relegated to subordinate position in the scheme of a Kāvya.

Earlier writers on poetics were not clear as to where the Guṇas belonged and what their function was. Taking Daṇḍin's metaphorical statement that the Guṇas were the Prāṇas of the Vaidarbha Mārga, Vāmana assumed that they should belong to the Ātman of the Kāvya and that their function should be to manifest the Beauty aspect of the Soul. Since the Guṇas made their appearance in the texture of the Kāvya Śarīra, Vāmana thought it necessary to examine the texture very carefully. His microscopic examination revealed something very important, which his predecessors missed.

According to Bhāmaha, Śabda and Artha together constituted the Kāvya. Resorting to a metaphor, Daṇḍin stated that a collection of Padas conveying the desired Artha formed the Śarīra of a Kāvya. Vāmana split the Pada into its components–śabda and Artha, the gross and subtle material of the Pada. This led him to the conclusion that the Kāvya had two bodies–the gross body consisting of Śabda enclosing the subtle body consisting of Artha. While the Śabda formed the physical body the Artha provided the psychical body. The two bodies may be identified with the Sthūla and Sūkṣma Śarīras of the Darśanas. This discovery prompted Vāmana to explain the nature and function of the Guṇas with reference to the two bodies of the Kāvya. At this stage we may hazard a conjecture that Vāmana assumed the presence of a third body–the Kāraṇa Śarīra or the Soul vitally functioning within the Sūkṣma Śarīra.

Though Vāmana treated the Guṇas separately with reference to Śabdas and Arthas, he did not consider them as inherent to Śabdas or Arthas. He expressly stated that the Guṇas pertained to the Bandha.

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ओजः प्रसादश्लेषसमतासमाधिमाधुर्यसौकुमार्योदारतार्थव्यक्तिकान्तयो बन्धगुणाः।

The Guṇas pertained to the Śabdabandhas and the Arthabandhas. A particular Guṇa appeared in a particular Bandha or organisation of the material, and disappeared the moment the organisation was disturbed. The appearance and disappearance of the Guṇas led him to assume the existence of a permanent source from which they evolved and into which they involved. The Guṇas have their potential being in this permanent source which Vāmana regarded as the Ātman of the Kāvya and called it 'RĪTI'. Hence the thesis 'Rīti is the Soul of a Kāvya.'

रीतिरात्मा काव्यस्य।

Rīti is to the Kāvya what Ātman is to the Śarīra. It is necessary here, to study the etymology of the terms Ātman and Rīti in order to realise the significance of Vāmana's conception of the Soul of a Kāvya. The word Ātman is believed to have been derived from the root 'At' meaning to move constantly or from the root 'An' meaning to live or perhaps from both. The term Rīti is derived from the root 'Rī' meaning to move. The identity of Rīti with Ātman becomes complete when we take Daṇḍin's metaphor of Guṇas as Prāṇas. Just as the Ātman is the Kāraṇa Śarīra of a person, Rīti is the Kāraṇa Śarīra of a Kāvya. The natural beauty or Śobhā of a Kāvya depends on the Guṇas of its Soul which is Rīti.

Having installed Rīti as the Soul of the Kāvya, Vāmana set out to explain his conception of Rīti.

विशिष्टा पदरचनारीतिः। विशेषो गुणात्मा।

An excellent organisation of the Padas is Rīti and the excellences are of the nature of Guṇas. The statement is to be taken with great care. Rīti should not be taken to be identical with Padaracanā. Padaracanā is the structure of the body while Rīti is the Soul inhabiting it, and the two should not be confused. Viśiṣṭa Pada Racanā is Vyañjaka and Rīti is Vyaṅgya. That is to say that through the medium of 'Viśiṣṭa Padaracanā' the Guṇas become manifest and reveal the presence of Rīti, the Ātman.

Out of Rīti arise the Gaṇas, the Prāṇas or directional forces around which the subtle and gross materials organise themselves. Since Rīti, like the Ātman, is a living and moving principle, it imparts life and movement to the subtle and gross bodies of the Kāvya. Thus Rīti determines the character of a Kāvya as the Ātman determines the character of an individual.

Corresponding to the two bodies of the Kāvya, Vāmana conceived of two Rītis–the Śabda Rīti and the Artha Rīti–which are but reflections of the vital principle, the Soul of the Kāvya. It is by virtue of the reflection of the Soul in them that the Śabda Śarīra and Artha Śarīra become lively, and each

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acquires a loveliness of its own resulting in the natural beauty of Sobhā or the Kāvya. Vāmana employed the term, Śobhā which is nothing but the manifested form of Rīti.

'Pāka' is another term introduced by Vāmana to denote Śobhā in its aspect of relishability. When the Guṇas, arising out of Rīti, appear in the texture of the subtle and gross bodies and blend into a single property, the Kāvya attains Pāka or maturity. It is this Pāka that the Sahṛdaya enjoys.

उदयति हि स तादृक् क्वापि वैदर्भरीतौ। सहृदयहृदयानां रञ्जकः कोऽपि पाकः ॥

The expression "Kopi Pākaḥ" suggests that like Rīti and Śobhā this Pāka also is an inexplicable entity. As a natural corrolary to the existence of two bodies and two sets of Guṇas, Vāmana envisaged two Pākas–the Śabda Pāka and the Artha Pāka. Kāvya Pāka is the result of a perfect blending of these two kinds of Pākas and affords the highest relish to the Sahṛdaya.

The appeal of a Kāvya depends on the maturity of its Soul-Rīti. The Vaidarbhī Rīti, abounding in all the Guṇas in their full development, was regarded as the ideal Rīti as it was found, unlike the other Rītis, to satisfy the literary taste of the nation as a whole. A Kāvya with Vaidarbhī Rīti as its soul was found to possess maximum beauty and maturity. Vāmana likened such a Kāvya to a charming young lady. He thus completed the anthropomorphic analogy of the Kāvya and conveyed to posterity a finished and polished metaphor.

युवतेरिव रूपमङ्ग काव्यं स्वदते शब्दगुणम्... ।

The concept of Rīti is Vāman's greatest contribution to literary theory. He coined the term Rīti to denote the Soul of a Kāvya. His preference for the term Rīti to its apparent synonym Gati is significant. Gati indicates a movement which can be perceived, analysed and explained. Rīti, on the contrary, defies all analysis and lends itself to nothing but direct experience. In Rīti the parts are not descernible as they are lost in the whole which is a Unity-a form. This Form is Beauty or Śobhā which accounts for the loveability of the Kāvya. It is the Maturity or Pāka which accounts for the relishability of the Kāvya. It may be noted here that the English equivalent of Rīti is Rhythm and not Style as most critics believe. 'Rhythm' is derived from the Greek root 'Rheo' to move or flow and provides an exact equivalent to Rīti etymologically and semantically.

The Rīti School of Vāmana appears to have enjoyed unrivalled popularity for over a century. It is remarkable that it should have continued to enjoy almost the same amount of favour with the poets and lovers of poetry even after the rise of a formidable rival like the Dhvani School. The great Ānandavardhana himself was compelled to pay a tribute to the concept of Rīti and through it to its father, Vāmana.

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अस्फुटस्फुरितं काव्यतत्त्वमेतद्यथोदितम् ।
अशक्नुवद्भिर्व्याकर्तुं रीतयः संप्रवर्तिताः ॥

If, as Ānandavardhana said, Vāmana failed to grasp Dhvani clearly, Ānandavardhana may be said to have failed to appreciate the significance of Rīti fully. While Dhvani is the essence of the meaning of a Kāvya, Rīti is the essence of its very being. A Kāvya cannot exist without Rīti, while it can without Dhvani. Thus one can argue that Rīti has greater claims over Dhvani to be the Soul of the Kāvya.

Nothing can be a more eloquent testimony to the genius of Vāmana than Rājaśekhara's references to the votaries of the Rīti School as 'Vāmanīyas'. One may say that as long as there are Vāmanīyas, the Rīti School continues to be a living literary trend reminding us of its founder, Vāmana.

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ISLAMIC STUDIES SECTION

ASSAMESE VERSION OF TWO SUFI ROMANCES

By

MAHESHWAR NEOG, GAUHATI

Sufism came to India as a result of the impact of Islam on the culture of this country. Already very rich in romances, ākhyāyikās and Kathās, itihāsas and Purāṇas, and different tales of different orders, India imbibed and acquired a great number of tales " in fairy fiction dressed ", and had the habit of story-telling and listening to stories reinforced in a great measure. The sweet tales of love of Laylā and Majnun, of Zulaikhā and Yūsuf, of Shirin and Farhād, of Gul-i-Bakaolī and Tajzd-Mulūk, of Saiful-Mulūk and Badī'ul-Jamal, and other " starcrossed lovers " were added to the great store of romances that India already had. In addition, a whole Persian literature sprang up on Indian soil in the form of *masnavis*. This happened in other countries as well, where Iranian-Persian languages spread. There was a free mixture of the Iranian-Persian and Indian cultures on our soil. Such integration is to be observed in point of thought and language in the writings of Amīr Khusrau and others. This great poet attempted to give in Indian tongue what was formerly available through Persian. There are, on the other hand, fine examples of the adaptation of Indian tales into Persian and Urdu; for example, Persian *Nal-Dāman* with the Mahābhārata tale of Nala and Damayantī, Ibn Nihāti's *Tūtī-nama* in Southern Urdu from Sanskrit *Śuka-saptati*, and so on. The story of Amīr Hamzā became very popular particularly in the Mughal capital, and inspired painters to their art. In Lucknow under the munificent patronage of Nawab Wajid Ali Shāh of Oude grew the tradition of romantic plays in Urdu, of which *Inder Sabhā* with the love-lore of Sabz Pari and Gulfām is a typical example. The wave of Iranian-Persian love-tales touched the shores of almost all the states of India. It washed as far as Bengal with the Nawabi administration there, in the east. But in Assam, which lay almost absolutely beyond Muslim rule, this phenomenon of Persian-Indian integration in the matter of romantic tales is very very rare, and Assam remained clearly outside the pale of Sufi philosophy.

We have reclaimed so far only two poems, giving two love-stories which were extremely popular in different parts of India. In the autobiographical *Ardhakathānaka* written in 1660 Saṁvat / 1603 A. D. by Banarsi

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Das Jain it is complained that people used to abstain from their usual duties and pour over the two romances of *Madhumālatī* and *Mṛgāvatī*:

तब घर मेँ बैठे रहेँ जाहि न हाट बजार।
मधुमालति मिरगावति, पोथी दोइ उदार ॥
ते बाँचहि रजनी लसै, आवहि नर दस बीस।
गावै अरु बातैँ करहिँ, नित उठ देहिँ असीस॥

A few years later Usmān in his *Citrāvalī*, written in 1616, refers to these very tales as does Malik Muhammad Jaysī. These are evidences of a pronounced character of the extreme popularity of these two love-tales in their different forms. Kutuban, a disciple of Shaikh Burhan Chisti and living under the care of Jerādshah Husain Shāh of Jaunpur, wrote his *Mṛgāvatī* in Purvi Hindi or Avadhī in 909 A. H. / 1512 A. D. The Hindi Sufi poet, Shaikh Manjhan, composed his *Madhumālatī* in 952 A. H. / 1545 A. D. Two quite wide cycles of romance grew up around the characters of Mṛgāvatī and Madhumālatī in Indian poetry of the North and the South, from Gujarat to Assam, even though the structure and motifs varied from place to place. There is a general Sufi atmosphere in Kutuban's and Manjhan's poetry as also in some of the local variations of the two romances.

One Middle Assamese poet, Dvija Rāma, gives us the story of Mṛgāvatī, whom he also calls Shāhā-Parī. But he seems to have acquired his tale orally from some travellers rather than from Kutuban or any other written source. Kutuban's lovers are Mṛgāvatī, daughter of King Rūpamurāri of Kanchananagara, and the son of King Gaṇapatideva of Candragiri. In Rāma Dvija's romance the hero is Malikzāda, son of the king of Kuṇḍila, Amīr Shah. The prince runs mad after a nymph (pari), Shāhā-pari—who is also called Mṛgāvatī on account of her appearing before the prince in the form of a doe—and undergoes much travail on that score as he has to undertake an extremely arduous journey to the nymph world, Rokām-shahr, across the countries known as Chilām-nagara, Madilā-nagara, Kupi-nagara and Tripura-nagara. The whole poem is put into a Vaiṣṇava frame work and King Amīr Shāhā is presented to us as a devout Vaiṣṇava. The possibility is that Rāma Dvija heard the tale from some Muslim narrator, but could not resist the temptation of styling it in the usual language of the Vaiṣṇava poets of the time. The impress of the original traveller's tale persists in the names of persons – Amīr Shāhā, Malikzāda, Shāha-pari, Āmīrā, Sāmīrā—and in the place-names like Madilā perhaps to be equated to Madinā, Rokām perhaps a variant of Rum as seen in Sayed Hamza's *Amīr Hamzā*, Kupi probably to be connected with Kufā traditionally believed to be a mountain and the abode of paris. The whole narration and characteris-

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sation suffer a "sea change" and come to wear the general characteristics of the Vaiṣṇava poetry of the day.

The other poem, *Madhumālatī*, which remains anonymous, is based more substantially on the Hindi romance written by Shaikh Manjhan. The names of the leading characters—King Surajbhan (Sūryabhānu in the Assamese) and Prince Manohara of Karṇegiri; King Vikrama and Princess Madhumālatī of Mahārasanagara as in Manjhan and of Anupā-nagara as in the Assamese, King Citrasena and Princess Premā of Citbisrāñpura as in the Hindi and Vichitravishramapura as in the Assamese, etc.—and the main frame of the story remains considerably unaltered. But it is not very likely that the unknown Assamese poet read Manjhan in the original and then made an adaptation. He has incorporated certain motifs in the tale possibly from local folk-lore. He has put the story into a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇic form, and goes as far as to say that the tale was related in days of yore in the Naimiṣa forest by Sage Lomaśa to a council of saints! He even throws the gauntlet at us saying that we could verify that tale from the Purāṇas (इटो कथा हय नय देखियोक पुराण विचारि)!!—this because nobody in those days would accept the tale even as a tale unless one based it squarely on some Purāṇa. Sūryabhānu (Surajbhān) is, therefore, presented to us as a scion of the great Sūrya-vaṁśa. And he worships Śiva in order to beget a son.

But what we would most deplore as found wanting or missing in the two Assamese poems is the atmosphere of mysticism with which Kutuban and Manjhan happily shrouded their tales. Manjhan–to wit–declares in glee:

पेम दीप जाके हिय बरा
ते सब आदि अन्त उजियरा।
विरह जीव जाके घट होइ
सदा अमर पुनि मरै न कोइ॥

But this universalising mystic creed of love is completely lost to us in the Assamese poems, where the predominant interest is the story. The exuberance of the sentiment of love as in the original sources is also greatly subdued here. There is nothing left of Islam and Sufism in the two poems. What remains thus is the simple narrative bereft of the beauty and elevation of mystic love.

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PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

VOHĀRA : VYĀHĀRA : VYAVAHĀRA

By

P. V. BAPAT, POONA

1) The Pali word *vohāra* stands for two different words in Sanskrit: *vyāhāra* empirical or popular speech, talk, name or a term of designation, and *vyavahāra* (from *vi-ava-hṛ*) business transaction, worldly affairs (as opposed to spiritual matters). It is the context that gives the indication of the sense in which the word is used and the distinction seems to have been observed in early Buddhist Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese texts.

2) We find the use of the word *vyāhāra* in the sense of empirical speech, talk, or a term of designation in the following passages from Buddhist Sanskrit :—

(i) *Vyāhāramātreṇa (hi) vyāharāmi*
parinirvṛto lokam idam carāmi[1]

"It is by way of empirical speech that (it may be said that) in this world I talk and move about, being all pacified."

(ii) *Nityo vyāhāreṇa*[2] (The Dhamma of the Buddha) is to say in empirical (as against absolute) words, eternal. The Tibetan translation of this expression uses the word *tha-sñad*, speech, conversation, term of designation for *vyāhāra* and its Chinese translation also uses for the same *tan yen shuo*,[3] which means 'just words'.

(iii) *Nirukti-pratisaṁvid* is explained in the commentary–not yet published – on *Arthaviniścaya-sūtra* as *abhivyāhāre yad avaivartya–jñānam*, that is, correct (lit. un-perverted) knowledge of words or expressions.

(iv) *Tena teṣāṁ ṛṣīṇāṁ vāk-pravyāhāra-śabdaḥ śrutaḥ* (Gilgit Mss. vol. III. part i. p. 6, line 8)

"He heard the sound of the words uttered by the tongue of those sages."

3) An early Chinese version of *Madhyamāgama* (circa 4th century A D.) corresponding to *Majjhima-nikāya* gives a correct interpretation of the

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1. *Samādhirājasūtra* vi. 12 (*Gilgit Manuscripts*. vol. ii, p. 71). Also quoted by Candrakīrti in his commentary on *Madhyamaka-kārikā*. XXIII. 25 (Poussain's edition p. 474).

2. Ibid. XXII. 11 (Régamy's ed.); p. 185, l. 14 of P. L. Vaidya's edition. The interpretation as against 'common experience' given by Régamy is confirmed by Edgerton.

3. Régamy reproduces in his notes this Tibetan and Chinese rendering.

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word *vohāra* used in its two different senses mentioned above. The Chinese version (P'ing ed. vii. 39a. 14) of *Chabbisodhana-sutta,* No. 112 of the *Majjhima-nikāya* rightly translates the expression *cattāro vohārā* (M. iii. 30) 'four ways of speech' by *szu shuo;*[4] four kinds of speech, while *vohāra-samucchedo* or *vohāra samucchinnā,* the cutting of worldly transactions, are translated by *tuan hsü shih*[5] (No. 203 of the Chinese version of the *Madhyamāgama*), 'cutting off of worldly transactions.' So also the Chinese version of *Dīrghāgama,* No. 9 (corresponding to the *Saṅgīti-sutta,* No. 33 of the *Dīgha-nikāya*) gives the correct translation of *cattāro anariya-vohārā,* four (types) of ignoble speech as *pu-sheng-yu*'[6] four types of speech which is not noble (*ariya*) (Fasc. 8. 13a.3). *Voharati* or *voharanti* (M. iii. 235) 'speaks' or 'speak' is also rightly translated by *shou*[7] in the Chinese version of the *Madhyamāgama* (43. 22b-23a).

4) But it appears that, later on, or even in contemporary texts of some schools that adopted Sanskrit as the language of their books, confusion was made between these two equivalents of *vohāra,* and *vyavahāra* came to be used even when the sense of *vyāhāra* was implied. And this is confirmed by their Tibetan or Chinese translations, which continue to use the same words for *vyavahāra* as they used for *vyāhāra.* This means that the Buddhist authors did not notice the difference in the prefixes of these words. It must be remembered that different prefixes considerably change the interpretation of the original root. We know

Upasargeṇa dhātvartho balād anyatra nīyate
prahāra-hāra-saṁhāra-vihāra-parihāra ca.

The above stanza shows how the meanings of the root 'hṛ' change with the different prefixes. Even in *Amarakośa,* which is well-known to belong to the Buddhist tradition, notes the difference when he says :

Vyāhāra uktir lapitam bhāṣitam vacanam vacaḥ

and

Vivādo vyavahāraḥ syāt.

This latter interpretation of *vyavahāra* is nearer to *Vyāhāra* than 'transaction or business'. Cases of such wrong interpretations due to forgetting real etymology are galore in Buddhist Sanskrit texts and I have, elsewhere, drawn attention to a few of such cases.[8]

5) Here is a passage from an old canonical text :

4, 5, 6, 7. See in Chinese letters, p. 297.

8. This is quoted by Poussain in his French translation of *Abhk-bhāṣya* (iv. p. 5, note 2) from Saul's edition of *Ṣaḍdarśana-samuccaya,* as a *sūtra* of the Sautrāntikas.

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(i) "*Pañc' imāni Bhikṣavaḥ saṃjñāmātraṃ pratijñāmātraṃ saṃvṛtimātrāṃ, vyavahāramātram.*" Here the synonymous terms used make it absolutely clear that *vyavahāra* is used in the same sense as *vyāhāra*.

(ii) *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* seems to be using the word *vyavahāra* in the same sense as *nāma* when it says : "*vyāvahāramātram etad yad uta Bodhisattva iti*". In the following sentences *nāmamātra* is actually used (*Bib. Indica*, p. 1334, 18-19).

6) Nāgārjuna (2nd century A. D.) uses the term *vyavahāra* in the following :—

(a) *Vyavahārā viruddhyante sarva eva na saṃśayaḥ* (*Madhyama-kārikā*-xvii. 24)

"There is no doubt that all kinds of speech go against".

Candrakīrti (7th century A. D.), however, seems to be interpreting the word in the sense of 'worldly actions' such as 'preparing a pot, or preparing a piece of cloth'. But the Tibetan translation uses *tha-sñad*, which we have already seen used for *vyāhāra*.

Vyavahāram[9]*anāśritya paramārtho na deśyate*
paramārtham anāgamya nirvāṇaṃ nādhigamyate. (*M. K.* xxiv. 10)

"Absolute truth can not be preached without the use of words. And Nirvāṇa cannot be reached without absolute truth."

Here also the Tibetan translator uses the term *tha-sñad* for *vyavahāra*. The commentator Candrakīrti makes it clear that *vyavahāra* here implies *saṃvṛti-satya*[9a] empirical truth, which is the same as mere words, *vyāhāra*, that have no absolute truth behind them. But absolute truth cannot be clear without the use of words.

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I have already drawn attention to some of such cases. See my papers on
(i) *Nekkhamma* in B. C. Law Commemoration Volume, part ii. (1946);
(ii) *Tāyin, Tāyī, Tādi* in D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol. (1940)
(iii) *Sammāpāsa* in Poona Uni. Journal, Vol. I, 1953.
(iv) *Sārāṇīya* in *Vāk* No. 2 (Deccan College Bulletin, Poona, 1954).

9. Compare

Jaha ṇa vi sakkam aṇajjo aṇajjabhāsaṃ viṇā du sāhaduṃ
taha vohāreṇa viṇā paramatth' uvadesaṇam asakkaṃ.

quoted from Kundakundācārya's *Samaya-pāhuḍa* (*Samaya-prābhṛta*) I. 8, reproduced by Vidhuśekhar Śāstri in his edition of *Catuś-śataka*, p. 24.

9 a. This appears to be a new word coined by the Buddhist Sanskrit scholars corresponding to Pali *samuti* to which this word closely resembles in sound. The etymology of this word, saṁ–vṛ, as suggested in its explanation: *samantād varaṇam saṁvṛtiḥ : ajñānaṁ hi samantāt sarva-padārtha-tattvacchādanāt saṁvṛtir ity uccyate* (Cm. on *M. K.* XXIV. 8; p. 482) is certainly misleading. The alternative interpretation given

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In both these places, substitute the word *vyāhāra* for *vyavahāra* and you will get the same meaning, thus clearly showing that *vyavahāra* is used for *vyāhāra*.

7) In Yaśomitra's *Sphuṭārthābhidharmakośa-vyākhyā* (Jap. ed. by Wogihara), we have a commentary on Vasubandhu's own Bhāṣya on *Abhidharmakośa-kārikā*. He comments on the following expressions from Vasubandhu's *Bhāṣya* on IV. 75 :–

Line 2 *Gandhādiṣu vyavahāro na syāt* ;
„ 5 *Caturṣu dṛṣṭādi-vyavahāreṣu* ;
Lines 22-23 *Ato nāsti gandhādiṣu vyavahārābhāva-prasaṅgaḥ.*

The Chinese translation of Vasubandhu's *Bhāṣya* (Block print ed. Bk. iv, Fasc. 16, 16a. 6ff) uses for the word *vyavahāra* in these pages, *ven shuo, yen* and *yen shuo*[10] respectively, making it clear that *vyavahāra* is used for *vyāhāra*, for which, we have seen above, the first of these Chinese expressions is used.

8) In *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*, a text of the Yogācāra school we read the following :–

Na cotpādyam na cotpannaḥ pratyayo' pi na kiñca na
saṁvidyante kvacit kecit vyavahāras tu kathyate (II. 144)

"(From the absolute point of view) there is nothing that is to be born, nothing that is born, no originating cause that exists anywhere; but (there exist mere) words that are spoken."

There are three existing Chinese translations of the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* and Dr. D. T. Suzuki gives in his glossary appended to his *Studies in the Laṅkāvatāra*, three Chinese translations of the word *vyavahāra*. The Chinese translation towards the end of the 5th century A. D. uses *yen shuo*, 'whatever is spoken'; that in the 6th century A. D. uses *shih wen shuo*,[11] 'what is heard and spoken in this world'; and the last in the 8th century A. D. gives *shih hsŭ*,[12] 'secular things of this world.' Here we note the gradual shift in these translations from 'speech towards secular things of this world', that is

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towards the end of the same passage: *Athavā saṁvṛtiḥ saṅketo lokavyavahāra ity arthaḥ* is, however, acceptable, as it is supported by the Pali word *sammuti*, which is derived from *sam-man*, to give consent. The word means 'recognition' or 'acceptance' by people. It is the same as 'usage' or 'convention' which is recognised by the public and so it is really *loka-vyāhāra*, which means an expression accepted by all people. I believe that the word *saṁvṛti* is nothing more than a dialectical variation of pali word *sammuti*. Such use of *va* for *ma* is noted in Buddhist Sanskrit works of the lokottaravādi branch of the Mahāsaṅghikas. For instance, *śravaṇa* is often used for *sramaṇa*. Also note the use of *Draviḍa* for *Damiḷa*.

10, 11, 12. See in Chinese letters, p. 297.

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towards *saṁvṛti*, empirical things, which came to be used as an equivalent for *vyavahāra*. The Chinese translation for *saṁvṛti* as given in the same glossary of Dr. Suzuki is *shih hsü*,[12] secular things of the world, or *shih ti*[13], worldly truth, or *hsü ti*,[14] secular truth. So it will be seen that the chinese translation of the 8th century A. D. makes no distinction between *vyavahāra* and *saṁvṛti-satya*, whereas the latter includes more than *vyavahāra* when interpreted as *vyāhāra*, speech.

In another passage from *Laṅkāvatāra*: *Cātue - kotikañ ca Mahāmate Loka-vyavahāraḥ*, the last word is translated into Chinese by *shih yen shuo*,[15] wordly speech.

9) Asaṅga's *Yogācārabhūmi* (edited by Pandit Vidhushekhar Shastri, Chap. II. p. 50) makes the meaning of the word *vyavahāra* absolutely clear in the following passage :-

Catvāro vyāvahārāḥ katame? Dṛṣṭo vyavahāraḥ, śrto— mato— vijñāto vyavahāraḥ. Dṛṣṭo vyavahāraḥ katamaḥ? Yad anena bahirdhā pratyakṣīkṛtaṁ bhavati cakṣuṣā. tad upādāya yat pareṣāṁ vyavaharati ayamucyate dṛṣṭo vyavahāraḥ --- Vijñāto vyavahāraḥ katamaḥ? Yad anenādhyātmaṁ prativeditaṁ bhavati adhigataṁ, sparśitaṁ, sākṣātkṛtañ ca bhavati tad upādāya yat pareṣāṁ vyavaharatyayam ucyate vijñāto vyavahāraḥ. Sambahaulāni vyavahārapadāni. Katamāni? Tāny eva niruktipadāny ucyante. Prāpañcapadāny arthasaṅgrahapadāni ceti paryāyāḥ.

"There are four kinds of talk. Which four? The talk about what is seen externally--- heard (externally) --- thought over by oneself---or known within oneself. What is the talk about what is seen? Whatever one has actually seen with one's own eyes --- with respect to that when one speaks to (*vyavaharati*) others, then it is the talk about what one has seen ------ What is the talk about what one has known? Whatever one has understood, experienced, or realised within oneself---- with respect to that, when one speaks to others, then it is talk with regard to what one has known. There are multifarious ways of expression. Which are they? They are also called *nirukti-padāni* (ways of explication), *prapañca-padāni* (ways of expatiating) or *arthasaṅgraha-padāni* (words of significant comprehension)". This passage clearly indicates the sense in which the Buddhists used the word *vyavahāra* --- the same as *vyāhāra*. The Chinese translator renders the word *vyavaharati* by *Hsüan Shuo*,[16] which means 'proclaims, or declares'. The

13. Also accepted by the Chinese translator of Asaṅga's *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṅkāra*. See Index Chinois-Sanskrit given by Lévi in his edition and French translation of the text.

14, 15, 16. See in Chinese letters, p. 297.

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Tibetan translator of Dharmakīrti's *Nyāyabindu* uses throughout *tha-sñad* for *vyavahāra*.[17]

10) *Mahāvyutpatti* is a late Buddhist Glossary of Buddhist Sanskrit words of about 9th century A. D. Its Tibetan translation gives *tha-sñad* as the Tibetan equivalent of *vyavahāra* (2775, 6546); but the Chinese rendering of the same clearly indicates that worldly things or worldly commonalties had come to be well recognised as the sense of *vyavahāra*. This sense seems to have become stabilised.

11) Edgerton in his Dictionary of *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* also indicates in his entry on *vyavahāra* that the word was used in the sense of 'manner of speech'. He refers to passages from *Bodhisattva-bhūmi* (220. 7, 11; 389. 13, 11). where the sense of 'manner of speech' or 'ways of expression' is implied.

12) Thus it will be seen that the use of *vyavahāra* by the Buddhists for *vyāhāra* had led to the confusion of misinterpreting the latter word as worldly or secular things. The same mistake persisted in the use of the same word by later classical writers with the result that the sense of worldly things or secular transactions became the most common interpretation. The word *vyāhāra* really suggests mere words, which imply that they are empty words not backed by substantial things, as against things which have a real existence. 'Mere words' suggest a nominal existence which is not effective. There is existence only of words which are purely empirical, as from the absolute point of view there is no reality behind them. There is mere display of words-*vācārambhaṇaṁ vikāro nāmadheyam*.[18]

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17. See Sanskrit-Tibetan Index (*Bib. Buddhica* vol. XXIV) prepared by Obermiller.

18. We still have a similar expression in Marathi *Bolācīca kaḍhī bolācāci bhāta* (बोलाचीच कढी बोलाचाचि भात). When one makes an offering of a butter-milk preparation or of rice only *in words*, without actually substantiating the offer by concrete things, then we say that the offer was only *vyāhāramātreṇa*.

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Chinese Words

3. 但言說. 4. 四說. 5. 斷俗事.

6. 不聖語, 7. 言. 10 言說, 言, 言說.

11. 世間說. 12. 世俗. 13. 世評. 14. 俗評

15. 世言說. 16. 宣說.

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CONTEMPORARY BUDDHISM AS A MAJOR FACTOR OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHANGE

By

H. BECHERT, GÖTTINGEN

Students of canonical Theravāda Buddhism have emphasized the non-political nature of the Buddha's teachings. Max Weber has described Buddhism as a " specifically non-political and anti-political religion of a social class ". No doubt, there are many characteristic elements in early Buddhism to support this statement. On the other hand, the religious factor as an important force within the political and social upheaval in the Buddhist countries of South and Southeast Asia in the recent past cannot be overlooked or disregarded. The question, however, remains, how far the religious momenta in this development can be described as genuinely religious factors or else as religious on its face only.

There can be no doubt that the political role of religious factors depends to a large degree on the general political and social situation of the countries in question. To make out which peculiar influences are due to a certain religious situation is extremely difficult as nowhere the religious factors exist isolated from other factors. In this context, a comparative study of societies with similar religious background can serve a very useful purpose.

At glance, one would say that the religious background of the Theravāda Buddhist countries is almost identical. We find the same religious literature in Pāli. Even minute points of the interpretation of the teachings of Buddhism are discussed in these books. The life of the Buddhist monks is governed by the same set of rules, etc. This picture, however, is one-sided. Here the basic differences of the popular religions which exist in the several countries of Theravāda Buddhism should be recalled. Popular religion has two aspects here : firstly, popular Buddhism, i. e. religious practices of the peasant population based on the so-called " Great Tradition " of literary Buddhism, but not identical with the real understanding of the ideas incorporated. Half-magical practices as described in the popular Ceylonese Pāli book *Rasavāhinī* written by Vedeha Thera in the 13th century can serve as a typical example for popular Buddhism in this sense. Whereas canonical Buddhism is practically the same in the five Theravāda countries, popular Buddhism shows similarities only. The second aspect of popular religion is entirely different in Ceylon, Burma, and Thailand. It is wrong to disregard

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these differences while examining the importance of the religious factor in regards to social and political change. Buddhism has never influenced political and social developments as a purely religious theory, but always in its actual manifestation, i. e. in an integrated religious system including popular and common beliefs.

Let me quote here as a case in point the Bhikkhus, who have developed into a compact class of priests in Ceylon. He, who leaves the Order returning to worldly life, is not thought highly of, though such a step is allowable according to canonical Buddhist law. On the other hand, in Burma and Thailand it is a custom to be a member of the Saṅgha for limited periods of time which is followed by almost every male Buddhist. It is clear that in this way the relationship between Saṅgha and laity as well as the extent of knowledge in religious matters among laymen etc. are different in these countries in consequence of this basic difference of attitude towards the problem of membership in the Saṅgha. For these reasons, we should agree to use the term "Buddhism" in our context not in order to designate canonical Buddhism only, but the totality of Buddhist or "Great" Tradition including the specific system of relations of this tradition to the "Little Tradition", i. e. to the non-Buddhist popular religion. In practice, the totality of religious beliefs and systems including Buddhism and Little Tradition interacts with the social and political forces of the country.

It is fascinating to trace the growth of political influence of Buddhism in Ceylon in the modern period. Even before 1955, there was a number of early signs and symptoms to show that the placid surface of Ceylon politics was misleading and that the general impression of the non-involvement of religious issues in Ceylon politics was wrong. In 1883, the so-called "Catholic riots" in Kotahena, a suburb of Colombo, were symptomatic of the mounting antagonism between Catholics and the beginning Buddhist modernism. The fact that a great number of Buddhist children had to receive at least part of their education in Christian schools led to growing dissatisfaction amongst Buddhist leaders. The anti-Muslim Riots of 1915– again with religious background were another symptom of communal rivalries which were enflamed by the violation of religious feelings. There were predominantly non-religious reasons for these upheavals, but they were a symptom for the preparedness of the majority group to act when their religious feelings were called at.

From 1945 to 1947 there was a period of important political activities of Bhikkhus. Some of the basic principles of the ideology of the political Bhikkhus in Ceylon have been formulated in documents written and published in these years. A Mahānāyaka of Malvatta, one of the two main mona-

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steries in Kandy, who died in 1945, had written a justification for the political activity of the Saṅgha which was published later on in "The Revolt in the Temple" (1953). Valpala (Walpola) Rahula published his "Bhikṣuva-gē urumaya" in 1946 and the famous declarations "Bhikṣūn hā deśapālanaya" ("Monks and politics") and the "Kelaniya Declarations of Independence" were promulgated in December, 1946 and January, 1947.

It was the political genius of D. S. Senanayaka who succeeded in getting these developments under control again for a number of years. It is well known how Sir John Kotelawala alienated most sections of the population and lost the 1956 elections by an unrealistic language policy and by disregarding the dissatisfaction of the powerful "lower middle class" section of the Sinhalese as well of other communities. The Bandaranaike coalition made use of two main issues; language and religion. Both issues were closely interrelated. The so-called "Buddhist Commission Report" was the sharp weapon in the political fight which preceded the 1956 election. I need not repeat here the well-known facts of this development.

S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike did not succeed to harmonize the aims of his policy and the actual situation of the country. The B-C pact, the 1958 Riots and a number of other developments indicated that his government had lost the political control in Ceylon. One of the political Bhikkhus who had helped to bring Bandaranaike into power by the activities of the Eksath Bhikkhu Peramuna, Māpiṭigama Buddharakkhita, conspirated to murder Bandaranaike.

In spite of this, political Buddhism continued to wield considerable influence in Ceylon politics. I need only to recall here the importance of "Buddhist" issues in the 1960 elections, the activity of nationalist Buddhist pressure groups and the important part played by Buddhist organisations in the overthrow of the SLFP-LSSP coalition government in 1964 and during the election campaign in spring 1965.

How far has the term "Buddhism" been synonymously used with "Sinhalese nationalism" in these developments? Certainly it is difficult to separate nationalist and religious issues in a surrounding where a national group, viz. the Sinhalese, is practically identical with a religious group, viz. the Buddhists of the island. There is no non-Sinhalese Buddhist community of any importance in Ceylon and the non-Buddhist Sinhalese communities have political interests which are quite different from those of the Buddhist majority. It was easy, therefore, to misuse religious feelings of the Buddhists for purely political, social and economic ends and for actions which are directly opposed to the basic principles accepted by the Buddhists of all times. There are enough examples of this kind.

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However, we cannot evade the fact that certain inherent factors forced the Buddhists into political activity in the interests of their religion. When Buddhism had spread to Ceylon and Southeast Asia many centuries ago, a number of connections of religion and state were developed. The state, i. e. practically the kings, took the responsibility for the survival and inner stability of the Saṅgha. Whereas in Southeast Asia basic differences had developed between court religions and peasant religion, there was no similar antagonism in Ceylon. Here, court religion and popular cults were both of Indian origin. Official and popular religion formed a more or less integrated system quite from the beginning.

In this hierarchy, relations of the Saṅgha and the State are regulated by the principle that the Buddhist Sāsana is in its conception directed towards detachment from worldly affairs, it is "supra-mundane" (*lokuttara*). The cult of the gods, on the other hand, serves worldly purposes. The Sāsana, though being supramundane in conception, has its basis of existence in this world in an organization with social implications, viz. the Saṅgha. The development of mundane activities within the Saṅgha was condemned, because it was a deviation from these basic principles which were enforced by the state by means of "Sāsana reforms". The Buddhist ecclesiastical institutions were incorporated into the state in this way. So-called katikāvatas were promulgated from time to time as law-books regulating all aspects of state-Saṅgha relations, the practical enforcement of the *Vinaya* rules and the hierarchical order within the Saṅgha.

When the Buddhist kingdom of Ceylon had ceased to exist in 1815, the situation of the Saṅgha had entirely changed. The colonical administration did not take any interest in the welfare of the Sāsana, and the Buddhist laymen as a community did not have the means nor the experience to protect the Sāsana from both "types or enemies, from those outside and those within" as Sir Arthur Gordon had put it in his famous speech of 1889.

The movement of resurgent Buddhism was, there, in a contradictory ideological position. The first phase of the reform movement, that of the foundation of reformist groups in the Saṅgha, did not succeed to produce a general Sāsana reform, on account of the material interests and the structural rigidity of the rich endowed monasteries with their intrinsic connection with the Sinhalese social system. Monastic landlordism had developed as characteristic of Sinhalese Buddhism, but under the old system it had been controlled by the State. Now, these institutions had become private ones. The hopes of Christian missionaries that the decay of these institutions would lead to a gradual disappearance of Buddhist influence did not materialize. On the contrary, the Buddhist cause was taken over by reformist forces who

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entered the political arena by linking Sinhalese nationalism and Buddhist resurgence. This seemed justified because only an intervention of the state could achieve a reform of the Sāsana along traditional lines. The colonial government handed over the control of the Buddhist temporalities to the general Buddhist public in a nearly democratic conception of administration under the Buddhist Temporalities Ordinance of 1889, which, however, did not work, because the necessary infra-structure for such a system did not exist. Furthermore, the legislation did not provide any system to prevent misuse of the authority given to the trustees. The Ordinance of 1931 did not serve better the Buddhist interests either.

The issue of Sāsana reform was naturally closely linked with the reassertion of Buddhism in general and particularly with the issue of giving Buddhism its "due place" in state and society again. If, on the one hand, in absence of an appropriate organization of the Buddhist laity only the state had the means for a reform of the Buddhist institutions and, on the other hand, only Buddhists had the right to do anything for the cause of Buddhism, the issue to make Ceylon a Buddhist state or to make Buddhism the state-religion seemed to be justified. It was, of course, not practicable. Ceylon has a multi-religious society where a state-religion is out of place.

Due to these contradictions, the problem of Sāsana reform has been a political one in Ceylon since nearly 100 years- and an unsolvable problem because of the entanglement with the economic and material advantages of monastic landlordism. The basic differences of approach exist within the Buddhist establishment and this inner inconsistency of the Buddhist position has proved to be one of the major factors of political development and crisis in present-day Ceylon.

Finally, I should point out another characteristic of modern Ceylon Buddhism, viz. the comparatively marked superficiality of its ideology. Take, e. g. the already mentioned documents of rising political Buddhism in 1945–1947. There is no well-considered systematical approach to the questions of Buddhism today; the declarations do not avoid obvious contradictions. They concentrate on the claim that in the past also the Saṅgha had been the leader of the social, political and economical progress of the Sinhalese and had guided the politics of the State. This "rewriting of history", as Dr. G. C. Mendis has called it, is a main feature of modern Buddhist writing in Ceylon; it is found already in many of the articles of the Anagārika Dharmapāla.

It is quite interesting to see that, in this respect, modern Ceylon Buddhism has not produced anything comparable to the ideology of modern Burmese Buddhism. Basically, the amalgamation of religious and political

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theory in Ceylon never was pushed so far as in Burma. The Indian background of the political order with the surviving caste-system and the tradition of non-religious Indian political theory has prevented a development similar to that in Burma, In this sense a old popular saying in the Buddhist countries may be quoted : " Burmese Buddhists concentrate on *Abhidhamma*, those of Ceylon on *Vinaya* ". The emphasis on practical politics as opposed to the theoretical interests in Burma explains the fact why an analysis of Ceylon political Buddhism will present a different picture from that of Burmese modern Buddhism which has been described recently in an excellent study by Prof. E. Sarkisyanz (" Buddhist Backgrounds of the Burmese Revolution ", 1965).

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'KĀRYAKĀRAṆABHĀVASIDDHI' OF JÑĀNAŚRĪMITRA

By

ESTHER A. SOLOMON, AHMEDABAD

Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi (pp. 317-322) is one of the twelve works of Jñānaśrīmitra (11th cent.) edited for the first time by Prof. Anantlal Thakur and published by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, in 1959. It deals with the Buddhist concept of causality. It is also known as *Trikapañcakacintā* as it discusses the number of perceptions (*upalambha* or *pratyakṣa*) and non-perceptions (*anupalambha*)* required to ascertain the causal connection between two entities. Dharmottara seems to advocate a total of five such cognitions, whereas Jñānaśrīmitra criticises this view and accepts a total of only three. This treatise is in prose and verse, the verses presenting the main arguments and the prose portions giving an exposition of them. The real rivals of Jñānaśrīmitra are in most cases the Naiyāyikas, but in this tract he has attempted to examine and reform the Buddhist position itself.

Inference is the cognition of the probandum from the probans on the basis of the relation of invariable concomitance (*Vyāpti* or *avinābhāvasambandha*) between the middle term and the major term. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣikas and others establish this relation of invariable concomitance between the two on the strength of the repeated observation of the two together, or in immediate succession, or as opposed to one another, or of the absence of one where the other is absent, and so on.[1] The Buddhist, on the other hand, feels that however repeatedly we may have made such observations, there is

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* *Anupalambha* in the Buddhist view is not negative in character nor does it have negation as its object. *Anupalambha* of *ghaṭa* is perception of 'bhūtala' from which the *ghaṭa* is absent, in so far as it is a place where the *ghaṭa* would have been perceived had it been present.

1. *Asyedam kāryaṁ kāraṇam saṁyogi virodhi samavāyi ceti laiṅgikam-Vaiśeṣika, Sūtra 9. 2. 1.* See also *3. 1. 9–13. Evaṁ sarvatra deśakālāvinābhūtam itarasya liṅgam; Śāstre kāryādi-grahaṇam nidarśanārthaṁ kṛtaṁ nāvadhāraṇārtham; kasmāt vyatireka-darśanāt; tad yathā adhvaryur oṁ śrāvayan vyavahitasya hotur liṅgam, candrodayaḥ samudra-vṛddheḥ kumudavikāsasya ca, śaradi jalaprasādo' gastyodayasyeti; evamādi tat sarvam asyedam iti sambandhamātravacanāt siddham-Praś'astapāda Bhāṣya, 103-104.*

See also *Tātparya-ṭīkā*, pp. 158 ff, p. 165; After a lengthy discussion, Vācaspati concludes (p. 165) that what becomes the basis of inference is an invariable, natural (or unconditional) connection between the middle and the major terms, irrespective of the relation that subsists between them. *Ślokavārttika*; Anumāna, 12–15; *Pramāṇa-naya-tattvālokālaṅkāra*. III, 49 ff.

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nothing to guarantee that this relation of theirs is not just accidental, or not due to some extraneous factor or that it will never occur that the two are not together and so on. As Dharmakīrti says, experience positive and negative can never produce a knowledge of the strict necessity of inseparable connection (*avinābhāva-niyama*). This always rests either on the relation of causality (*Kārya-kāraṇa-bhāva*) or on the relation of identity (*Svabhāva*).

> *Kāryakāraṇabhāvād vā svabhāvād vā niyāmakāt;*
> *avinābhāvaniyamo' darśanān na tu darśanāt*
> *Pramāṇa-vārttika*, I. 33.

The relation of contradiction is not mentioned in this context by Dharmakīrti, but it is evidently implied as the principle of all negative judgements. It may be noted that according to the Buddhists, no relation has any reality, it is just a mental construct (*vikalpātmaka*).[1] The laws of Causality Identical Reference and Contradictions are not derived from any direct experience; they are the fruits of the play of the intellect or understanding (*buddhi, adhyavasāya*). Nevertheless, they cannot extend their sphere beyond the limits of experience. No relation can be established in respect of things that are not capable of being perceived. As Dharmottara puts it, it is impossible to ascertain their contradiction with something else, their causal dependence upon something else, and their identical reference to something else. Contradiction, Causation and Identical Reference of inter-dependent concepts are in every case necessarily based upon positive and negative experience, upon perception and non-perception. The laws of Contradiction, Causality and Identical Reference serve as safety valves against the accidents of experience; they are therefore necessarily accepted as universal truths.[2]

Coming to the concept of causal relation, every particular case of it can be ascertained, it is said, when it is established by five consecutive occurrences of perception aad non-perception; viz. the non-perception of the effect, e. g. smoke, before its production (1);

> the perception of the effect, e. g. smoke (3), when its cause, e. g. fire, has been perceived (2); the non-perception of the effect (5), when the cause is not perceived (4) (5)

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1 See *Sambandha-parīkṣā* of Dharmakīrti-Verses quoted in the *Prameyakamalamārtaṇḍa*, pp. 504 ff of Prabhācandra.

2 *Ye tv āhuḥ na virodho vāstava iti, te idaṁ vaktavyāḥ; yathā na niṣpanne kārye kaścij janyajanakabhāvo nāma dṛṣṭo'sti-Kāraṇa-pūrvikā tu kāryapravṛttiḥ ato vāstavaḥ eva saḥ, tadvan na nivṛtte vastuni kaś cid iṣṭo nāma virodho' sti; dahana nimittaṁ tu śīta-sparśasya kṣaṇāntarāsāmarthyam ato virodho' pi vāstava eva - Nyāyabindu-ṭīkā, III. 75.*

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There are thus in respect of the effect two cases of non-perception (1 and 5) and one case of perception (3); and in respect of the cause one case of perception (2) and one case of non-perception (4).

Jñānaśrīmitra examines in his *Kāryakāraṇabhāvasiddhi*, this position of Dharmottara that causality can be established on the basis of a total of five occurrences of perception and non-perception. As against this, he holds that the total number of these should amount to just three.

It is universally accepted that causality can be determined on the strength of perception and non-perception (*pratyakṣānupalambhasadhanaḥ kāryakāraṇabhāva iti nyāyaḥ Kā*, p. 317). In this respect ordinarily before one comes to an understanding of causality, there should have occurred one case of non-perception of the thing (later) accepted as the effect, before its production followed by two cases of perception of the cause and effect* successively (–perception of the effect after the cause is perceived). Or one may first have a perception of both of them and then have two non-perceptions of them in succession (–non-perception of the effect when the cause is not perceived). Others (e. g. Dharmottara), on the other hand, hold that there should be five such cases of perception and non-perception – the first three helped by the last two in a specific order. Even when the first three cases of cognition are possible one's understanding of the relation between the two things is not free from doubt. But when the latter two are obtained, the relation of causality between the two is established. The relation of causality is characterised by agreement in presence and agreement in absence (*anvaya-vyatirekalakṣaṇo hi hetuphalabhāvaḥ – Kā*, p. 317) (–that is to say, the effect is only if the cause is, and the effect is not if the cause is not). Direct concomitance or agreement in presence (*anvaya*) is ascertained by three of these cases of cognition, and agreement in absence (*vyatireka*) by two of them (viz. the last pair of non-perceptions – *anupalambhadvaya*). Thus all the five cases of cognition together establish the relation of causality very well. But if either of *anvaya* or *vyatireka* is not determined, doubt cannot be averted.

Jñānaśrīmitra proceeds to examine this position of Dharmottara. Non-perception is sought after only in order to establish *vyatireka* (agreement in absence). And this *vyatireka* is to be established by this pair debarring the existence of that which is accepted as the effect on there being the absence of that which is accepted as the cause. The thing accepted as the effect can be present in the absence of the thing accepted as the cause in three possible ways-it is present in that very place even before the so-called cause comes

* Cause - the thing which is finally accepted as the cause.
Effect - the thing which is finally accepted as the effect.

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to be there, or it comes from elsewhere, or it originates from a causal complex different from the supposed cause. But when these three conditions obstructing the ascertainment of the relation of causality between the two are not there, no further proof is required. So the last pair of *anupalambhas* serves no purpose. Thus the first three cases of cognition are alone capable of ascertaining causality.

It may be urged that it has already been shown that it does help the perception cognising *anvaya* (agreement in presence). The answer to this is that it has already been cognised by perceptual knowledge that the so-accepted cause being there the so-accepted effect comes to be. *Anvaya* could not but be existence of one in the event of another existing. And this is established by perception, so the help of non-perception is unsought for. It may be contended that thus it is quite possible that even two things accidentally come together may display this sort of agreement in presence (*anvaya*) as a result of perception. But it should be borne in mind that the perception referred to above is not a lone factor, but is preceded by the knowledge of the prior-negation (*prāgabhāva*) of the so-accepted effect (–non-perception of the effect before it is produced), so there cannot possibly be this absurd position of anything being regarded the cause of just anything accidentally there (*atiprasaṅga*).

Now is this prior-negation (*prāgabhāva*) of the so-accepted-effect contrary to existence different from the three kinds mentioned above (–presence in that very place even before the so-called cause comes to be there, etc.), or is it prior-negation due to non-perception, or as established is it just negation?[1] Accepting the first alternative we arrive at the following position:—

'This being that is' for otherwise it is not possible. This itself is that *vyatireka*, viz. it was not there, it was not produced from other things, and it did not come from elsewhere. If an effect is such that it exists only when another is existent, if it is not its, it is no-one's.

asmin satīdam bhavatīty akṣajena gataṁ na kim;
anyathā' sambhavād iti vyatireko' yam eva saḥ.
na sthitaṁ tatra nānyasmāj jātaṁ nāyātam anyataḥ;
yasya bhāve bhavet kāryaṁ na cet tasya na kasyacit.

–*Kā.* 3–4, pp. 317–318

This can be proved by perception preceded by non-perception, so the last two non-perceptions suggested by Dharmottara are superfluous. They

1 *Sa tarhi trividhabhedabhinnabhāva-viparyaya-svabhāvaḥ, prāgabhāvo, nupalabdheḥ, bhāvamātraṁ vā- Kā*, p. 318.

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also will establish *vyatireka* only by sublating the presence there of the effect in the absence of the cause, or its origination from another, or its going elsewhere by the effort of another, and not simply by virtue of being the subsequent two; because in the absence of this sort of functioning, even a hundred such pairs of non-perception cannot establish *vyatireka*. And this has been achieved by the initial one (non-perception), so the last pair of non-perceptions proposed is of no use.

It may be urged that the initial non-perception cognises just negation (–not the negation of anything in particular). If mere negation is cognised, what could be connected with what by the relation of positive concomitance (*anvaya*)? And the apprehension of positive concomitance, viz. 'This being, that is' if brought about by two things accidentally come together would become disqualified in respect of the establishing of causality. But if prior to the functioning of this apprehension of positive concomitance, there is the cognition 'This is the negation of that' (*abhāvaḥ asya*), the same three-fold position is arrived at (i. e. it would sublate presence in that very place even before the cause comes to be there, and so on and thus establish agreement in absence), and so nothing is left to be done by the last pair of non-perceptions which thus can serve no purpose.

Anvaya and *vyatireka* are said to jointly determine causality because in either of them there are likely to be cases of failure (–that is to say, the cause is not always present everywhere, so that all should be cases of *anvaya*; nor is it absent everywhere, so that all observations should be cases of *vyatireka*; hence both *anvaya* and *vyatireka* obtain and are utilised). But if *anvaya* alone is observed where there is no *vyatireka*, or the position is just the reverse, this does not serve as a sublator of the relation of causality. This sort of situation may hold good in the case of both the parties. Hence it is proved that the initial non-perception is of no use to the last two non-perceptions, and similarly the last two non-perceptions are of no use to the first non-apprehension. The opponent may dissent here contending that even though one knows by means of the initial non-perception, that the thing accepted as the effect is not there prior to the functioning of the thing accepted as the cause, he does not know that its absence is due to the absence of its functioning, while this is determined by the last two non-perceptions. This is not proper, because the initial non-perception continues to remain useless.

Moreover, if the absence of a thing in the absence of another specific thing alone were ascertained by the last pair of non-perceptions, why could it not be ascertained by the initial non-perception also? (*tanmātrābhāvato' bhāvāt paścimena viniścayaḥ; tannyāyasya samānatvāt prācyenāpi na kim mataḥ*, –*Kā.7*, p. 319).

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That 'it was not existent prior to the functioning of this' also enables us to know that one is absent only when the other is absent (i. e. *vyatireka*) because the rejection of the three-fold existence referred to above is implied. So if the initial non-perception is regarded as not determining *vyatireka*, the last two non-perceptions also cannot be regarded as determining it. What faith could have in the subsequent pair of non-perceptions when one has observed by means of the earlier non-perception the mere proximity of the absences of the two, and not that the absence of one is due to the absence of another. If not dependent on another, there would be the contingency of the origination of one even in the absence of the other, and so the second set of absences cognised by the pair of non-perceptions also could not similarly be connected.

It may be urged that the initial non-apprehension cognises the absence of smoke, which is originated after the arrival of fire and ash, even when there is the absence of the ash. Thus it is difficult to determine on its strength whether the smoke is originated by fire or by the ash, whereas the last pair of non-perceptions determines this with certainty. The answer to this is that even the last pair of non-perceptions may note that smoke is absent when both fire and ash are absent, so one would have to resort to yet another cognition or even more, and thus by pursuing one means after another, the order of five proposed will be overthrown (*aparāparopāyaparamparānusaraṇena pañcakavyavasthā-hāniḥ-Kā* p. 319). The opponent may retort that in the proposed case of non-perception of fire and ash, there will be three non-perceptions, while what is relevant here is just a pair of non-perceptions. The rejoinder to this is that it matters little whether the last non-perception is of two or three - what is meant to be emphasised is that even the last one will not be able to prove anything (if, as the opponent argues, the first is not able to determine the relationship). It may again be argued that the two non-perceptions are useful as nothing definite can be said with regard to the absence of another entity also. But if this be so, then why does the opponent not accept that only when there is non-perception of smoke in the absence of the *hetu* (cause, fire), the first non-apprehension is capable of establishing their relation. Otherwise it would be utterly useless as said above. Arguing on the lines of the opponent, one could say that the perceptions also are three and not two. Moreover, the Pañcakavādin (who is insistent on the necessity of five cognitions) regards the first non-apprehension as one since the non-apprehension of the fire and smoke occurs synchronously and is not analysed. And similarly there can be said to be one non-apprehension of fire and ash when they disappear and in view of the non-perception of smoke that follows, one can even then speak of a pair of non-cognitions.

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Moreover, seeing successively the two that were not seen formerly, one determines that one is a cause and the other the effect. Or not seeing successively the two that were earlier seen, one can determine their relation of causality. Otherwise the process of observation would go on endlessly, (*prāg adṛṣṭau paśyan vetti hetuphalasthitim; dṛṣṭau vā kramaśo paśyannanyathā tv anavasthitiḥ.*– (*Kā* 8, p. 319).

For one would have to apply to each new thing the test of perception and non-perception in order to remove the suspicion that other things could also be the cause. Whatever order of three or the like you may arrange; yet the last pair of non-perceptions (of the absence of the so accepted effect on there being the absence of the so-accepted cause) will serve no purpose, for if one suspects other non-perceptions, one would not have faith in these two also. And if one can distinguish one as the cause even one non-apprehension suffices.

Therefore, when *anvaya* and *vyatireka* can be determined by perception and non-perception, what doubt could there be in respect of the relation of cause and effect?

For being different things, only they are such that one being there, the other comes to exist. And there is no rule as regards their cognition. It can be established in both ways (one may observe their co-presence first or their co-absence first.)

It may be the opponent's contention that this order of five has been suggested in order to confirm *vyatireka* (agreement in absence). Hence it is but proper that non-perception cognising it should surpass (– also, come after–) perception having as its object *anvaya* (agreement in presence). This is not true. The intimate relation of the *pramāṇa* in respect of the *prameya* (object) (– that it visualises the object only if it is actually present) entitles it to be regarded as sound, and not mere number for this can be found even in the sham *pramāṇa* (*pramāṇābhāsas*). One may see the yellow-couch a hundred times, but this does not render the cognition valid. Even one non-perception of a thing that is capable of being perceived can establish forthwith its absence, so what is the sense in running after more proofs? In that case not even the smell of the smoke (– much less the smoke –) can be rendered possible or justified.

It may be urged that since a number of things are absent, it should be determined in the event of whose absence, the smoke does not originate. But this is exactly why perception cognising *anvaya* is necessary, because if its absence were due to the absence of another (– thing other than fire) the perception referred to would not be possible. Similarly, even though the ascertainment were based on the cognition of *anvaya*, since many things could possibly be there together, when one desires to know as to by whose being

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there the effect smoke happens to be there, it is proved by the said non-perception that that by whose absence the absence of this is brought about, by the existence of that formerly, this also was there.[1] This can be determined by the bringing or introducing of each one of them by turns, or by the removal of each one of them by turns. So the initial non-perception (in the first set of three cognitions accepted as determining causality), or the final non-perception (in the second set of three cognitions) can be said to be determining *vyatireka*; but if many are brought simultaneously or removed at a time, even both of them can be of no help.

And this order of five is not universal in character (i. e. is not found to be possible in all cases); for the final non-perception is not found to be there in the case of ashes and fire, and pot and potter, and the like; and in the case of water and dam and the like, causality can be established even in the absence of the first case of non-perception. The dam being there, the water maintains its level, the quantity of water remains stable; one who observes that one being there, the other exists determines that the two are related as cause and effect; and this determination is not based on the initial non-perception (of the maintenance of the water-level before the dam was constructed). Similarly, elsewhere also either set of three cognitions alone is useful.

It may be contended that one does not see the smoke first, and then sees smoke when fire is added to the conditions prevailing. Why could it not be imagined that quite a different thing produces smoke depending on the help of fire? The answer to this is that even so fire remains a cause like fuel.[2] The opponent rejoins that thus anything else accidentally present there, e. g. ash, etc. could be the cause, and therefore there would be the contingency of its being inferred from smoke. But one can ask him: "Because fire is determined as the cause, could the ash also be determined as such?" Since perception and non-perception operate even in this respect, there is not the possibility of both (fire and ash) being the cause. And the set of three is not resorted to for such negation of another, but it is meant to affirm the existence of fire. And since it is established, the non-negation of others does not prove sublative in respect of the cause-effect relationship.

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1. *Evam anvayagrahaṇapūrvake' pi niścaye bhūyasām sambhavāt kasya bhāvaprayukto'sya bhāva iti jijñāsāyām ānupalabdher yad abhāvaprayukto' syābhāvaḥ samprati tadbhāvaprayuktaḥ prāg apy asya bhāva iti sidhyati–Kā*, p. 320.

2. Uddyotakara points out in his *Nyāya-vārttika* (p. 50) that *avinābhāva* cannot signify the relation of cause and effect, because smoke does not reside in fire or fire in smoke, for each of these resides in its own (material) cause. (As Vācaspati says, only material causation is considered here because the other two kinds of causation are not cases of inseparable connection). Uddyotakara contends that what is inferred from a particular smoke is that the smoke has fire as its property or fiery smoke.

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And inference would prove fruitless when the cause is not determined. And the mere suspicion that the ash may give rise to smoke depending on fire, can not itself be a determination of causality, for they are opposed in nature, the former being of the nature of doubt. And the negation of that (i. e. ash) can be done only by its own examination, not by the examination of another, so there is no ground for such silly talk. The opponent again argues that since even then the ascertainment that fire is the cause not being justifiable, the position is no better. The rejoinder is that fire alone is not the cause, since another also is not excluded and fuel also is in reality a cause. And it may be urged that there need not necessarily be a cause, for smoke which is not produced is also quite possible. This contention is not proper as the three-fold exclusion is established as follows:

When the word 'dahana' signifies the apparatus indicated by it, then by 'sa eva' connection with another is excluded (*anya-yoga-vyavaccheda*). But when it signifies the substance 'dahana', then if its being the cause is its capability then 'it is the cause only, (*kāraṇam eva*) signifies exclusion of non-connection (*ayogavyaccheda*). If it signifies the act only, even then since it does exist (*bhavaty eva*), it signifies exclusion of absolute non-connection (*atyantāyoga-vyavaccheda*). This operation of this extent is possible only in the case of the three-fold perception and non-perception, so in this respect Bhaṭṭa Arcaṭa's exposition alone is proper. The Vārttikakāra also seems to be of the same view as can be seen from the statement that the pot is made by the potter, ashes by fire, and wound, etc. by weapon, etc.

One may question that if ashes are alike the effect, why fire is not inferred from ashes as from smoke. The answer is that place, time, etc. also have to be considered. To wit, some effects (e. g. pot) require the cause (e. g. potter) only for their origination, whereas others (e. g. smoke) require the presence of the cause (e. g. fire) for their persistence and sustenance in view of the time-factor, etc. Hence, from pot, ashes, etc. which stand in expectancy of another only in respect of their origination, and hence are not in need of another for their continuity, only past time of the proximity of cause can be inferred and not the present. That is to say, we can only say that a potter must have been there in the past who made the pot, but we cannot say that he is existent in the present; and so there will not be confusion of activity, etc. (– that is to say, the two probans ashes and smoke will lead to the inference of fire differently, one helping us to infer fire in the past and the other, fire of the present). From the latter smoke, light, etc. which are devoid of continuity dependent or not dependent upon a wick and which are not dependent on another for the cutting off of their continuum, since that occurs on account of the failure of the substrate cause, the present time of the proximity of cause is inferred. Thus there is no difficulty. Keeping this in view the

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attempt of Dharmottara to resort to the last two non-perceptions may even prove successful. Still the order of five does not hold good, since non-perception preceded by perception does not require the help of another (– that is the second set of three cognitions only will suffice). So it is better to accept the set of three cognitions as determining causality.

Before we discuss the stand-points of Dharmottara and Jñānaśrīmitra, we may bear in mind that both presuppose a preliminary procedure. What is to be determined is the cause of an occurrence happening in circumstances and conditions that are fairly familiar. Nothing can be the cause of an effect which is absent when the effect occurs; and nothing can be the cause of a given effect which is present when the effect fails to occur in spite of other sufficient conditions being present. We instinctively (or through our common sense) regard certain factors as relevant to the production of the said effect. Consequently, our process of investigation does not become in practice as long-drawn as one may apprehend, though it is quite likely that factors which we regard as irrelevant may sometimes prove to be really relevant. As we proved to investigate, the relevant factors must be varied one at a time. The circumstances regarded as irrelevant should be varied as much as possible to test whether they are really irrelevant. And utmost care should be taken to see that no unnoticed factor that may be really relevant is newly introduced. Such a procedure is possible on the basis of a considerable knowledge with regard to the relevant data.

Presupposing this much procedure, Dharmottara and Jñānaśrīmitra have prescribed their respective methods of five or three cases of perception and non-perception. Dharmottara is more cautious of the two, and believes in rechecking the conclusion once arrived at. One notices that in a given set of circumstances, smoke is absent. Now, if fire which appeals to us as a relevant factor is introduced into that situation, smoke occurs. This can lead us to the conclusion that fire is causally connected with smoke. But yet our idea of the association of the two is quite raw and even vague and needs further proof. And it is quite likely that another relevant factor may have crept in unnoticed, whereas we on the strength of our perception are associating smoke with fire, as we have the perception of smoke in the wake of the perception of fire. So it is advisable to re-check our conclusion. With this in view, we withdraw the factor of fire from the complex situation, and we find that immediately smoke also withdraws. This further definitely ascertains that fire is causally connected with smoke.

Jñānaśrīmitra, on the other hand, expects the investigator to be more alert and more confidently in the know of the set of circumstances. His stand is that once we have observed that on fire being introduced in the given

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set of circumstances, smoke occurs, there is no need for further inquiry, for if one goes on doubting the process would be endless. Or, we may proceed differently. After seeing fire and smoke together, we may eliminate fire from the situation, and if smoke withdraws as a result of this, we can conclude that fire is causally related to smoke. For that is the cause at whose presence the effect occurs, and at whose removal the effect disappears. Any further investigation is superfluous. And if the investigator is unwary enough to withdraw or introduce more than one thing, he will not be able to ascertain as to consequent to whose withdrawal, the withdrawal of smoke followed or consequent to whose introduction, smoke occurred. The successful employment of this method depends upon the care with which the relevant factors have been analysed and the situation comprehended. It is difficult to be sure that the so-aceepted cause (e. g. fire) alone has been introduced into, or withdrawn from, the given situation. When it is possible to make this assumption then, as Jñānaśrīmitra contends, a single experiment consisting of a complex of three cases of perception and non-perception, performed in accordance with this principle, yields an indubitable result.[1]

1 See Chapter XVII on 'Principles of Causal Determination', in *A Modern Introduction to Logic* by L. S. Stebbing (Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1942).

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PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

'IDENTIFICATION OF A FEW ŚĀSTRAS MENTIONED IN THE JAINA SŪTRAS'

By

ANANTALAL THAKUR, DARBHANGA

The *Nandisūtra* and the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* mention a number of heretic Śāstras called *micchasutam* : से किं तं मिच्छसुतं? मिच्छसुतं जं इमं अण्णाणिएहिं मिच्छदिट्ठिएहिं सच्छन्दबुद्धिमतिवियप्पियं। तं जहा भारहं रामायणं हम्मीमासुरक्खं कोडल्लयं सगभद्दियाओ खोडमुहं कप्पासियं नामसुहुमं कणगसत्तरी वइसेसियं बुद्धवयणं वेसितं काविलं लोगायतं सट्ठितंतं माढरं पुराणं वागरणं णाडगादी अहवा बावत्तरि कलाओ चत्तारि य वेदा संगोवंगा॥ *Nandisūtram* with *Cūrṇi*, p. 49. The Cūrṇi of Jinadāsagaṇi-mahattara does not help us to identify these terms and avoids the task by saying तच्च भारधादि याव चत्तारि य वेदा संगोवंगा। सव्वे ते लोगसिद्धा। लोगतो चेवेतेसिं सरूवं जाणिदव्वं.

Haribhadra's *Vṛtti* also is of no help. It adds भारतमित्यादि सूत्रसिद्धं यावत् चत्वारश्च वेदाः सांगोपाङ्गाः। It goes without saying that at one time these Śāstras were well-known and needed no introduction. But in course of time many of them went into oblivion and as a consequence it became difficult to know about their nature. In a few cases the readings also became vitiated.

We shall in the following pages try to collect as much information as is possible.

The texts or Śāstras mentioned can be divided into three sub-classes.

I. Of these the first sub-class consists of twelve items :

1. *Bhāraha* : It is the original *Bhārata* also called *Jaya* composed by Vedavyāsa giving the account of the great Kurukṣetra war. The present *Mahābhārata* gives additional passages integrated with the original text at the Court of Janamejaya by Vaiśampāyana and at Naimiṣāraṇya by Sauti Ugraśravas. Sometimes the term Bhārata also stands for the *Mahābhārata*. In all probability the *Nandisūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra* take it in the latter sense.

2. *Rāmāyaṇa* : The well-known epic of Vālmīkin.

3. *Koḍallayam* must have been used for the *Arthaśāstra* of Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya. The Prakrit title seems to support the reading Kauṭaya used in the southern texts of the *Arthaśāstra*.

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4. *Kappāsiyam* is identical with the Vedic *Kalpasūtrās*.

5. *Namasuhumam*: It has a variant in *Nāgasuhuma* which might have been a wrong substitute for *Nāyasuhuma* (*sūkṣmo Nyāyaḥ* in Sanskrit). It, therefore, seems to mean the delicate science of Logic.

6. *Vaisesiyam* stands for the well-known *Vaiśeṣikadarśana* propounded by Kaṇāda.

7. *Buddhavayana* is to be identified with the Pali *Piṭakas* of the Buddhists.

8. *Kavila* must have stood for the *Sāṁkhyadarśana* propounded by Kapila.

9. *Purāṇa* in singular stands for the Purāṇa literature in general.

10. *Vāgarana* possibly stands for philosophy of grammar as the Jainas have no ill-will against the Science of Grammar.

11. *Nāḍaga* stands for the dramas and possibly includes dramaturgy.

12. *Cattāri Vedā saṅgovaṅgā* stand for the four Vedas along with the six Aṅgas (i.e. *Śikṣā*–the science of Pronunciation *Kalpasūtras* describing the Vedic rituals, *Vyākaraṇam*–Grammar, *Niruktam* the science of etymology, *Chandas* the science of Metrics and *Jyotiṣa*–the science of Astronomy) and the four Upāṅgas (i.e. Purāṇa–Nyāya–Mīmāṁsā and Dharmaśāstra).

The several repetitions in the list indicate that the authors of the sūtras concerned had only superficial knowledge of the subjects.

II. In the second category we put the texts or śāstras which though lost have references or descriptions in known texts.

1. *Khoḍamuham*—Muni Śrī Jinavijayaji's collection presents *Ghoḍagamuha*, *Ghoḍayasūtra*, *Ghoḍayasaha* and *Ghoḍayasuya* as variants of this śāstra. Among them *Ghoḍagamuha* (Skt. *Ghoṭakamukha*) seems to be the proper reading. The *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana refers to one Ācārya named Ghoṭakamukha. He was the author of *Kanyāsamprayuktaka* Section of the science of Erotics. (cf. घोटकमुखः कन्यासंप्रयुक्तकम् —*Kāmaśāstra* I,i,12 .

2. *Kaṇagasattari* is the *Kanakasaptati* or the *Suvarṇasaptati* by which name Īśvarakṛṣṇa's *Sāṁkhyakārikā* is meant.

3. *Vesita* has a variant in Tesiam and another in Terasiam. The last points out to the system of Rohagupta (A.D. 17) who was known as Sadutūka (Vide his account in the *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* of Jinabhadrakṣamāśramaṇa–YVJ granthamālā, pp. 981–1002). But *Vesita* seems to stand for *Vesiya* (Skt. *Vaiśikam*—Harlotry.) The *Mṛcchakaṭikam* and the *Aṅgavijjā* (pp.16–167) among other texts refer to it. The *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana (I.i.10) mentions Dattaka as its author.

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4. *Logāyata* is identical with the Cārvākaśāstra of which only one text viz., the *Tattopaplavasiṁha* of Bhaṭṭa Jayarāśi has come down to us.

5. *Satthitantam* — stands for the lost Sāṁkhya work on which the work of Īśvarakṛṣṇa is based.

6. *Māḍharam*—Māṭhara is associated with a lost commentary on the Sāṁkhya. He must be different from the author of the modern *Māṭharavṛtti*. There was, however, an ancient Sāṁkhya author Mādhava by name who is called Sāṁkhyanāśaka presumably for the antagonism to the prevailing Sāṁkhya views. He is referred to in the *Vigrahavyāvartanīvyākhyā* by Vasubandhu and in the *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* by Bhāsarvajña.

7. *Vavattari Kalāo* –The lists of Kalās are available in various texts among which the *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana seems to be the oldest. The orthodox texts give lists of sixty-four Kalās whereas the Jaina lists present seventy-two. Daṇḍin mentions a *Kalāpariccheda* which might have been a chapter to his *Kāvyādarśa*. The list of books in the Library of Kavīndrācārya shows that there were sixty-four treatises on the Kalās. Kṣemendra's *Kalāvilāsa* is alone extant besides the numerous lists of Kalās in Hindu and Jain Literature.

III. There are two terms *Hambhīmāsurakkham* and *Sagabhaddiyao* which are not only lost but hardly have any accounts presented in any known text.

Hambhīmāsurakkham has been called a Sāstra on Bhīmāsua, which is apparently wrong. It has several variants recorded in Muni Śri Puṇyavijayaji's critical edition of the *Nandisūtra*. They are Hambhīmāsurukkham, Dambhīmasurukkham and Mimasurukkham.

Muniji quotes here *Bhambhīyāmāsurukkhe māḍhara koḍilladaṇḍanītisu*– from the *Vyavahārasūtra*, III.p. 132, and remarks that in old manuscripts of the *Vyavahārabhāṣya* Hambhīmāsurakkham is met with. Malayagiri is said to explain the term as *Bhambhyām asuvṛkṣe Māḍhare nītiśāstre Kauṭilyapraṇīteṣu ca daṇḍanītiṣu ye kuśalā iti gaṇyate. Vyavahāra* III. p. 132. Here Māḍhara seems to be called a Nītiśāstra work which is not supported by any other source. Muniji further quotes the *Gommatasāra*, Jīvakāṇḍa in this connection: *abhīyamāsurukkham bhāraharāmāyaṇādi upaesā tuccha asāhanīyā suya annānamti namventi*. The Hindi translation quoted gives Caurasāstra and Hiṁsāśāstra for ābhīyamāsurakkham.

The list of Vidyās and śāstras as quoted from the *Lalitavistarā* possibly suggests the original reading of the first part of the expression which is divided into *āmbhirye* and *āsurye*. The variants of the *Nandisūtra* when compared with the *Vyavahārasūtra* will show that the second syllable in the original was *bhī*. The first as suggested by the *Lalitavistarā* might be *āṁ*,

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The third in the *Lalitavistarā* is 'rye' which seems to be a mistake for 'Ye'. The word in the *Lalitavistarā* is in the locative while in others it is either in nominative or accusative. We know that there were the Āmbhīyas, a class of Cārvākas at the time of Kauṭilya who refers to them in the *Arthaśāstra*: सत्रिणामेकश्चैनं मृगया द्यूतमद्यस्त्रीभिः प्रलोभयेत्– पितरि विक्रम्य राज्यं गृहाणेति । तदन्यः सत्री प्रतिषेधयेत्– इत्याम्भीयाः *Arthaśāstra* Chowkhamba, p.67. Again we find one Āmbhī representing the Cārvāka system in Jayantabhaṭṭa's *Āgamaḍambaranāṭaka*. Now Āmbhīyaṁ in *Nandisūtra* and *Anuyogadvārasūtra* almost certainly points out to the Śāstra of the Āmbhīs. That there was *ām* as the first syllable is suggested by the above quoted reading of the *Gommatasāra*. The nasal is preserved in many other sources.

Āsurukkham has been replaced in the *Lalitavistarā* by 'āsurya' meaning the Śāstra of the Asuras. But Māsurāksam seems to be a better reading. Masurākasa had a text on Nītiśāstra to his credit. A Tibetan version of it is still extant[1]. The whole expression should therefore be read as *āmbhīyam māsurāksam* in which case the meaning will not be far-fetched and the amendments in the readings also will be based on the available materials.

Sagabhaddiyao has several variants–sayabha°, Saddabha°, Sagadabha° etc. Some manuscripts of the *Anuyogadvārasūtra* are said to be Saṅgabha° and Satabha°. But none of these helps us to identify the śāstra in question.

The Nirnayasagar Press edition of the *Nandisūtra* adds भायवं पायञ्जली पुस्सदेवयं लेहं गणियं सउणअं between वागरणं and णाडगादी. Here *Bhāyavam* points to a Bhāgavata text possibly the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*. *Pāyañjali* also seems to refer to the *Pātañjalayogaśūtra*. *Pussadevayam* seems to be equivalent to the Śāstra giving the details about the Puṣyā bath described in the *Kālikāpurāṇa*, LXXXVI. *Leha* may be identical with the art of calligraphy or geometry. *Gaṇiyam* is mathematics. cf. गणियं जाणइ गणिया — *Anuyogadvārasūtra*, *saunaruam* — is knowledge of the meaning of the language of birds. It is referred to him Nāya I. 1; Jām,2ṭī. page 137.

1. It has been reconstructed in Sanskrit by Prof. Sunitikumar Pathak and published by the Visvabhārati, Shantiniketan.

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INFLUENCE OF EARLIER WORKS ON THE KUVALAYAMĀLĀ[1]

By

A. N. UPADHYE, KOLHAPUR

In my paper, 'Works and Authors referred to in the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri,' submitted to the Prākrit and Jainism Section at the Gauhati Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, it was shown by me how Uddyotana respectfully refers to a number of earlier authors and works. He is widely read, and consequently he has enriched his composition with a vast range of information and a variety of contexts many of which are inherited from earlier works, consciously or sub-consciously.

Uddyotana's reference to *Taraṅgavaī* with an adjective *cakkāya-juvala-suhayā* has in view the central idea of that romance which gives the biography of a beautiful nun, Taraṅgavatī by name, more or less a contemporary of Mahāvīra. The originnl work of Pādalipta with plenty of Deśī-vacanas is no more available; but what we possess today is only a digest in Prākrit, (*Saṁkhitta-*) *Taraṅgavaī*, also called *Taraṅgalolā*, in 1642 Prākrit stanzas[2]. The concluding verse yields no satisfactory meaning: the author may be Nemicandra (or his pupil Jasa or Yaśas, in case he is not only copying it for his teacher), the pupil of Vīrabhadra. Comparing the *Kuvalayamālā* (*Km*) with the *Taraṅgalolā* (*T*), Uddyotana directly or indirectly owes some contexts to Pādalipta. The motif of *jātismaraṇa* plays an important role in *T* which further illustrates that the law of Karman is inviolable and that none escapes the consequences of one's own thoughts, words and acts, and that renunciation is the only panacea against all the ills of Saṁsāra. These items are found in plenty in *Km* as well. Both are *Dharma-kathās*, though *Km* on account of its varied contexts, has assumed the form of *saṁkīrṇa-kathā*. Princes and girls from distinguished families are trained in various Kalās (*T* i.-17; *Km* 22. 1–10). The thoughts of onlookers, while Taraṅgavatī was passing

1. Edited by me, Singhi Jain Series 45, Bombay 1959.

2. E. LEUMANN: *Die Nonne, Traṅgalolā* (from Mss.), Translated into German, Zeitschrift fur Buddhismus, III, pp., 193ff,. 272ff., Munchen 1921. N. I. PATEL: LEUMANN's German Essay Translated into Gujarāti and included as a Supplement in the *Jaina Sāhitya Saṁśodhaka*, II. 2, Poona 1924. The Text in Prākrit is published in the Śrī-Nemivijñāna-Granthamālā, No. 9, Surat 1944. Though said to be based on five Mss, the text presented is far from satisfactory. A critical edition of this beautiful romance is an urgent desideratum. Some mature Prākrit scholar has to undertake it.

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by the road in a chariot, have close resemblance with a similar scene in *Km* (182.4ff.). The religious and cultural background is identical in both *T* and *Km*; and the tendency to introduce religious details is patent in both the texts (*T* 83.18 f.; *Km* 142.21 f.).

The effects of *pūrva-kṛtakarman* are often elaborated (*T* 81.79 f.; *Km* 129.12 etc.). Taraṅgavatī escaping with her spouse reminds us of Suvarṇadevā going out with prince Tosala, though the circumstances are somewhat different. A Śabara chief looting the caravan and retiring to his *pallī* is referred to in both the texts; and so also therein figures the deity Kātyāyanī. Relatives dissuading one from taking to renunciation are introduced in both the works. That a woman is not to be taken into confidence is a common idea in both (*T* 54, *Km*. 364). Some striking points of difference in both the works may as well be noted. The *T* is essentially a *mānuṣī kathā* with a few characters introduced; while *Km* is *divya-mānuṣī kathā*, and the number of its characters is too large to be easily managed. The *T* has a compactness; and its descriptions are so worldly, natural and catching that it is these which appear to have made *T* so memorable. Uddyotana's canvas is vast; and his descriptions are grafted as pieces of style and beauty, at times even in a detachable manner. The geographical back-ground of *Km* is far wider than that in *T*. As the original *T* is no more available, verbal agreements here and there carry no special significance.

Uddyotana refers to the *Kādambarī* (*K*) of Bāṇa[1] whose well expressed style is complimented for its grace. He imitates Bāṇa in his descriptions of town etc. loading them with similes and *śleṣa*. The description of Vinīta in *Km* (§14) resembles that of Ujjayanī in *K*. The *pratihārī* ushering in Śabarasenāpati in *Km* (§20) reminds one of the entry of Cāṇḍāla-kanyakā in *K*; and even some expressions are common. Uddyotana's details at *Km* 27. lines 30f. remind one of Bāṇa's pattern of description of the Vindhya: *kahiṁ* here corresponds to Bāṇa's *kvacit*, and even some expressions are common to both. The context in *Km* at 127.7 f. resembles the parrot episode in *K*; and there is close agreement in some words as well.

Uddyotana is Dākṣiṇya-cihna just as Vimala, the author of the *Paümacariya* (*P*)[2] is Vimalāṅka; and he has great praise for Vimala's sweet Prākrit

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1. P. Peterson, Bombay 1833, and subsequent Reprints and revised editions. P. M. Upadhye : Influence of Vimalasūri's Paümacariya and Bāṇa's Kādambarī on Uddyotanasūri's Kuvalayamālā, *J.O.I.*, XVI.4, Baroda 1967. Still there is scope for a more detailed comparative study in this regard.

2. Edited by H. Jacobi, Bhavnagar 1914. Lately published in the *Prākrit Text Society*, No. 6, Part I, Varanasi 1962, with Hindi Translation and an Introduction in English by Dr. V. M. Kulkarni. A good deal is being written on this work.

(*Continued on next page*)

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style and clarity of meaning. Narration of earlier lives and Jātismaraṇa are common to both. Sections on Jaina dogmatical topics are found in both. The conventional *śakunas* are common to both (*P* 94. 35 f.; *Km* 184.10 f.). Different acts lead to different grades of existence (*P* 14; *Km* 185.21 f.) Certain episodes and tales closely resemble in both the works. The context of Kuvalayacandra concealing himself in the temple of Ṛṣabha and Kanakaprabhā and party worshipping the Jina (*Km* §200) very much resembles the one in *P* where Janaka hides himself and Candragati offers the Pūjā (28.44 f.). It is interesting that both Kuvalayacandra and Janaka were flown by a miraculous horse. Certain descriptions in both the works show resemblance and even common ideas and expressions : description of Vimāna (*P* 14.89 & *Km* 92.21 f.); of *hemanta* (*P* 31.42 f. & *Km* 169.19 f.); of the forest with a long Daṇḍaka metre (*P* 53.79-80 & *Km* 28.11 f.); of battle (*P* 53.107 & *Km* 10.7 f. rather short) etc. Both the authors have much traditional knowledge, more or less common; and onomatopoetic expressions are used by both.

Uddyotana refers to Jaḍiya(=Jaḍila) and his *Varāṅgacarita* which is available in print[1] and is specifically called a *dharma-kathā*. The *Varāṅgacarita* (*V*) and *Kuvalayamālā* (*km*) have a number of common points. The story in both starts in the metropolis Viṇītā. The heroes in both, Varāṅga and Kuvalayacandra, are carried away into wilderness by a horse (though the antecedents of the event are different with them). What Varadatta preaches to Dharmasena (*V* v–ix) runs quite parallel to what Dharmanandana discourses to Purandaradatta (*km* §§ 75–84). If Varāṅga inquires about *samyaktva* and *mithyātva*(*V* xi), the minister wants to know about the causes etc., of *saṁsāra* (*Km* §86 f.). Both Varāṅga and Purandaradatta (*V* xi, *Km* 91.21–2) accept the vows of a Śrāvaka. Varāṅga as well as Kuvalayacandra (*V* ivx, *Km* 135.27 f.) fight the Bhillas and oblige a merchant. The lamentations of the parents etc. consequent on the prince being carried away by the horse are expressed in similar terms (*V* xv, *Km* 155.21 f.). Both the heroes enjoy rich pleasures on their return to the capital. Both *V* and *Km* are

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P. M. Upadhye : The Sect of Vimalasūri, *Oriental Thought*, pp.17–27 ; Some Glimpses of the Society and Culture as reflected in the PC, *J, of the Uni. of Bombay*. XXX.2, pp.81–105 Bombay 1961 ; Paūmacariya and Padmapurāṇa, *Ibid.* XXXI.2, Bombay 1962; Geography Known to the Paūmacariya, pp. 46–51, *J.O.I.*, XIV.1. Baroda 1964 ; Maxims and Pithy Sayings in the Paūmacariya, *J. of the Uni. of Bombay*, XXXII–XXXIII,2, pp. 165–76, Bombay 1963. K. R. Chandra : New Light on the Date of PC, also Sources of the Rāma-Story of PC, *J.O.I.*, XIII. 4, pp. 113–47 and XIV. 2, pp. 378–86, Baroda 1963–64.

1. A. N. Upadhye : Jaṭā-Siṁhanandi's *Varāṅgacarita*, Manikachandra D Jaina Granthamala, No. 40, Bombay 1938.

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basically *dharma-kathās* (though the latter has assumed the form of a *saṁkīrṇa-kathā*), and as such they are impregnated with Jaina dogmatical discourses and religious sermons. The topics tabulated in the Introductions of both (*V* pp.29 f. and *Km* pp.68 f.) bear close similarity; and in different contexts also, they possess dogmatical details which deserve mutual comparison.

Though there is so much similarity between *V* and *Km*, some striking differences deserve to be noted. Prince Varāṅga reminds us of Rāma both of whom have to leave home on account of the jealousy of the step-mother; and his consequent sufferings are a clear testimony of the law of Karma at which the author demonstrates to be supreme. But after all it is the tale of one life only unlike the journey of five souls in *Km*, over a number of births. The *V* has a simple thread of the story, while in the *Km* it is a highly complicated network in which a number of other episodes are interwoven. If *V* is a *dharma-kathā* following the pattern of a *mahākāvya* in Sanskrit, the *Km* is a narrative mosaic of great magnitude, apparently Campū in form, but a veritable *kathā-bandha* or *-prabandha* of the *saṁkīrṇa* type, in Prākrit with touches of different dialects given here and there out of curiosity and for popularity.

Uddyotana looks upon Haribhadra as his Guru in Jaina (*samaya-saya*) scriptures as well as in *yukti-śāstra* or *pramāṇa-and-Nyāya*. He is aware of extensive contributions of Haribhadra in various branches of learning, and refers to his *Samarāiccakahā* specifically. It is necessary, therefore, that the *Samarāiccakahā* (*Sk*)[1] of Haribhadra (H) and *Kuvalayamālā* (*Km*) of Uddyotana (U) are studied side by side. H refers to three *kathā-vastus* and four kinds of *kathās* (*Sk* 2–3) with their details. His work is a *dharma-kathā* with *divya-mānuṣa vastu*. U presumes all this and gives some further types of *dharma-kathā*: his *Km* is, however, *saṁkīrṇa-dharmakathā*.

Rebirth accompanied by consequences of one's own Karmas is the back-bone of the tales in both *Sk* and *Km*. If the *Taraṅgalolā*, as observed by JACOBI, 'Karma, remembrance of a previous birth and its consequences etc. serve to motivate the story, in the *Samarāiccakahā* the story serves to illustrate those ideas and to impress the hearer with certain moral principles'. Uddyotana follows Haribhadra in whose *Sk* the idea of retribution underlies the main story and in a number of sub-stories. It is the *nidāna*, remunerative hankering, of Agniśarman, through intense hatred, takes revenge on Guṇasena in different births. These two souls pass through nine births: the hereditary revenge manifests through anger (*krodha*), deceit (*māyā*), greed or

1. H. JACOBI: *Samarāiccakahā*, B.I., No. 169. Calcutta 1926. References are to pages and lines of this edition.

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avarice (*lobha*) etc. in different births. If there are two souls, one urged by *nidāna* and the other suffering consequently, in the *Sk*; there are five souls suffering the consequences of *krodha* etc. and passing through a series of births, meeting here and there till they reach Liberation, in *Km*. 'Both H and U have not missed any opportunity to stuff their works with sub-tales, *dṛṣṭāntas*, parallel episodes etc. Both the works are 'evidently intended to illustrate the evil consequences of vices, sins and all transgressions of the Jaina code of morals, and to warn the reader or hearer of it against carelessness in conduct'; and in this sense both are eminently *dharma-kathās*.

The love-presents and the metrical message of *Kuvalayamālā* (*Km* §259) remind us of those of *Kusumāvali* (*Sk* 72) and the *dvipadī* verse has some striking common words. Here and there some verses have common expressions: the one under reference (*Sk* 115.1–2 & *Km* 96.1) is possibly an inherited traditional *gāthā*. Though in a different context, the idea of *danta-vīṇā* is found in both the works (*Sk* 180.7–8; *Km* 169.21). The descriptions are generally introduced with phrases like *avi ya, taṁ ca kerisaṁ* etc., and those of seasons and scenes are often in a heavy style in both the works (vide *śarad*, *Sk* 195–6; *grīṣma*, *Km* 113.10 f.). A context of putting questions with answers concealed in them in a subtle manner is found in both the works (*Sk* 611,*Km* 175.18 f.). The *Sk* (616.3 f.) has a *gūḍha-cauttha goṭṭhī* which corresponds to what is found at *Km* 176.10 f. Now and then, especially in descriptions, common ideas are found in both the works.

Religious back-ground is the same in *Sk* and *Km*. H presents it uniformly in a serious and classical form, but U might often do so even in a light vein. The Samavasaraṇa is described in both the works (*Sk* 139 f., 644 f.; *Km* § 178); and some expressions are inherited from the canon. Dharma consisting of *dāna, śīla, tapas* and *bhāvanā* is mentioned by both (*Sk* 154.9 f.; *Km* 3.2 f.). The external characteristics of *samyaktva* are given in both the works (*Sk* 48–9, *Km* § 337). If H describes the birth of a god in short (*Sk* 56–7), U gives elaborate details (*Km* §§ 172 f.). In *Sk* (488 f.) a friend of the earlier birth comes to enlighten and put the other on the right track: this, of course, is the very contract between the five souls whose biographies are narrated in *Km*. There is a context of enlightenment by seeing some memento, ear-rings in *Sk* (477. 15) but jewel-images in *Km* (102. 29). Memory of earlier life, often given by a Kevalin, and confusion of relations in the birth are seen in both the works (*Sk* 476.7 f. & *Km*. 93.34 f., 79.12). A contemporary Tīrthakara in Videha is consulted in *Sk* (473.16 f.), so also in *Km*, which graphically describes the conditions in that area (243,13 f.). The dīkṣā ceremony described in *Sk* (181.16 f.) deserves to be compared with that in *Km* (208.30 f.) and elsewhere. What Śikhikumāra observes

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about inescapable Death (*Sk* 186) is very close to what Ratnamukuṭa has realised in his attempt to save the butterfly from death (*Km* § 230). Religious discourses on the duties of laymen and monks (*Sk* 48–49, *Km* 91.21 f.) are usual in both the works.

Certain characters, contexts and motifs in *Km* remind the reader of similar ones in *Sk*. Māyāditya pushing Sthāṇu into the well (*Km* 61.21) has his counterpart in Anahaka doing the same for Candrasāra (*Sk* 99). Lobhadeva pushing down Bhadra on high sea (*Km* 67.15 f.) is something like Droṇaka pushing down Vīradeva from a jutty (*Sk* 105: the word ṇijjūhaga occurs in both the contexts). A confused treacherous friend, Dhanadeva, figures in Amaragupta's tale (*Sk* 104) and resembles Māyāditya (*Km* 58.22 f.). Dhana and Sāgaradatta are similar characters who want to give *dāna* from the wealth earned on personal initiative and not out of ancestral property: the idea is expressed almost alike in both the works (*Sk* 195.15–6, see also 409.9 f.; *Km* 103.23). Though the contexts are somewhat different, a girl is hanging herself for the sake of her lover (*Sk* 346.12 f.; *Km* 53.6–9, 107.10 f.). In *Sk* (469.17 f.) a monk is made to dance, while a monk enacts *rāsa-naccaṇa* in *Km* (4.25 f.) to enlighten a band of robbers. The details of the attack of Śabaras in both the texts have some common words (*Sk* 537.4 f., *Km* 135.27f.) apart from the similarity of the context. The idea of a horse carrying the prince into the forest is common to both the texts (*Sk* 671.11 f. *Km* § 61).

The religious, social and cultural back-ground in *Sk* and *Km* is nearly the same. In the details about marriage, of a party of merchants preparing for land or sea travel, the procession of a prince entering the metropolis etc. there is much in common both with H and U.

Taking an over-all view certain areas of difference are striking. H is more self-confident in narrating his tales: that may be the reason why he does not introduce the *sajjana–durjana* topic, and why he does not make any reference to earlier authors and works. His build-up and narration of stories have a classical back-ground and training; while U is popular in taste and aiming at wider appeal. The gāthās of H are metrically perfect, but they do not possess the liquidity, smoothness and ring of those of U with whom it has a natural outflow as in the mouth of a gifted singer. Both H and U are contemporaries. The language of H, however, is more learned in its make-up and style, while the expression of U has a popular character, showing forms, vocabulary, expressions and stylistic features drawn from Apabhraṁśa and Deśī stock. Haribhadra shows maturity and serious temper, while U adds a number of contexts in a light tone and even tries to justify their presence in a *dharma–kathā*. The wider and popular appeal of *Km* is further apparent from

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its miraculous, erotic and jocular touches which are not very much favoured by H. Though U has received lessons in Jainism and Pramāṇa-Nyāya from H, he outshines his teacher in his liquid gāthās and catching contexts with which he has embellished his Prabandha.

In many a context in *Km* we find ideas and expressions echoed from the canonical texts, Niryuktis, Smṛtis and from classical works like the *Śākuntalam* etc. as seen here and there.

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THE SAṀSĀRAMOCAKAS—A FORGOTTEN RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

By

ARUNDHATI CHAKRAVARTI

India has produced a number of religious schools having distinct philosophical and social outlook. Some of them are well-known and fortunate enough to have a comprehensive literature and unbroken continuity upto the present time. But there were others who exerted less influence on the contemporary society and have been extinct having little or no account of themselves behind them. We propose to throw some light on the Saṁsāramocakas who come in the second category.

The Saṁsāramocakas have been referred to and criticised in several Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina works. But nowhere do we get an exhaustive treatment of them. The term Saṁsāramocaka seems to point to a religious sect which advocated animal sacrifice with a view to make the victims free from worldly sufferings. We hear that they had their religious texts also. Considering the data, however meagre, available in texts belonging to different periods and different parts of the country, it may be presumed that they had acquired considerable importance in the country. But no manuscript of their *āgama* has come to light nor any passage therefrom has been quoted in other texts. The little that we learn about them comes from their adversaries who might be uncharitable enough to twist their picture.

Among the Vedic Hindus we find Medhātithi to make a casual reference to Saṁsāramocakas in the former's commentary on the *Manusaṁhitā*, II. 6. It runs as हिंसा चेद् धर्म उच्यते संसारमोचकादिभिः, सा चात्र प्रत्यक्षतः प्रतिषिद्धा। This shows that the Saṁsāramocakas were advocates of animal sacrifice for the attainment of religious merit. But as Medhātithi refutes them they must have been different from the Vedic sacrificers whose actions find vigourous support from this author.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika authors are also found apathetic towards this sect and their *āgama*. Jayantabhaṭṭa of Kashmir, a minister of King Śaṅkaravarman [885–902 A.D.] was liberal enough to accept the authority of all the *āgamas* barring of course, the newly improvised ones including that of the Nīlāmbaras[1]. We find him reluctant to accept the religious text or

1. Cf. *Nyāyamañjarī*, Chowkhamba edn. & the *Āgamaḍambaranāṭaka*, Act IV.

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texts of this school as authoritative on the ground that their activities are guided by erroneous beliefs:

संसारमोचकाः पापाः प्राणिहिंसापरायणाः ।
मोहप्रवृत्ता एवेति न प्रमाणं तदागमः ॥

Nyāyamañjarī, Chowkhamba edn, p. 242.

It may be inferred that Jayanta had some first-hand knowledge about this sect having prevalence in the then Kashmir. They are called sinful (*-pāpāḥ*) and guided by delusion (*mohapravṛttāḥ*). Jayanta further shows that the adherents of this school were despised by the cultured people who took baths when touched by the former. Again Jayanta knew of no social relation between them and the Buddhists:

संसारमोचकं स्पृष्ट्वा शिष्टाः स्नान्ति सवाससः ।
बौद्धैरपि सहैतेषां व्यवहारो न कश्चन ॥

Ibid., p. 243.

Vācaspatimiśra is also found to refer to the *Āgama* of the Saṁsāramocakas along with those of the Buddhists, Bhinnakas and the Digambara Jainas (शाक्यभिन्नकदिगम्बरसंसारमोचकादीनामागमाः) in the *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, p. 566. It goes without saying that Vācaspati regarded none of these as authoritative.

Udayanācārya in the *Ātmatattvaviveka* makes a passing reference to the *āgama* of the Saṁsāramocakas in connection with his theory of validity of the Vedas. There are, according to him, some Buddhist and Jaina works such as those of Jinendra and Jagadindra which are universally respected because of their non-sectarian character. But this does not hold good with regard to the sectarian *āgamas*. The Grammarians uphold the Vedas but not the *Āgama* of the Saṁsāramocakas व्याकरणादीनि तावत् सर्वैरभ्युपगतार्थानि, वेदा अपि तैः पालनीया भवन्तु । त एवेति तु कुतः संसारमोचकागमोऽपि तत्पालनीयः किं न स्यात्– *Ātmatattvaviveka*, Bibl. Ind., p. 890. In this connection Śaṅkaramiśra in the *Ātmatattvavivekakalpalatā* shows that the Saṁsāramocakas used terms like *pañcaskandhanamaskāra*, *apoha* etc. prevalent among the Buddhists. It is doubtful if Śaṅkara had any direct knowledge about this sect. But in connection with the exposition of sentence अलसभीरुमिर्दुःखमयजात्यकर्मविद्वेषात् [सुगताद्यागमपरिग्रहः] उदुम्बरगर्तीयतन्तुवायवत् *Ātmatattvaviveka*, Bibl. Ind. p. 907 [The idle and the timid people, like the weaver from Udumbaragarta accept the sectarian creed because of their apathy towards the caste duties,] he is found to add उदुम्बरगर्तो देशः । तन्तुवायः कुविन्दः । तेन आलस्येन वैदिकं कर्म त्यक्त्वा संसारमोचकागमोपदिष्टं कर्म परिगृहीतमित्यर्थः । *Ātmatattvavivekakalpa-*

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latā, p. 908. This Tantuvāya has been identified with Tantipā, the famous siddhācārya[1].

Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara in the *Nyāyakandalī* makes similar reference to the Saṁsāramocakas. He first refers to their Śāstra along with those of the Buddhists, Bhinnakas and Jainas (शाक्यभिन्नकनिर्ग्रन्थसंसारमोचकादिशास्त्राणि – *Nyāyakandalī*, VSS, p. 179). In the second case he refers to the Saṁsāramocakas along with Jainas (क्षपणकसंसारमोचकादिषु – *Ibid.*, p. 180). This shows that Śaṅkaramiśra's attempt at identification of the Saṁsāramocakas with the Buddhists does not stand.

The *Samantapāsādikā* of Buddhaghoṣa also clearly shows that Saṁsāramocakas were different from the Buddhists. It further adds that to a Saṁsāramocaka those that are alive are not free from saṁsāra while those that are dead are free from it (ये न मता ते संसारतो न मुत्ता, ये मता ते मुत्ता – *Samantapāsādikā*, Nalanda edn. Vol. II, p. 399).

Vācaspatimiśra in his *Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī* while commenting on the *Sāṁkhyakārikā* V points out that the *āpta* in the expression *āptaśrutir āptavacanaṁ tu* serves the purpose of eliminating the *āgamas* of the Buddhists, Bhinnakas, Jains and the Saṁsāramocakas from the list of valid *āgamas*. These according to Vācaspati are pseudo *āgamas* as their authors were not dependable authorities. Thus he reads : आप्तग्रहणेन चायुक्ताः शाक्यभिन्नकनिर्ग्रन्थकसंसारमोचकादीनामागमाभासाः परिहृता भवन्ति । *Sāṁkhyatattvakaumudī* on Verse V.

Here Bālarāma Udāsīna adds that the Saṁsāramocakas used to kill animals with the idea that animal suffering springs from the relation of the soul with the body. They add that the destruction of the body means the destruction of the soul also. This is comparable to the vanishing of the water with the destruction of the jar containing it. The Saṁsāramocakas are here called Cārvākas : संसारमोचका : हिंसापरायणा घटभङ्गे तदन्तर्वर्तिसलिलविलयवद् देहभङ्गे तदन्तर्गतजीवभङ्ग एव मोक्षः इत्येवं ब्रुवाणाश्चार्वाकविशेषाः । *Tattvakaumudīvyākhyā* .....p. 114. The account might have been handed down through authentic tradition or based upon the etymological meaning of the term as the school seems to be extinct long before the time of Bālarāma.

Bālarāma quotes the *Ślokavārttika* to say that animal sacrifice was regarded a virtue by the Saṁsāramocakas and others: (संसारमोचकादेश्च हिंसा पुण्यत्वसम्मता । *Ślokavārttika*, Sūtra V. Verse No. 5., Kāśī edn., p. 209). Here Pārthasārathi and Umbeka add nothing.

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1. Udayana's reference to some less-known Buddhist Ācāryas - *S. K. Bhuyan Com. Vol.* pp. 221—6.

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The Jaina authors preserve some more details about this school. Thus we hear from Malayagiri : एतेन संसारमोचकानां व्यापाद्योपकृतये दुःखितसत्त्वव्यापादनमुपदिशतामकुशलमार्गप्रवृत्तत्वमावेदितं द्रष्टव्यम्। यतस्ते एवमाहुः। यत् परिणामसुन्दरं तदापातकटुकमपि परेषामाधेयम्, यथा रोगोपशमनमौषधम्। परिणामसुन्दरं च दुःखितसत्त्वानां व्यापादनमिति। तथा हि कृमिकीटपतङ्गमशकलावकचटककुष्ठिकमहादरिद्रान्धपङ्ग्वादयो दुःखितजन्तवः पापकर्मोदयवशात् संसारसागरमभिप्लवन्ते। ततस्तेऽवश्यं तत्पापक्षपणाय परोपकरणैकरसिकमानसेन व्यापादनीयाः। तेषां हि व्यापादने महादुःखमतीवोपजायते। तीव्रदुःखवेदनाभिभववशाच्च प्राग्बद्धं पापकर्मोदीर्योदीर्यानुभवन्तः प्रतिक्षिपन्ति। * * * यत एव रौद्रध्यानोपगता अत एव तेषां प्रभूततरप्राग्बद्धपापकर्मपरिक्षयः, तीव्रसंक्लेशाभावात्। न खलु तीव्रसंक्लेशाभावे परमाधार्मिकसुरा अपि तेषां कर्म क्षपयितुं शक्ताः। ततो रौद्रादिध्यानमुपजनयन्तोऽपि व्यापादका व्यापाद्यानामुपकारका एव। इत्थं च व्यापादनतस्तेषामुपकारसंभवे ये तद्व्यापादनमुपेक्षन्ते प्रतिषेधन्ति वा ते महापकारिणः। ये पुनः प्रागुपात्तपुण्यकर्मोदयवशतः सुखासिकामनुभवन्तोऽवतिष्ठन्ते, न ते व्यापादनीयाः, तेषां व्यापादने सुखानुभववियोगभावतोऽपकारसंभवात्। न च परहितनिरताः परापकृतये संरम्भमातन्वन्ते। *Nandisūtravṛtti* of Malayagiri, NSP Edn. f. 13a ff.

This means to say that the Saṁsāramocakas instruct to kill suffering animals in order to relieve them from their suffering. This is done out of compassion and for the benefit of the victims. One should apply wholesome things to others even if they appear disagreeable at the moment. Bitter medicine is applied to cure a disease. According to the Saṁsāramocakas to kill the suffering animals produces good results to the killed. Animals like worms, insects, flies, mosquitos, quails, sparrows, the poor, the blind, the lame and others suffer in this world due to sins committed in the past. A sympathetic man should therefore kill them in order to rescue them from that suffering. This killing no doubt produces great suffering in the victims. But its intensity does not last long and vanishes with the residue of the sins which otherwise would have kept them fettered in this world for longer periods.

At the time of killing the victim is overpowered by *raudradhyāna* - intense meditation attended with emotion of cruelty and it slackens the residues of former sins and thus a killer becomes of much help to the killed even if this killing produces *raudradhyāna* in the latter. Even gods cannot be free from the sins without intense feeling of pain such as the one undergone by the victim at the time of killing. And thus killing is of much service to the killed. Those who refrain from killing one fit to be killed or those who obstruct another from such killing do much disservice to the victim concerned. This killing should not be indiscriminate. On the other hand, those who, as a result of their previous good deeds, enjoy pleasure in this world should be spared. If they are killed it becomes a disservice to the victims and produces sin in the killer. No benevolent man causes unnecessary pain in others.

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The *Śrāvakadharmaprajñapti* also shows acquaintance with the Saṁsāramocakas. We quote here two verses from it :

अन्ने उ दुहियसत्ता संसारं परिअडंति पावेण।
वावाएयव्वा खलु ते तरकवणट्ठया विंति ॥
ता पाणवहनिवित्ती नो अविसेसेण होइ कायव्वा।
अवि अं सुहिएसु अन्नह करणीज्जनिसेहणे दोसो ॥

Others (i.e. the Saṁsāramocakas) hold that the suffering animals move through this *saṁsāra* due to their evil deeds. Hence they deserve to be killed in order to be relieved of the suffering.

Hence abstaining from killing should not be practised indiscriminately. The happy ones should not be harmed. Violation of this principle produces sin.

Vādidevasūri refers to the Saṁsāramocakas while discussing erroneous knowledge (*Viparyaya*) : स्याद्वादबाह्येषु शाक्यनैयायिकमीमांसककपिललौकायतिकसंसारमोचकादिशास्त्रेषु यत्किञ्चिदेकान्ताभिनिवेशेनोपदिश्यते तत् प्रमाणमिति ज्ञानं तेषां विपर्ययः। ××× अधर्मनिबन्धने प्राणिवधे धर्मनिबन्धनत्वबुद्धिर्विपर्ययः संसारमोचकानाम्। *Syādvādaratnākara,* Poona, p. 103.

A Jaina is an advocate of the theory of *anekānta* which examines truth from all the angles of vision. The Buddhist, Naiyāyika, Mīmāṁsaka, Sāṁkhya, Cārvāka and the Saṁsāramocaka on the other hand are *ekāntavādins* i.e. they restrict themselves in the examination of truth from single aspect only. As such their tenets are erroneous in character. Thus the idea of the Saṁsāramocakas that animal sacrifice is meritorious is nothing but an error. The *Tattvārthabhāṣyaṭīkā* (Vol. II., p. 71) of Siddhasenagaṇi also counts the position of the Saṁsāramocakas as totally erroneous, though they practise animal sacrifice to acquire religious merit.

The *Śāstravārtāsamuccaya* of Haribhadrasūri devotes a full section (verses 150–56) to criticise the advocacy of animal sacrifice on the part of the Saṁsāramocakas for the attainment of religious merit from the Jain point of view.

Abhayadevasūri in the *Tattvabodhavidhāyinī* on the *Sanmatitarka* III. 60 refers to the Saṁsāramocakas and their practice of animal sacrifice. He further refers to their *āgama* and places it in the same category with the Vedic texts.

The above account will show that the Saṁsāramocakas, though despised alike by the orthodox and non-orthodox Indian philosophical and religious schools, were widely spread in India. They might be a perverted section of

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the Indian people having distinct social and religious ideas. None of the authorities referring to or criticising them evince any thorough knowledge of their customs and religious texts. We have seen above that attempts were made to identify them with this or that school. But the evidences put forward are not convincing.

The purpose of the present note is to invite attention of scholars to this neglected school of thought.

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HISTORY SECTION

THE HAIHAYAS OF MORATA-300, A MINOR DYNASTY OF KARNATAKA

By

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY, MYSORE

A large number of minor dynasties flourished in Karnataka and played their own part in the political and cultural life of this ancient province. Though the Haihayas are known to history, they were so far confined to north India and Andhra. But recently discovered inscriptions from Raichur district of Mysore state testify to the existence of the Haihaya rulers in Karnataka. Here is an attempt to study the political history of the Haihayas who ruled from Morata. The ancient province Morata-300 corresponds to the modern Manvi taluk of Raichur district.

The Haihaya chiefs are styled in their inscriptions as the Lords of the city of Māhiṣmatī (Māhiṣmatīpuravatādhīśvara). The earliest mention of this family is seen in an inscription of the time of Cālukya Someśvara I.[1] This inscription introduces the Haihaya chief Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Revarasa who had the titles 'Submarine fire to the ocean of Mummuni of Koṅkaṇa and terror to the city of Dhara'.[2] He was also governing the area Ededore 200 also.

For about a century till the time of Jagadekamalla II, we have no records of the Haihaya chiefs. The next ruler Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ghattidevarasa is known from three records, all of the time of Jagadekamalla II. The earliest of the three is from Malhat belonging to 1139 A. D. and this record mentions a gift by this chief to God Mallikārjuna.[3] The other two records also are from Malhat in Manvi taluk of Raichur and they mention the date 1148-49 A. D.[4] One of them states that Ghattidevarasa was ruling from Morata and mentions a big fort in this town. It also mentions Ghattidevarasa's subordinate Mahakarana Vergade Sovarasa. Ghattidevarasa was succeeded by his son Hallarasa who is mentioned in an

1. *ARIE* B 256 of 1953-54
2. *Ibid.*
3. *ARIE* B 558 of 1960-61
4. B 553 and 559 of 1960-61

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inscription of his son Mallidevarasa I.[1] As the last known date of Ghattidevarasa is 1148-49 A. D.[2] and the earliest known date of Mallidevarasa I is 1178 A. D.[3], it may be surmised that Ghattidevarasa's successor Hallarasa must have ruled sometime in between these dates. Hallarasa's queen was Rekaladevī. Mallidevarasa was a clever feudatory. When the Cālukya power became weak and the Kalachuris established their supremacy, he immediately changed sides and lent his support and loyalty to the Kalachuris. In his inscription of 1178 A. D. he mentions Kalachuri Sankama as his overlord and not the Cālukyas who were the overlords of Ghattidevarasa.[4] But when Kalachuri power declined fully, Mallideva again became a feudatory of the Cālukyas. His inscription at Balaganur of 1190 A. D. mentions Someśvara IV as his overlord.[5]

When the Deccan presented a conflicting picture because of the struggles amongst the Cālukyas, the Hoysalas and the Sevuṇas in the last decade of the 12th century, Mallidevarasa probably declared independence taking advantage of this troublesome political situation. He issued an inscription in his own name in 1196 A. D. when he was encamping at Ayyanasirivura with his chief queen Makaladevī.[6] He fought against a chief called Bijja of Madeganur.[7] He also defeated another chief named Hadiga.[8] But it is highly important to note that Mallidevarasa took great pride in eulogising his victory over a general of Bhillama.[9] We do not know who this general was and how Mallideva came into conflict with him. But it must have been in an attempt of one of Bhillama's generals in expanding the Sevuṇa kingdom. Mallideva I had three sons–Allahulideva, Hallagadeva and Bairugideva.[10] We do not know if any of them occupied the chiefdom of Morata after Mallideva. However, by 1217 A. D. Allahulideva's son Mallideva II became the Haihaya chief of Morata.[11] The defiant activities of Mallideva I must have attracted the attention of Siṅghaṇa's generals, and the result was that Mallideva II became a feudatory of Sevuṇa Siṅghaṇa by 1217 A. D. Three inscriptions of the time of Mallideva II have been discovered. Two of them from Katwal in Manvi have a date corresponding

1. B 556 of 1960-61
2. B 553 of 1960-61
3. B 556 of 1960-61
4. *Ibid.*
5. B 258 of 1953-54
6. B 557 of 1960-61
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. B 380 of 1957-58

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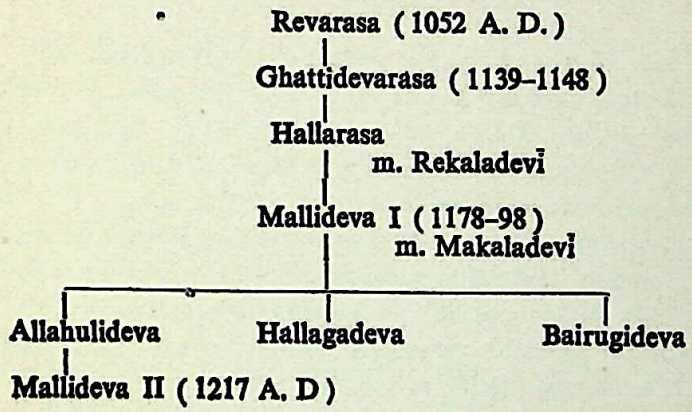
to 1217 A. D. and mention Siṅghaṇa as his overlord.[1] One of these records mentions Bichisetti and Rechisetti as the subordinates of Mallideva II.[2] The other undated record from Malhat mentions a gift from Mallideva.[3] Mallideva II is the last known chief of the Haihayas of Morata-300.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HAIHAYAS OF MORATA-300



1. B 379 and 380 of 1957–58
2. *Ibid.*
3. B 555 of 1960–61

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THE STATUS OF GOVINDA GUPTA

By

JAGANNATH AGRAWAL, HOSHIARPUR.

The name of Govinda Gupta became known for the first time with the discovery and publication of the seal of Candra Gupta II's Chief Queen, Dhruvasvāminī.[1] While publishing the seal Dr. Bloch had expressed the opinion that Govinda Gupta may be regarded as a younger son of Candra Gupta II. Dr. Bloch had made this observation obviously because he took it for granted that Kumāra Gupta I, must be the eldest son and successor of his father, as indicated by the sequence of the inscriptions. It was the late Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar who gave a careful thought to the wording[2] of the Vaiśālī seal, and made the following cogent remarks "But let us proceed a step further and ask why, if Kumāra Gupta was also a son of Candra Gupta and Dhruvadevī, his name is omitted and that of Govinda Gupta alone mentioned. The name of the latter only is specified because I think he was *Yuvarāja*. For in the seal of a queen it is natural to expect the names of her husband the king and her son who is heir-apparent to the throne."[3] But this most ingenious suggestion of Dr. Bhandarkar did not receive much attention, since no inscriptions of Govinda Gupta were known, which would furnish proof of his having occupied the Gupta throne for sometime. Moreover, as the interval between the last known date of Candra Gupta II, viz. 93 as given in the Sanchi Stupa railing inscription, and the earliest known date of Kumāra Gupta viz. 96[4] was only three years, it was presumed that the latter must have been the immediate successor of the former.

In 1923, however, a stone inscription dated Mālava Saṁvat 524, was discovered from Mandasor,[5] which gives in some detail, some new facts about Candra Gupta II and Govinda Gupta. The inscription makes the following statements regarding Govinda Gupta :-

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1. *ASIPR*, 1903-4, 101 ff.
2. The text of the seal is as follows :—
   1. *Mahārājādhirāja – Śrī Candra Gupta*
   2. *Patni Mahārāja – Śrī Govinda Gupta*
   3. *Mātā Mahādevī – Śrī Dhruvasvāminī.*
3. *IA*, 1912, 3.
4. Bilsad Stone Pillar inscription.
5. The inscription has since been published in *EI*. XXVII, 12-18.

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गोविन्दवत् ख्यातगुणप्रभावो गोविन्दगुप्तोर्ज्जितनामधेयं ।
वसुन्धरेशस्तनयं प्रजज्ञे स दित्यदित्योस्तनयैस्सरूपम् ॥
यस्मिन्नृपैरस्तमितप्रतापैश्शिरोभिरालिङ्गितपादपद्मे ।
विचारदोलां विबुधाधिपोऽपि शङ्कापरीतः समुपारुरोह ॥

'That lord of the earth (Candra Gupta) begot a son whose virtues and prowess were famous like that of Kṛṣṇa, (and) who resembled in form the progeny of Diti (the mother of *asuras*) and Aditi (the mother of gods) (and) who bore the appellation Govinda Gupta. When he (was ruling) whose lotus-like feet were embraced by the kings whose glory had vanished, even the lord of the gods overtaken by suspicion, mounted upon the swing of (conflicting) ideas.'

From the statement made in the second verse, that the kings whose glory had departed embraced the lotus-like feet of Govinda Gupta, it may be reasonably inferred that he had under his suzerainty, a large number of feudatory kings. Further, it is also stated that the lord of the gods (Mahendra) began cherishing apprehensions. Reading between the lines one may suggest that this means that Govinda Gupta's brother, Kumāra Gupta, who is also known by his *birud* of Mahendra became jealous of the power and position of his brother. This jealousy seems to have been turned into hostility and it may be suggested that Kumāra Gupta plotted the overthrow of his brother and was successful in his intrigue. The details of the conflict are hidden in oblivion. But there are certain indications that he had taken forcible possession of the empire. In the Tumain inscription dated 116, falling within Kumāra Gupta's reign we have the following very significant statement :–

श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्समग्राम् ।
ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्मपत्नीं वीर्य्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् ॥

'The son of the illustrious Candra Gupta, Kumāra Gupta who is equal to Indra, has protected the earth, as if it were a virtuous spouse, having embraced her with the forepart of the hands (which consist of his) valour.' Here the reference to his valour as the means of holding the earth may be a covert allusion to his successful coup in seizing the throne from Govinda Gupta. However far more important than this indirect reference is the specific statement in the Mandasor inscription of the year 524, that a large number of kings bowed at his feet.

Equally significant is the mention in this very inscription of Vāyurakṣita as the Commander of the forces of Govinda Gupta, for only an independent king or an emperor can be supposed to have a standing army. These two facts, combined with the inference drawn from the Basarh seal of

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Dhruvasvāminī, that Govinda Gupta was the Yuvarāja, would go to establish that Govinda Gupta was not a younger prince, but he was the eldest son of his father and had ascended the throne. Of course he ruled for a short time only, between 3 Bhādrapada, 93, and 96 G. S.

We had made this suggestion in our article entitled 'Govinda Gupta–a new Gupta Emperor' which was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, 286–90. Dr. D. C. Sircar criticised our view in his Note, published in the same Journal Vol. XXIV, 72-75. We propose here to deal with the objections raised by Dr. Sircar. Dr. Sircar's first observation is that simply because a number of kings paid homage to Govinda Gupta, he cannot be regarded as an imperial ruler, as even subordinate rulers are known to have enjoyed the allegiance of smaller feudatories; and he quotes the instance of Mahāsāmanta, Mahārāja Varuṇasena of the Nirmand Copper Plate.[1] But it has perhaps escaped the notice of Dr. Sircar that it is not at all a parallel case, for here Sāmantas or smaller feudatories are said to have paid homage to a higher dignitary who was a Mahāsāmanta and a Mahārāja. It is not stated here that Mahāsāmantas, or Mahārājas paid homage to Varuṇasena, a ruler having the subordinate title of Mahārāja. The status of Varuṇasena was definitely higher than that of the Sāmantas and it is perfectly in order that they paid him homage. But how does it weaken our case? Dr. Sircar, next quotes the instances of Meghanāda and Raghu who defeated Indra "without being kings themselves." Here again Dr. Sircar misses the real point. Both Meghanāda and Raghu fought on behalf of their sires, and not on their own. Raghu was employed by Dilīpa to guard the sacrificial horse and so was Meghanāda deputed by Rāvaṇa to humiliate Indra. We fail to understand, how these instances have any bearing on the present case.

Dr. Sircar further averts that Viśvavarman, king of Daśapura, whom he takes to be a subordinate ruler, is described in his Gangadhar inscription as having conquered Indra. But how does Dr. Sircar conclude that Viśvavarman was a subordinate ruler in 423 A. D. when the Gangadhar inscription was put up? There is no mention of any paramount sovereign in this record! When contrasted with the Mandasor inscription of the Guild of Silkweavers the Gangadhar inscription points to the independent status of the Aulikaras in 423 A. D. The earliest known reference to the sovereignty of the Guptas over Daśapura belongs to the time of Bandhuvarman who was ruling in 493 MS. = 436 A. D., when the Sun-temple was built: *Cf.*

तस्मिन्नेव क्षितिपतिवृषे बन्धुवर्म्मण्युदारे
सम्यक् स्फीतं दशपुरमिदं पालयत्युन्नतांसे ।

1. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, 286 ff.

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शिल्पावासैर्धनसमुदयैः पट्टवायैरुदारं
श्रेणीभूतैर्भवनमतुलं कारितं दीप्तरश्मेः ॥ [1]

Similarly Dr. Sircar's references to the Pallava grants have no bearing on the present problem. We have never questioned that the heir-apparents did not issue orders. Quite contrary to it we concede that some of the Gupta princes were appointed as provincial governors and Govinda Gupta too seems to have acted as such either in Vaiśālī or elsewhere. But that is besides the point. The crux of the problem lies in deciding whether the reference in the Mandasor inscription as embodied in the verse *Tasminnṛpair* etc. is to the time when Govinda Gupta was an emperor or to the period of his governorship.

An easily controvertible argument of Dr. Sircar is the one with reference to the Vākāṭakas. He holds, that Vākāṭaka kings, "appointed Senāpatis in the capacity of Viceroys over territories including *rājyas* and *rājas* cf. Chammak grant of Pravarasena II referring to the Bhojakaṭarājya (forming a part of the Vākāṭaka dominions), to the vassal chief Śatrughnarāja and his son Koṇḍarāja (apparently rulers of Bhojakaṭarājya) and to the Senāpati Citravarman." A close examination of the Chammak and other Vākāṭaka grants will reveal the fallacy involved in Dr. Sircar's reasoning. There is not the slightest indication in the Chammak grant to show either that Koṇḍarāja at whose instance the grant was made, was a feudatory ruler, or that Bhojakaṭa was a feudatory state, or that Citravarman was the Viceroy of Bhojakaṭa. The absence of any royal title like *mahārāja*, before the names of Śatrughnarāja and Koṇḍarāja, in this prose passage not involving any exigencies of metre, goes against the presumption that they were rulers. More than that, the omission, even of the customary honorific *Śrī*, before their names shows that they were not even officers of any consideration. The fact that they have requested the king to make the grant does not prove their royal status, for it is well-known that grants were made even at the instance of common people. Thus for example, in the Khoh Plate of Mahārāja Saṁkṣobha, dated 209, we find that the grant has been made at the suggestion of one Chodogomi who has no pretensions to royalty. The villages granted by means of this charter are described as lying in the conquered i. e. crown territory– *Vaijayike Sthāne*. If we compare this expression with the *Vijita* of Aśokan inscriptions it would appear that the territory was a crown-province and not a feudatory state. The use of the term *rājya* with Bhojakaṭa does not prove that it was a feudatory state. In the Vākāṭaka grants, the term *rājya* is used for a Province or Division of

1. Fleet, *op. cit.* 83

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modern times. For example in the Dudia grant of Pravarasena II, there is mention of Ārammirājya, which was administered by the king's own officers; cf. श्री प्रवरसेनस्य वचनात् आरम्मीराज्ये अस्मत्सन्तका सर्वाध्यक्षनियोगनियुक्ताः etc. Here it is specifically stated that the order is addressed to the officers of the crown appointed by the order of the king's Controller General.

The suggestion that the feudatory kings Śatrughnarāja and Koṇḍarāja were under the Senāpati Citravarman who acted as a sort of Viceroy, is utterly opposed to the true import of this statement. The locative in the expression *senāpatau Citravarmaṇi*, is a locative *absolute*, and it simply means that the charter was drafted and issued under the supervision of the Senāpati, who, in the Vākāṭaka charters functioned in place of the Sandhivigrahika of the grants of other dynasties. In the Seoni Copper Plate of Pravarasena II, also, we have the expression : सेनापतौ वप्पदेवे लिखितं आचार्येण ।[1] (written by Ācārya when Bappadeva is the Senāpati). As these charters have been issued from Pravarapura, the Vākāṭaka capital, the inference is obvious that it was an officer of the Vākāṭaka court who supervised its writing. The Seoni grant was made in the Division called Baṇṇākārpara, a purely Vākāṭaka territory. No feudatory chief ruled over it. Here Bappa Svāmi was discharging the functions ordinarily associated with Sandhivigrahika. He was not acting as a Viceroy over some feudatory.

Our argument that since Daśapura was ruled over by the feudatory dynasty of the Aulikaras and there was no room for the appointment of an imperial representative of the Guptas at Daśapura, therefore, still holds the ground; and if the Mandasor inscription of the Mālava Saṁvat 524, indicates anything, it is that Govinda Gupta succeeded his father Candra Gupta II, as an imperial ruler, had a large number of feudatory kings bearing allegiance to him, and had a very capable military general, Vāyurakṣita who was ever victorious against the enemies of the empire.

1. Fleet, *op. cit.* 247

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A NOTE ON THREE COPPER PLATE GRANTS

By

G. H. KHARE, POONA

(1) The three copper-plate grants on which I am just reading a paper belong to Shri Ramachandra Govinda Lad who hails from a village Kundal (district Sangli) and who says that these were lying in his house for a very long time. It was only through the kindness of Ramachandra Govinda Lad and his brother Dattatraya Sakharam Lad that I got them for study and publication and I thank them both for their kindness.

I—*A Grant of Cālukya Vijayāditya, Śaka 627.*

(2) This grant consists of three plates woven into a circular ring and its two ends have been soldered together into a block bearing the effigy of a boar to the left. The plates are not at all well preserved; for not only some portions of the first and the third plates have been eaten up by rust, but the second plate also has been very badly damaged. We have not suffered much by the loss of the portion of the first plate and the damage to the first side of the second plate; for the stereotyped text which the lost and damaged portions contained can be restored with the help of other copper-plate grants of Vijayāditya. But the loss we have suffered owing to the damage to the second side of the second plate and the loss of the portion of the third plate is irreparable as some details of the donation have been lost. The plates contain lines of writing. The script is akin to the Narur and other plates of Vijayāditya and the language is prose Sanskrit except the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the beginning and at the end. The plates are dated Śaka 627 and the regnal year 10. No further details of the date are given. The second Nerur plates are also similarly dated. I leave aside the stereotyped portion of the grant which contains the origin and pedigree of the Cālukyas which mentions Pulakeśin I, his son Kīrtivarman I, his son Satyāśraya or Pulakeśin II, his son Vikramāditya I, his son Vinayāditya and his son Vijayāditya with the conventional description of their valour. The gist of the donation as I could decipher runs thus: While the last named King Vijayāditya was encamping at Raktapura (ancient Kisuvoḷal or modern Pattadakal), he in the company of one Sinda Viṣṇurāja donated some fields from the villages 1) Kuṇḍili (Kuṇḍal), 2) Puḷindra (Puṇadī), 3) Panasa (Palūs), 4) Kumbhajja (Kumbhoj), 5) Eḷage (?), 6) Siyaḷage (?), 7) Vaṅkige (Vāṅgī), 8) Andhaḷige (Andha). All these villages except no.

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5 and 6 can be identified. They are included in the present Sangli district and their modern names are given in the brackets. The donee is stated to be one Ācārya Dharmavīra, who was from the discipular lineage of Kāṣṭhācārya Vimalakīrti belonging to the Ponnikavṛkṣamūla Gaccha and Vaihārika Yāpanīya Saṅgha and who stayed at the Jina temple at Kuṇḍili.

II — *A single plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda III Śaka 717* ?

(3) This grant originally must have consisted of three plates; but at present only the second plate and the ring have been found. The ring on its soldered joints bears in high relief an effigy of a sitting Garuḍa with folded hands. The script is 8th century Nāgarī. Like the above-mentioned grant this plate is so much damaged that it is very difficult to restore its text with any certainty with the help of other plates. It seems that the date of the grant is Śaka 717 and refers to the Kāṣṭhācārya tradition.

III — *Grant of Kadamba Mayūravarman III Śaka 1210 or 1215*

(4) This grant which is very well preserved consists of three plates measuring 47·6 cms. in length, 25·4 cms. in breadth and ·32 cm. in thickness. They were woven into a circular ring 10 cms. in diameter and its two ends have been soldered into a circular block bearing in high relief an effigy of a lion. The rims of the plates being raised the writing is well preserved. The inner sides of the first and the third plates and both the sides of the second plate have been inscribed containing in all 49 lines of writing. The script is Kannaḍa of the 13th century and the language is Sanskrit prose and poetry mixed.

(5) The date as recorded in the grant is the cyclic year Vijaya occurring after the lapse of 1200 years of the Śaka era and the bright 10th of the month Caitra. The cyclic year Vijaya corresponds to the expired Śaka year 1215 or 1275 according to the Southern system of reckoning cyclic years and to Śaka year 1210 or 1270 as per the Northern or expunged Saṁvatsara system of reckoning. Śaka year 1270 or 1275 is out of question here as there was a Muslim rule established here before that year and there was a very little possibility of a king coming from far off Vanavāsī to visit a place near Karāḍ. I have, therefore, taken for granted that either Śaka year 1210 or 1215 is implied here and the bright 10th of Caitra corresponds to 14-3-1288 or 19-3-1293 A. D. respectively.

(6) The place-names mentioned in this grant are Vanavāsī, the capital ot the Kadambas of that place, Ujjayanta, the name of a mountain, Karahāṭaka, the name of a town well-known in ancient Indian history, Udumbarajā, name of a pretty town bounded by the river Kṛṣṇaveṇṇā on the east and Rayavallī, the name of the country which included Udumbarajā,

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Vanavāsī is a small town lying in the Sirsi *taluqa* of the Karwar district. Ujjayanta is identified with the modern Girnar. Karahāṭaka is modern Karad a *taluqa* town in the Satara district. Udumbarajā is evidently Umbraj which is included in the Karad *taluqa* and Kṛṣṇavenṇā is the river Kṛṣṇā which runs on the eastern side of the pretty town. It is worth noting that Umbraj is given the feminine gender by the local people. Rayavallī is not to be identified at present.

(7) The gist of the grant runs thus : After praising the Jaina sect, Mahāvīra, Ariṣṭanemi, Ambikā and the sage Śivārya in the first five stanzas, the grant goes on telling the story as follows : The king Kṛtavarman ruling from the town Vanavāsī when found that he had passed a life of sixty years and had, therefore, become old, entrusted the kingdom to his son Mayūravarman. This son even though in his youth had no male issue and, therefore, felt dejected at heart. Mitrānanda, the head of his cavalry suddenly appeared before him and addressed him thus : " The goddess Yakṣī, the devotee of the *tīrthaṅkara* Neminātha of the Yadu lineage, residing on the mountain Ujjayanta once came to the Deccan and led away by the activities of the sage Candragupta staying on the hill to the North-West of Karad, herself, began to reside under an udumbara tree about a krośa from the hill. Hariścandra of the Haihayana family began to stay there. The goddess was, therefore, named Ambikā or Udumbarajā and the village near by received the name Udumbarajā. One who propitiates her gets his wish fructified ". Upon this the king consented to do the same and entrusted the task to the head of his department of religion Harivarman, the son of Viṣṇumitra Aupāsani. He appeared before the goddess and vowed that the whole country Rayavallī would be donated to her if the king begot a son. The king upon getting a son appeared before the goddess and said to her, 'my son Prabhākara is making obeisance'. Then he went to the Ācārya Śrīpāla who was in the *mukhamaṇḍapa* at the time and after saluting him requested him to favour him with a disciple of his. He entrusted his disciple Guṇadeva to him. The king offered him the donation of the whole country Rayavallī; but the disciple declining to accept the donation, asked him to donate one village and a field in each village from that country. Upon this the king on the said date, in the presence of Agnihotrin Madhusūdana, the resident of Karad, Trivedin Haradatta, Sāmavedin and sacrificer Dāmodara, the grammarian Bhavadāsa all belonging to the Brāhmaṇa community, Indradatta of the Maurya family, Akrūra of the Haihayana family, Śaśāṅka Sūrabala of the Pāṇḍya family, Āryanala of the Kerala family - all these belonging to the Kṣatriya caste, Āryabhadra, Atiratha and Acala of the Vaiśya caste, donated the village Udumbarajā and a field in each village,

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Guṇadeva of the Bhallaṅkī group (गण) utilised the donation for the purpose for which it was donated.

(8) It may not be out of place to observe a few remarks on the genuineness or otherwise of this grant. i) The name of the king Mayūravarman, his father Kṛtavarman and his son Prabhākara are not to be found in the Kadamba dynasty of Vanavāsī as we know it at present. There were two Mayūravarmans in that Kadamba dynasty. But one seems to be a mythical one and the other reigned and died about two hundred years before the date of this grant. ii) The manner in which the date has been recorded raises a doubt. There is no specific mention of the Śaka year. The cyclic year Vijaya mentioned in the grant occurs twice in the 13th century of the Śaka era. The mention of only the cyclic year without the corresponding Śaka year is abnormal. iii) The country Rayavallī is altogether a new name. The village Umbraj is so near Karad (only 17 kms.) that it should have been mentioned as lying in the Karahāṭaka four thousand. But it has not been mentioned that way. iv) It is rather unusual, though not quite impossible, that a king from far off Vanavāsī should come to Umbraj and donate that village which was lying in the country ruled by the Yādavas at the time. v) The names of persons and their dynasties who associated with Mayūravarman at the time of the donation are mostly unknown. We know the dynastic name Haihaya but not Haihayana. These points tend to raise objections against the genuineness of the grant.

(9) I would like to say a few words about the Yāpanīya saṅgha and the Kāṣṭhā tradition from the Jaina religion here. It was divided into the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects probably in the 2nd century A. D. The former sect spread far and wide in the North and the latter in the South. Then in every sect originated in course of time *saṅgha*, *gaccha* and *gaṇa*. The Yāpanīya saṅgha is believed to have originated from the Digambara sect in the 2nd, Drāviḍa, in the 5th, Kāṣṭhā in the 8th and Māthura in the 10th century A. D. The Yāpanīya saṅgha is believed to have merged into the Digambara sect before the 10th century. According to the author Devasena, one Kalaśa from the Śvetāmbara sect founded the Yāpanīya saṅgha at Kalyāṇa in the 2nd century A. D. On the other hand the author Ratnanandin of the 16th century says that the Yāpanīya saṅgha was the out-come of the devotion of the king Bhūpāla and his queen Nṛkūladevī of Karad towards the saints of both these sects. The followers of the Yāpanīya saṅgha appeared like Digambaras, but they followed Śvetāmbaras in sectarian rites and performances and it is, therefore, that Guṇaratna and other authors of the Śvetāmbara sect mention this saṅgha as belonging to the Digambara sect and the above mentioned authors Devasena, Ratnanandin and others of

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the Digambara sect accuse it as originating from the Śvetāmbara sect. Indranandin goes so far as to say that it is a Jainabhāsa or a mirage of the Jaina religion. Śrutasāgara goes a step further and preaches Digambaras neither to worship nor even to pay homage to the image installed by the Yāpanīyas.

(10) Thus even though both the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras have condemned the Yāpanīya saṅgha or sub-sect, ruling princes of ancient India believing in the merit of the amalgamation of the two sects gave donations to the followers of the Yāpanīya sub-sect. Uptill now, scholars believed that Punnāgavṛkṣamūla, Kaṇḍūra and Koṭimaḍuvaṇa are the three groups which had their origin in the Yāpanīya saṅgha. But here two more groups viz. Ponnikavṛkṣamūla and Bhallunkī have come to light in these three grants and Kāṣṭhā seems to have been a sub-saṅgha of the Yāpanīya sub-sect. We know that the well-known grammarian Śākaṭāyana belonged to the Yāpanīya sub-sect; but four more Ācāryas viz., Vimalakīrti, Dharmavīra, Śrīpāla and Guṇadeva have newly come to light from these plates if the grant is taken to be genuine.

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ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION

A NEW COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMĀRA NARAVARMAN

(Vikrama Year 1152)

By

H. V. TRIVEDI

This article aims at editing for the first time an inscription borne by a copper-plate which fortunately escaped destruction very recently. The story of the find is interesting, though beset with some disappointment. It may be mentioned here, first of all, as related to me by my friend Dr. S. N. Nagu, a medical practitioner at Indore. It was on 4-10-1968 that Dr. Nagu happened to go to Dewas, the chief town of the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh, some 22 miles from Indore, to treat one of his patients; and accidentally knowing that a copper-smith at that place had recently cut into pieces an old copper-plate, he ran to the smith's shop and saw circular fragments bearing fresh marks of cutting. Inquiring the details, the Doctor came to know that the smith had just then cut those two circular pieces from a copper-plate for fixing them at the bottom of two broken pots, and some other pieces cut along with them from the plate were sold by him to a merchant from Ujjain, who, in his turn, had sold them to a firm working on metal - some 4 miles from Ujjain. Thus visiting the different places the same day, Dr. Nagu succeeded in collecting six pieces (all inscribed), which he brought to me the same night. Carefully adjusting the pieces together I found that it was a complete plate, inscribed and issued by king Naravarman of the Paramāra dynasty; and the inscription is edited here from the plate itself, after getting the fragments welded carefully so as to restore the plate to its original form, as far as possible.

It is a single plate and is the first, discovered so far, of a grant which was written on at least two plates. It measures 35 cms. by 27 cms. and contains 18 lines of writing, covering a space measuring about 31 cms. by 24·5 cms., being inscribed on one side only. It weighs 2 kg. and 35 gms. The edges of it were raised into rims to protect the writing, which, though not so carefully engraved as of the Betma[1] and Depalpur[2]

1. *E. I.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 320 ff.
2. *I. H. Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 305 ff.

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copper plates, bears a general resemblance to that of the Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman.[1] Parts and limbs of letters are not occasionally well formed and it has also suffered from the fresh damages as related above. But excepting only a few letters here and there, the writing can be restored with certainty, throughout except perhaps one letter in the end. In the lower margin the plate has two holes, each of about the radius of ·6 cms., disturbing the last line of the writing, which is not complete, showing that another plate must have been attached to it, as we find in the case of some other Paramāra plates. It is unfortunate that all attempts to search the following plate have failed; but in spite of it, the inscription is important, as will be seen below. The rings which may have passed through the holes for holding the two plates together are also missing.

The size of the letters is about 1 cm., excepting the occasional flourishes of *mātrās* above. The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th century A. C. *Ṅ* is devoid of its dot, as in *iṅguṇīpadra*, 1. 6; *dh* is sometimes with and at others without the horn on its limb, cf. *rājādhirāja*, 1. 4 and *sindhurāja*, 1. 3 respectively; and this letter has not developed the top stroke; tails of the left limb of letters like *t* and *h* are generally not marked; and errors of engraving are also to be found, as in *chinaschara* for *vinaśvara*, 1. 14.

The language is Sanskrit, and excepting two stanzas in the beginning and two in the middle, the record is all in prose.— Orthographical peculiarities are the same as to be found in the writing of the time and locality, viz. the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well; the use of the *pṛṣṭha-mātrā* to denote the mediaeval dipthongs and one *pṛṣṭha* and one above in case of *ai* and *au* and *o*; the general use of an *anusvāra* even at the end of sentence, excepting a very few cases like *phalam* where *m* is used; 1. 14; the frequent use of *s* for *ś*; and the reduplication of a consonant after *r*. *Sandhi* is not observed in the case of vowels as in *Śrī-udayāditya*, 1. 5; *bhāradvāja-āṅgirāsa*, 1. 16 etc. as we also find in some of the other plates of the time.

To note the contents of the record, after the symbol for *Siddham* and the expression *Jayōbhyudayōstu*, the inscription begins with the two oft-quoted stanzas in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, the first eulogising *Vyomakēśa* and the second invoking the blessings of Smarārāti (*Jayati vyomakēśōsau*.. and *Tanvantu vaḥ*..) and the writing goes on to give the genealogy of the king in the usual way, beginning from *P. M. P.* Sindhurāja, *P. M. P.* Bhōjadeva, *P. M. P.* Udayādityadeva and *P. M. P.* Naravarmmadeva (11. 3–6). Line 6 begins to denote the main object of the record, stating that the *P. M. P.* Naravarmadeva, after taking bath on the confluence of Revā and Kuvilārā and after

1. *E. I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 105 ff.

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doing the daily duties and having worshipped Bhavānīpati and the god Nīlakaṇṭha, announces in the presence of Brahmins and others, the *paṭṭakila* and all assembled at the village of Mālāpura in the Bhagavatpura *pratijāgaraṇaka (Parganā)*, included in the *Iṅguṇīpādra-sārdhasaptaśata* (*viṣaya*), the gift which is stated to have been made at Dhāmaṭikā. The date as given in words only, in 1. 9, is the bright half of Bhādrapada of Saṁvat 1152, which must of course be referred to the Vikrama era corresponding to 1095 A. C. The gift consists of two *halas* of land and some other object which cannot be known as at the point of the very mention of it the rest of the inscription is lost. It may safely be stated, however, that the second plate may have contained the terms of the donation, the benedictive and the imprecatory stanzas, the sign-manual of the king and the figure of Garuḍa, as we find in the other plates of the Paramāra house.

The land is stated to have been measured, according to the custom then prevalent in Mālwa, by a *daṇḍa* of 96 parts (*parvas*). The expression used here is exactly the same as in the Kadambapadraka grant of the same king : *ṣaṇṇavati-parvadaṇḍa-prāmāṇyen-obhaya-dvicatvāriṁśan-mādhyamena* .. The donee was Viśvarūpa, who was a son of Mahirasvāmin and a grandson of Dhanapāla of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, whose *pravaras* were Bhāradvāja, Āṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya and who was a student of the Āśvalāyana *śākhā* and had hailed from Adriyalavidāsthāna, included in the Dakṣiṇa-deśa.

The names figuring in the genealogy of the dynasty are those of Sindhurāja, Bhojadeva, Udayāditya and Naravarman respectively. This portion contains nothing new, but what is noteworthy here is the omission of the name of Jayasiṁha, the son and successor of Bhoja, as we also find in the undated Udaipur *praśasti*,[1] the Nagpur *praśasti*[2] of Naravarman and the Ujjain plates of Yaśovarman[3] and the Kadambapadraka grant just referred to, probably because his reign was not a long one, as rightly assumed by Kielhorn while editing the Māndhātā plate inscription[4] of Jayasiṁha himself. It my be due to any reason which has to be considered separately in each case and it is not our concern here.

The importance of the present inscription, however, lies in the fact that the gift was made on the occasion of the annual funeral ceremony of Udayāditya in V. S. 1152. i. e. in 1095 A. C., by his son Naravarman, whose earliest known date is supplied by an unpublished Udaipur stone inscription[5]

1. *E. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 233 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff.
3. *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 348 ff.
4. *E. I.*, III, p. 48.
5. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 233 ff.

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to be V. S. 1151, which is ten years earlier than the earliest known date of that king known before the find of that record, which is, of course, a private one. And incidentally it is corroborated by the present record which is issued by a member of the royal house itself. It also makes it evident that Udayāditya died at least a year before V. S. 1152 which is stated to have been the year of his annual funeral ceremony.

As to the geographical places mentioned in the record, Iṅgunīpadra is the modern Ignoda (23° 44′ N. & 76° 14′ E.) in Ratlam District, about 5 miles S. E. of the Dhodhar Station on the Ajmer-Khandwa branch of the Western Railway. It is mentioned as Iṅgaṇapadra in a Kachhapaghāṭa inscription of V. S. 1190 found at the same place.[1] Revā is the Narmadā and Kuvilārā appears to be the stream of the name of Kolar which joins it near Barwaha. Bhagavatpura is probably the modern town of Bhagor (in 23° 53′ N. and 75° 25′ E.) on the Chambal, as Ignoda too is, from which it is about 15 miles N. E. and is an old place.[2] The village of Mālāpura in which the land was donated and the place mentioned as Adriyalavidā from which the donee had hailed I am unable to identify.

TEXT[3]

1 ओम्[4] स्वस्ति [।*] जयोभ्युदयश्च ॥ जयति व्योमकेसो(शो)सौ यः सर्ग्गाय वि(बि)भर्ति तां(ताम्)। ऐंदवीं सि(शि)रसा लेखां जग—

2 द्वी(द्वी)जांकुराकृतिम् ॥ [१॥*] तन्वन्तु वः स्मरारातेः कल्याणमनिसं(शं) जटाः। कल्पान्तसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिं [ग][5]—

3 लाः ॥ [२॥*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-परमभट्टारकम—

4 हाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व-(श्व)र—

5 श्री–[6]उदयादित्यदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रस्त्री(श्री)-नरवर्म्मदेवः कु—

6 स(श)ली ॥ इङ्गुणीपद्रसार्द्धसप्तस(श)ताभोगे भगवत्पुरप्रतिजागरणके श्रीधर्म्माधि-करणपंडितप्रभाक—

7 रभुज्यमानभूहलपंचकवर्ज्जं मालापुरके ग्रामे समुपगतान्समस्तराजपु—

1. D. R. Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions No. 229.
2. *Western States Gazetteer*, Malwa, p. 348.
3. From the original plate.
4. Denoted by a symbol.
5. The letter is damaged and only parts are visible.
6. *Sandhi* is not observed here, as in some of the following instances too.

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8 रुषान्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादीन्संवो(बो)धयत्यस्तु वः स(सं)-
विदितं(तम्) ॥ यथा धामटिका[1]—

9 ग्रामावस्थितैरस्माभिः द्विप(पं)चास(श)दधिकशतैकादशसंवत्सरे भाद्रपदसु(शु)दि
एकादस्यां(श्यां) महाराज—

10 श्री-+उदयादित्यदेवसाम्व(सांव)त्सरिके रेवानदीकु[वि]लारा[2] नद्योः संगमे स्नात्वा
चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं

11 भवानीपतिं स्त्री(श्री)नीलकंठदेवं समभ्यर्च्य संसारस्यासारतां दृष्ट्वा तथाहि
वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसु—

12 धाधिपत्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः [।] प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलविंदु(विन्दु)समा
नराणां धर्म्मः सखा

13 परमहो परलोकयाने ॥ [३॥*] भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां स्त्रि(श्रि)यं(यम्)
[।*] प्राप्य ये न ददुस्तेषां पश्चात्तापः प[3]—

14 रं फलम् ॥ [४॥*] इति जगतो विनस्व(श्व)रस्वरूपमाकलय्याइष्ट(ष्ट)फलमङ्गीकृत्य
चंद्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसमकालं या—

15 वत्परया भक्त्या दक्षिण[देशा ?]न्तःपाति - ÷अडि(द्रि ?)यलविदावस्थलविनिर्गत-
भारद्वाजगोत्रभारद्वाज-+आंगिरस—

16 वा(वा)र्हस्पत्येतित्रिप्रवर-आस्व(श्व)लायनसा(शा)स्त्राध्यायिन्ना(न्त्रा)ह्मणधनपाल-
[पौत्र] महिरस्वामिसुतविस्व(श्व)रूपाय

17 उपरिलिखितमालापुरकग्रामात्षण्णवतिपर्व्वदण्डप्रामाण्येनोभयद्विचत्वारिंसन्माध्यकेन

18 [भूनिवर्त्तन[4]] विंस(श)तिप्रत्या(था ?)प्रत्यामापितभूहलद्वयन्तथा अस्मिन्नेव सम्व-
(संव)त्सरे नित्यकल्पिततल[5] —(?)……

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1. The reading of the first two *akṣaras* is uncertain. The first of these two can also be *chā* or *vā*; and the second a *sa* or *bha*. It is also possible that what looks like *ā-mātrā* attached to the first of these letters may be the vertical of the *i-mātrā* of the following letter.

+ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

2. This *akṣara* is damaged but can be read to be so, in view of a stream of the same name joining the Narmadā, as stated below.

3. As note 2 above.

4. This expression is partly damaged; the whole has been restored with the help of the Kadambapadraka grant of the same king.

5. The last letter in this line looks like *ta* or *gra*. It cannot be satisfactorily restored as what follows is not known.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE ON THE PLURALISTIC MAKE-UP OF THE ARYAN CULTURE-COMPLEX

By

SHIVAJI SINGH, GORAKHPUR

Introduction :

Before we start any discussion on the nature of the culture-complex of the Aryans, let us be quite clear and precise about the meaning of the term *Ārya*. The word *Ārya*, it is now generally accepted, does not represent a race in the ethnic sense of the term.[1] The old criterion of distinguishing races on the basis of physical traits is now considered faulty, for people looking alike in certain physical traits, may be genetically quite different, while people who look unlike may be genetically the same and, hence, the anthropologists of the new generation are relying more on blood-groups and gene-frequencies.[2] Obviously, these new methods of race analysis are not practicable while dealing with ancient peoples.

On the basis of comparative philology and affinities in the religions, mythologies and social institutions, it was established by scholars like Jones, Max Müller and Muir that the peoples speaking Sanskrit, Iranian, Armenian, Slavonic, Lettic, Greek, Latin, Celtic and Teutonic languages belong to one and the same group called 'Aryan' or 'Indo-European.' Here, we are not concerned with even this language-culture group, for there is hardly any need to prove the pluralistic make-up of this group which is so obvious.

We are concerned, in the present paper, with the Aryan people who are known as such to the Vedic literature and who were worshipping a set of gods and goddesses about whom we find hymns in the Vedas. Again, it should be stated at the very outset that while we archaeologists talk about the culture-complex of the Aryans, we use the term 'culture' in the sense of material culture and it is with this defined scope of the terms 'Aryan' and 'culture' that we shall examine here, the pluralistic nature of the Aryan Culture-complex.

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1 Kosambi, D. D. : "Brahmin Clans" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. LXXIII, p. 204.

2 For these methods, see Boyd, W. C. : *Genetics and the Races of Man*, Boston, 1950 and Dahlberg, G. : *Race, Reason and Rubbish*, New York, 1942.

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Literary Evidence :

R. P. Chanda, working mainly on literary sources, showed that the clans and tribes such as the Atharvans, Aṅgirasas, Bhṛgus, Atris, Vasiṣṭhas, Bhāradvājas, Gautamas, Kaśyapas, Agastyas, Kaṇvas and Viśvāmitras were 'priest-poet clans', while the Yadus, Turvaśas, Purus, Anus, Druhyus, Tṛtsus, Bharatas, Sṛñjayas, Ruśamas, Matsyas, Cedis, Krivis, etc., were 'warrior tribes.'[1] Among even the 'priest-poet clans', it is further stated, some were Ṛṣis by descent while others, such as Viśvāmitras and Kaṇvas, were Ṛṣis by adoption; and these two groups of Ṛṣis, viz., those by descent and those by adoption, were of different physical types suggesting difference in their ethnic origins.[2]

Besides these three, viz., the priest-poet clans by descent, the priest-poet clans by adoption and the warrior clans, the pluralistic make-up of the Vedic culture-complex is proved by the existence of still a fourth category of the Vedic Aryan clans such as the Mūjavantas, Mahāvṛṣas, Bāhlikas, Gandhāras, Aṅgas, Magadhas, etc., who inhabited regions beyond the early Vedic Aryandom. These tribes had different social institutions, spoke different dialect and belonged to a different ethnic stock.[3]

Additional evidence on the pluralistic make-up of the Vedic Aryan culture-complex has been supplied by N. C. Sengupta. "In different hymns of the Ṛgveda", says he "different gods are regarded as the highest. This is characterized as 'henotheism' by Max Müller. But let us take each hymn or a group of hymns as individual creations or inspired poems of people apart from one another. One of them belonging to family or clan of the Varuṇa-worshippers may then be supposed to have composed the hymn in which Varuṇa is the sole deity and so on with respect to Agni, Indra, Aśvin, Maruts, etc. At a later stage, by contact, the peoples recognized other gods as of subsidiary status still exhalting their original gods. Ṛgveda itself is synchretic in nature."[4]

As a matter of fact, the difference in the cultural make-up of the different Aryan groups is attested beyond doubt. This difference is most clearly visible between the Aryan clans of the Punjab or the Saptasindhava region, on the one hand, and those living in the eastern regions known first as Kurukṣetra and then as Madhyadeśa, on the other.

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1. Chanda, R. P. : *Indo-Aryan Races*, Vol. I, Rajshahi, 1916, p. 11.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
4. Sengupta, N. C. : *Evolution of Ancient Indian Law* (Tagore Law Lectures for 1950), Calcutta, 1953, pp. 29–30.

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Archaeological Evidence :

The differences in the cultural make-up of the Aryans, attested to by literature, must have its reflection in archaeology. The past two decades have been marked by brisk archaeological activities in India as well as Pakistan and several cultures, distinguished by their remains, have been equated with the Aryans.

B. B. Lal suggested that the Painted Grey Ware Culture is associable with 'the Pauravas, Pāñcālas, etc., who formed a part of the early Aryan stock in India.'[1] His suggestion is firmly based on an identification of several PGW sites with the seats of the Aryan people who participated in the Mahābhārata battle and the recent Seminar on Painted Grey Ware, organized by the Aligarh Mulsim University,[2] has shown that although one may argue whether the Aryans associated with the PGW represent an early stock or a later one,[3] the basic stand of Lal that PGW is Aryan pottery, cannot be challenged.

Before this identification of Lal, the scholars in general were inclined to accept the opinion of V. Gordon Childe and Mortimer Wheeler that the Cemetery H Culture represented the Aryans. It is, however, difficult to take the Cemetery H people as invaders of Harappa because stratigraphic evidence is clear and there is no overlap between the two cultures and the two people did not meet each other. So, if Cemetery H Culture is to be proved to be Aryan, it should be done so on the basis of an independent study of the cultural deposit from the Cemetery H. layers and not on the basis of the argument that they were the invaders of Harappa.

Another significant ceramic Industry which has been labelled as Aryan is the Black and Red Ware from the Banas Valley.[4] Since charcoal samples from Ahar I A have given the date 1725 ± 140 and since the chronological

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1. Lal, B. B. : "Excavations at Hastinapura and Other Explorations in the Upper Ganga and Sutlej Basins, 1950–52" in *Ancient India*, Nos. 10 & 11, 1954–55, pp. 150–151.

2. The Seminar was held on August 19–20, 1968 and was attended by eminent archaeologists like H. D. Sankalia, A. Ghosh, G. R. Sharma, A. K. Narain and others besides B. B. Lal, who presided.

3. I have shown that, although the PGW is their later achievement in the field of ceramic industry, the people who are associated with PGW, are not new comers to India and that Lal is perfectly justified in taking them as 'an early stock of Aryan.' See my Paper on "The Theory of Aryan Association of the Painted Grey Ware : An Analysis" (in press) in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Painted Grey Ware*, Aligarh Muslim University, August 18–19, 1968.

4. Sankalia, H. D. and others : *Excavations at Maheshwar and Navadatoli*, 1952-53, Deccan College, Poona, 1958; Agrawal, D. P. : "C 14 Dates, Banas Culture and the Aryans" in *Current Science*, 35, No. 5, March 5, 1966, pp. 114–117.

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priority of this pottery over the PGW is established from sites such as Ataranjikhera[1] and Noh,[2] scholars are in favour of accepting the Banas culture as representing the first wave and the PGW as the second wave of Aryans. I, however, find much difficulty in accepting the Aharian Black and Red Ware as Aryan. The Black and Red Ware has been found in Gujarat area too and, although the relationship of the Black and Red Ware from this region with the Black and Red Ware of Ahar and Ataranjikhera is yet to be confirmed on typological and other grounds, schólars seem to be inclined to connect them with each other. And if this is a fact, it is interesting to note that the C 14 dates from these sites (Lothal 2000 B. C., Ahar 1750 B. C. and Ataranjikhera 1200 B. C.) point to a successive movement of this industry from South to North as against the known direction of Aryan movement from North to South.

It may be pointed out here, as I have shown in detail elsewhere,[3] that the so-called reference of Black and Red Ware in the *Atharvaveda*[4] is completely baseless. The word *Nīla-lohita* found in the *Atharvaveda* is taken to denote a pot by N. R. Banerjee[5] and A. Ghosh thinks that it stands for the Black and Red Ware.[6] But the same verse is repeated at another place in the *Atharvaveda* and we have here *miśradhānye* (mixed grains) substituted in place of *Nīla-lohita*. Moreover, the above reference of *Nīla-lohita*, given by Banerjee, is from the Śaunaka recension of the *Atharvaveda*. Had he cared to see the same verse in the Paippalāda version of the *Atharvaveda*, he would have never mistaken *Nīla-lohita* for any pottery whatsoever.

The case of Plain Black and Red Ware from the Sarasvatī, Sutlej and Gaṅgā basins is, however, different. Recently, K. N. Dikshit has shown that the Painted Black and Red Ware and the Plain Black and Red Ware should be taken as different traditions on typological grounds.[7] Dikshit is inclined to believe that the users of the Plain Black and Red Ware were identical with the users of the Painted Grey Ware, but this goes against the

1. *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1963–64.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Singh, Shivaji ; " Vedic Literature on Pottery " (in press) in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Ancient Indian Potteries*, Patna University, Patna, April 10–13, 1968.
4. *Atharvaveda*, IV. 17.4.
5. Banerjee, N. R. : " The Aryan Age in India " in *Indian Prehistory* : 1964, Poona, 1965, p. 193.
6. Ghosh, A. : " A note on the Homeland of the Painted Grey Ware " (in press) in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Painted Grey Ware*, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, August 18–19, 1968.
7. Dikshit, K. N. : " A Note on the Problem of the Plain Black and Red Ware in Northern India " (in press) in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Ancient Indian Potteries*, Patna University, Patna, April 10–13, 1968.

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stratigraphic evidence from Ataranjikhera and Noh where B & RW is reported from the pre-PGW horizon. The Plain B & RW, therefore, seems to represent another group of Aryan people.

An equally significant culture, which is being equated with the Aryans, Gāndhāra Grave culture which has been brought to light by Italian and Pakistani expeditions in the Gāndhāra region.[1] A. H. Dani is of the view that the Plain Grey Ware of the Gāndhāra Grave Culture is genetically related to the Painted Grey Ware of the Sutlej and Gaṅgā basins and that in all probability the Gāndhāra Grave Culture represents an early stage of Aryan settlement in the Gāndhāra region. S. P. Gupta has reviewed these suggestions of Dani and he is of opinion that there is no relation between the Plain Grey Ware of the Gāndhāra Grave Culture and the Painted Grey Ware,[2] but it must be admitted that there is sufficient force in the second part of Dani's statement, i. e., the Gāndhāra Grave Culture is Aryan although there may not be any relation between the Plain Grey Ware of the Gāndhāra Grave Culture and the PGW of Hastināpura and other adjoining sites.

Thus, we find that there are several cultures in the field that have been equated with the Aryans. And, although some of these equations will not stand the test of critical analysis, a few of the suggestions such as those equating the Painted Grey Ware Culture and the Gāndhāra Grave Culture with Aryan seem to be forceful enough to command general approval.

In such a case, we are left with only two alternatives : either to say that only one of these equations is correct and the rest are wrong or alternatively to accept that different equations are correct in their turn and the Aryan culture complex was pluralistic in make-up. It is not easy to accept the first alternative and, therefore, the second one seems to force itself upon us. As the pluralistic concept of Aryan Culture Complex is supported by literature, it will be only reasonable if we accept it.

If we accept the above stand, the following conclusions will follow :

1. Before the rise of the synchretic culture of the Aryans of the early Vedic period, there were a large number of isolated cultures in the North-West Indian and West Pakistani region. These were in a process of

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1. Tucci, G. : " Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat " in *East and West*, Vol. IX, pp. 279 ff., Antonini, C. S. : " Preliminary Notes on the Excavation of the Necropolishes Found in Western Pakistan " in *East and West*, Vol. XIV, pp. 12 ff.; Stacul, G. : " Preliminary Report on the Pre-Buddhist Necropolishes in Swat " in *East and West*, Vol. XIV, pp. 37 ff.; Dani, A. H. : " Timargarh and Gandhara Grave Culture " in *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. III, 1967.

2. Gupta, S. P. : " Gandhara Grave Culture : Its Bearing on the Problem of the Painted Grey Ware and Aryan Migration " (in press) in *Proceedings of the Seminar on Painted Grey Ware*, Aligarh Muslim University, August 18-19 1968.

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developing cultural homogenity, which resulted into the rise of the Aryan culture of the Vedas.

2. The theories of two Aryan invasions, three Aryan inroads or two Aryan waves, put forth by scholars are inadequate to explain the initial diversity of the Aryan peoples.

3. The problem of the original home of Aryans, which has been taxing the minds of scholars for long, is meaningless in the above context of the pluralistic make-up of the Aryan culture complex, for peoples living in far-separated areas evolved the culture designated as Aryan by mutual contact and no single human stock is responsible for the rise of the Aryan culture as known to the Vedas.

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INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION

PHONEMIC NUCLEUS OF SUFFIXATION IN INDO-ARYAN

By

BIDYA NAND, KATHMANDU

Formation of words in Indo-Aryan is characterised by divisibility into roots and suffixes. The constants in a similar series of forms are known as roots while the variables as suffixes. The historical and comparative evidence reveals that what are taken as roots OIA have suffixes incorporated in them in many cases. A suffix may occur from zero to a compound of a number of suffixes. With zero suffixation a word may coincide with the root or occur with usual gradation. Suffixes taken as units the descriptive grammars have historically developed from simple or single elements of speech called phonemes. A phoneme working as a suffix could form a word, or it could combine with other phoneme or phonemes in the formation of a word. The word for year in Hittite *Wet* appears with apophonic variation in the Vedic *parut* – without any suffixation and with the addition of the suffix – *ka* the word becomes *parutka* 'last year'. Greek adds a suffix – *OS* to a different grade of this word and there it appears as (*F*) *ETOS*. The same word with suffixal differentiation appears in Skt. *Vatsa*, Pkt. *Vaccha* 'yearling calf'. With the addition of a *ka* suffix this word occurs in Prakrit as *vaccha* or *Vacha* differentiated by law of Morae or Vacca 'young' a child differentiated by sense in NIA. With the addition of another suffix – *ra* to this suffix *–sa*, the word appears with prefixation in Skt. as *Saṁvatsara* 'year', and a futher suffix–*iko* may be added so that the word assumes the form *Sāṁvatsarika* pertaining to year, astrologer. New suffixes may be added without any addition in the sense as well. The Middle Indian word *atta* 'harped or piled together' is formed with the suffix *–ta*, to which a suffix *–ala* is added and the form becomes *attala* – and with the further addition of a suffix *–ika*, the word becomes *attalika* 'atlic' without change in the meaning.

Each of the suffixal units can be shown as to how it might have developed from the simple phoneme. As it is not possible to treat the development of all the suffixal units in all the periods of their....., we shall limit our observations to the consideration of the development of the suffix *–K* in all its ramifications.

The non-thematic suffix *–K* occurs in a number of indeclinables in the O/A e. g. *Pṛthak* 'separately'; *rdhek* 'rightly, separately'; *jyok Yak* 'long';

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hiruk 'without'; *dhik* etc.; with difference in apophony in *manāk* 'little'. With combinatory change in the suffixes are formal *ubahakam* and *ubahika* 'at the same time'. As O/A does not permit conjunct consonants as word-finals, the words formed with non-thematic *-K* become early indeclinables. In other IE languages, the state is different. The element *-K* in these languages can combine with other phonemic suffixes to form conjunct clusters in word finals, e. g. G. K. ..... lad, lat. Less senex 'old man'. In accordance with the nature of the development of the Indo-Aryan, these words appear with a thematic form of the suffix in Skt. as *maryaka* -'young man'; *sanaka* 'old'

As a primary suffix the thematic suffix *-Ka* is a limited use in the language of the Vedas; i. e. *atka-m* 'garment'; *sloka -m* 'call'; *stoka -m* 'drop'. The adjectival formation *pāvaka* -'purer, fire' with suffixal accontruction is to be taken as a primary formation with the gradation -aka of the suffix and not otherwise as taken by the scholiast (*pavam kayatili*). The thematic suffixes in O/A added directly to the root form adjectival stems and in that use, it is accented. There were, however, two conditions in which this rule suffered relaxation: (1) the action nouns turned into adjectives retain their radical accentration, e. g. *abhi-krośaka* -'abuser' from *abhi-krośa* - 'abuse' (2) Accent is thrown back commonly in cases of nominatised adjectives, e. g., *sāyaka*- 'missile' (to throw'). Retraction or loss of the accent made further addition of a suffix necessary and the suffix *-ka* came to be added to the thematic suffix to compensate for the phonetic loss. Thus the suffix *-aka* came to widely replace the O/A thematic suffix as a formative of nomina agentis in later periods. The other grades of suffix occur in V. *Jahaka* -with extended grade, beside *Jahaka* - where it occurs in the normal grade. The same suffix *-Ka* occurs as a formative of past passive participle in *Śuṣka* - 'dried'.

From the small beginnings in the Vedas,[1] the suffix assumes great dimensions in the Brāhmaṇas. A list of all the occurrences of the suffix *-ka* in all its ramifications with apophonic and combinatory variations has been compiled by F. Edgerton[2] mainly with a view to illustrate the semantic subtleties and developments of this suffix. As the examples are many and varied, they naturally cannot be covered within the compass of this paper. Avoiding repetitions, it may be said that the suffix *-ka* occurs there in all grades and with all possible combinations, e. g., (i) as an extension to the thematic suffix, e. g., *rūpaka*-'having assumed forms'; *antaka* -'making end'; (ii) with gradation-*aka* in *Janaka* progenitor, 'proper name'; (iii) in extended grade combined

1. Vide : Sāyaṇa's commentary on RV. I. 3, 10.
2. Vide : F- Edgerton, K. Suffixes in Indo-Aryan, *RAS*. 1226.

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with the suffix -u in Ikṣvāku-' proper name ' etc. Other vocalic suffixes were likewise extended by the addition of *-Ka*, e. g., *mṛdika* -ut ' grace '; *ghātuka* -'killing '. As a secondary suffix, the suffix *-Ka* had four-fold usages :

(1) Firstly, its use was phonastic adding nothing to the meaning of the stem e. g. *dūraka* – ' distant '; *arbhaka*- ' small ' (2) Secondly, the suffix *-ka* was used to carry a diminutive sense, e. g., *putraka* –'little son', *kumāraka* ' little child '; *vamraka* ' little ant '; (3) Thirdly, the suffix *-ka* in many forms carries an additional sense of endearment; e. g. *Putraka* – ' dear little son; (4) Fourthly, the suffix *-ka* denotes the senses of artificiality ' treated as ', ' made of ' etc.; e. g. *putraka* –' treated as (not one's own) son '. The suffix *-ka* combines with other suffixes to form compound suffixes, e. g., with *-iyas* in *aṇīyaska* ' thinner '; with *-is* in *mastiṣka* ' head '; with *not* in *viksinatka* –'destroying '.

The gradation *-aka*, as a primary suffix, forms a large number of adjectives/nomina agentis in classical Sanskrit; e. g. *kāraka* ' doer ', *hāraka* –' carrier ', *dhāraka* –' sustainer ', *paraka* –' cock ' etc. It was as a secondary suffix that the use of *ka* suffix became very widespread in classical Sanskrit.

Variant apophony of the root is seen in M/A stems formed with the suffix *-ka*. The common type of apophony seen among agent nouns/adjectives is that which has the unstrengthened or weak grade of the root followed by the suffix *-aka* e. g. Amg. *lusaga*–'snatcher, thief ' from root *lu*–, IE *lew* with extension–*S*, Amg. present *lusei* ' breaks, steals '; cf Marathi *lusnem*; *ājīvaka* 'a jain monk' from root *Jīv* with ā; ā *hundaga*, ā *hundaya*, a hundika –' mover, traveller ' from root *hid* , with nasalisation *hind*, the O/A root *himo* with extension *d* forms the new root hid–hind–, to harm, to wander, udiraya (Panha) 'inspirer, Udiraka from root *ir* –with *ut*; *pharaa* (Deśi) weapon spharaka –from root *sphar* –' to brandish' *asivaa* (Deśi) ' tailor ' from root *siv*–with *ā*. The suffix added to the unstrengthened roots forms Aśokan *abhi-ramaka* –G ' amusing, amusement ' from root *ram* ' to enjoy ' with *abhi*–; WAP *Kamaga* (kum) ascetic ' from root *kṣam* ' to forbear '.

The second type of apophony seen in adjectival nomina agentis formations in M/A is that which has the strengthened grade of the root followed by suffix *-aka* Pati *upathaka* BS *Upasthaka* ' attendant ' from root *Sthā* –with *upa* Amg. *avahedaga* (Dasav 10, 10), JM *ava –helaa* (supa) ' disrespecting ' from root *hid*,–*hil* formed from root *hiṁs* with the extension *d*; *vihethaga* (Dasav) from root *hith* -formed from the root *hiṁs* with the extension *th* ; Aśokan *pativedaka* –' informer ' from root *vid* with *prati*; M *dunnikhevaa* - (H) ' wrongly placed deposit ' *durnikṣapaka*- from root *kṣip* -with *dur* -and *-ni*. A past passive participle is seen formed with the suffix - *aka* in Aśokan *avagamaka* - D. J ' as far as understood ' *Yāvatgamaka* - from root *gam* - with *yavat*.

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Roots may appear in extended grade with the suffix *-aka* e. g. Aśokan *Śrāvaka* - SM, *Sāvaka*, KDJ 'to be heard, proclamation' from root *śru-* 'to hear' *Anaramaya* - (Deśi) 'unpleasant' from root *ram* with *ana* privative.

The present stems of verbs of either primary or secondary conjugations are equally productive of new stems in M/A (1) From the present stem of primary conjugation are formed e. g. Pati *Janaka* -Amg. Janaga -'Knower' B. S. *ajanaka* -'ignorant' from present stem *jana* -of root *jña* 'to know' (2) From the present stem of the causative are formed e. g. Amg. *chaddavaga* 'causing to forsake' from root *chard* -, Aśokan *Sravapaka* - G. 'proclamation', *dāpaka* - SMGKD 'to be caused to be given' from root *dā-*

Forms in *-aka* on account of usage became capable in M/A to carry the sense of verbal nouns and to serve as periphrases to the verb, carrying senses referring both to the past and the future. Referring to the past *-aka* forms are firstly found serving the purpose of past passive participles e.*g.*, Asokan *gamaka* -in *avagamaka-* interpreted 'as far as understood, burnt.' In this use of the suffix *-aka*, there is a dichotomy with the past passsive participle of the type: *gamaka* : *gaya* -(*gata-*). Secondly the *-aka* formation can serve the purpose of periphrastic preterite e. g. BS. *Pañcāśa varṣa pi tadā palāyakaḥ* (Sp. 112. 1 vs.) 'even for fifty years he was then a fugitive'. In this use of the suffix, there is a dichotomy of the type *palāyakaḥ : palāyitaḥ-* the two forms being actually attested as manuscript variants.

Referring to the future the suffix *aka* is capable to carry a gerundive sense e. g., Aśokan - *ya ca kimci mukhato anapayami dāpakam vō sravapekam vā* G. 'whatever I order verbally to be given, or to be heard'. In *-aka* formation of this type with gerundive sense, there is a dichotomy of the type *dāpakam*: *dātavyam*. Secondly the *-aka* forms in M/A are conveniently employed to serve as periphrases to the preterite verb, e. g., BS *bhagavato padavandakāḥ*, 'they came to salute the Lord's feet,; *pānīyam payako* 'intending to drink water'. Thirdly the formations in *-aka* may be construed to carry an infinitival sense. e. g. BS. *vadhaka* - 'for the purpose of killing', *snāyaka* 'in order to bathe.' The gerund formative *-am* is added to the suffix *-aka* and thus a compound suffix *-akam* is produced. This compound suffix *-akam* functions in the M/A in the same way as the gerund formative-*am* e. g., Pati *Jihva -niccharakam*, BS *Jihvaniscarekam*[1] 'putting out the tongue'; BS *alop-karakam* 'making a morsel, a piece of it'; *śālīharakam gatasya* 'when (he had) gone on rice-gathering'; *kavada-chedakam* 'in the manner of dividing morsels of (food)'.

1. Vide F. Edgerton : *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar* £ 35.3.

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By adding *-ka* to the suffix- *i*, the compound suffix *-ika* is produced which is a productive suffix in M/A. The suffix *-ika* as a primary suffix is a M/A development. In O/A the feminine of the compound suffix *-ika* is extended beyond its original use seen in formation like *avīkā* 'sheep' etc. and it is used to function as feminine to masculines in-*aka* : e. g. *Kumāraka* ' little boy ': *Kumārikā* ' little girl'. In M/A the suffix *- ika* functions as a primary suffix and is productive of new stems. Such formations may occur with weakening or strengthening of the root : e. g., (1) Amg. giddiya ' playing stick ' ∠ giddika formed from the defunct root *gid* ∠ *grid* -∠ root *krīḍ* - to play ' (2) Pati *vadhika* (MLN) ' increasing ' from root *Vṛdh*; Amg. *avacaiya* -' decreasing ' ∠ apacayika-; gehia - (Panha) covetous ∠ *gradhika-*; *Coria* ' thief ' *aivattika* - ' transgressor ' ∠ *ativartika-*; *pavattika*. ' ascetic's equipment' ∠ *pravartika*, *phoḍiya* ' boil ' sphoṭika from root *sphuṭ* 'to burst'.

The suffix *-ika* is also a formative of action nouns in M/A. In these formations *-ka* is merely an extension to the suffix *-i* which forms action nouns usually feminine such as *gehi*-' greed ', *Jhuni* - 'noise ' etc. The development of this type of formation is due to the tendency prevalent in M/A to bring the non-thematic stems to thematic pattern. Examples are Pati *gamika gamiya* -(Vin.) ' going ' from root *gam*, *carika* -going (for alms). The feminines of these action nouns are formed on the O/A pattern by addition of the feminine formative *-a* and not M/A- *i* to the suffix *-ika* : e. g. Pati carika -' going (on alms pilgrimage), walking '; JM *amiya* - ' attraction ' ∠ *ancika*.

The suffix *-ika* forms some agent nouns/adjectives from the present stems of secondary conjugations (1) From causative stems : e. g. *avaiya* (Thana) ' serving ' ∠ *apatika* - from *apatayati*; *aipaiya*-(suyag) ' destroyer' from root *pat* with *ati* (2) From desiderative stems are formed, e. g. Amg. *ijjisiya* (*Bhag*) ' desiring to worship ' formed from the desiderative stem of the denominative from *ijja*- ∠ Skt. *ijya* ' sacrifice, worship '.

By adding *-ka* to the suffix-*u*, the compound suffix-*uka* is produced as is evident from the O/A *dhenuka*, -' cow '. Examples in O/A are *ghātuka*- ' killing ' *Jatuka* - ' bat '. In M/A this suffix is productive of some agent nouns/ adjectives. The stems there are formed from roots with different grades and also from the present stem of the verbs (i) From the weak grade of the root are formed e. g. Amg. *vimchuya*- (Thana), M. *vimchua*, *vicchua* -' scorpion', from root ..... - ' to sting, to pierce ' (ii) From the strengthened grade of the root are formed Amg. JM. *phasuya* -(Ayara) ' touchable, pure ', from root *Spṛś*-; *a-phasuya* ' impure' with a privative; WAP. *pavasua* ' sojourner ' from root *Vas* with *pra*. (iii) from the present stems are formed e. g,. Amg. S. M. Janua-, M. Yanua- known from the present stem *Jana* -Skt. present *janab*.

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The suffix *-ka* followed by *-i* stands palatalised in O/A formations like *marīci* 'ray'; '*svitici*- 'bright'. The gradation *-ak* is compounded with *-u* in formations like O/A *pṛdaku* -' watersnake', *Yavaku* 'belonging to you two', *Ikṣvāku* -' proper name'.

The IE suffix *-K* developed into-K in the centum languages and into *Ś* in Sanskrit.This-*Ś* appears as a formative in many as a secondary suffix : e. g. *kapiśa-* 'tawny', *romaśa-* 'hairy' *babhruśa* -' brown', *śataśat* 'hundred times'; *Saharaśa* - 'thousand times'.

In later evolution, the suffix *-ka* emerges predominantly as a secondary suffix, as a secondary suffix *-ka* in all its ramifications is a productive source of new stems in all periods of Indo-Aryan. Examples are too many to be cited here and are very common too. In NIA, a large number of stems have been formed with the secondary suffix *-ka* The gradation *-aka* formed the stems : Bh. *patta* or by law of Morae *Pata* 'leaves' ∠ *Patraka* -; *baccha* or *bacha* 'calf' ∠ *Vatsaka*-; *sua* 'parrot' ∠ *Sukaka*, *kaua* 'crow' ∠ *kasaka* ∠*kako aka* ∠ *kakaḥ aka*. An interesting development of the suffix-*Ka* is its wide use as formative of the past passive participle in Nepali. e. g. *bhaneko* 'said', *siddhieka* 'finished', *bhaeko* 'done, finished' etc. They occur in all the senses described above and with all the apophonic variations and all the possible combinations. What here has been illustrated with regard to *-k* is true of all the phonemes used as suffixes.

The above considerations lead to the following conclusions and point out to the principles that underlie word-formations whether nouns or verbs in Indo-Aryan.

(1) Apophony : The roots as well as suffixes could appear in any of the three grades - strong, extended or weak with apophonic variations. Thus for example a root *bhū* -could appear as *bhav* -/*bhāv*-/*bhū* - or a suffix-*k* as *ak*/*ak*/*k* or in thematic forms as -*aka*/-*āka*/-*ka* in the these grades. The compound suffixal units could likewise appear with apophonic variations.

(2) Combinatory development : The phonemes serving as suffixes could combine with one or more other phonemes to form compound suffixes. The compound nature of the suffixes becomes clear when historical and comparative evidence is taken into consideration. The analysis of the combinatory developments in different languages of the family shed considerable light upon the history of development of the suffixes in Indo-Aryan. Thus, for example, the IE suffix - *Os* occurring in Greek *FETOS* has been enlarged by a suffix *-ra* in Indo-Aryan *valsara*-. In a number of forms, the suffix-*m* stands enlarged by a neuter formative *-n* : e. g. *dharma : dharman*; *tokma -tokman* 'shoot, offspring'; *narma*-: *narman* 'sport, pastime' etc. The same suffix *-m* stands with a thematic combination in *adhama*- 'low', *daṣama*

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–' tenth '. These examples illustrate how a suffix could incorporate within another phoneme or phonemes and form a compound unit.

(3) Semantic evolution : The senses develop with usage in course of history. It is the process of historical evolution which creates differences and adds subtler shades to the senses expressed by the addition of suffixes. Difference in sense is bound to develop when several words formed from same root with different suffixes appear side by side. But this is a matter of idiom and usage. This has nothing to do with the formal or physical development of the suffixes. The development of the suffixes is thus to be considered from two view-points : (1) Firstly, the suffixes are to be analysed and studied from the view-point of their formal development. (2) Secondly, the suffixes are to be studied from the view-point of semantic evolution.

Suffixes form the nucleus round about which the Indian grammatical systems have evolved. The grammatical system of Pāṇini is based upon the central theme of suffixes, their combinations, modifications and substitutions. The number and complexity of suffixes in Indo-Aryan is very great. Grammarians enumerate a thousand of them. The whole complexity can be simplified and resolved by a historical approach to the study of the suffixal system. This would naturally involve a study from the start – from the simple or single elements of speech that is phonemes which serve as basic suffixes. In the process of description, the history of the growth of the suffixal units will become itself delineated. This would reduce the formidable number of suffixal units and centre them round about the number of phonemic nucleus.

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ON THE ETYMOLOGY OF A VOCABLE IN THE AŚOKAN EDICTS

By

MISS DIPALI GHOSAL, CALCUTTA

Regarding the interpretation of the form *hamā* in the Bairat (Bhahru) Stone Inscription of Aśoka there is dispute among the scholars. The form is stated to be corresponding to Sanskrit *mama* or *asmākam*, the form of the genitive singular or plural of the 1st person. The expression as it follows from the context is surely a form of the genitive, be it singular or plural. It occurs in the line which reads: *vidite ve bhante ābatake hamā budhasi dhammasi saṅghasiti gālave ca pasāde ca*. Its translation occurs: 'Reverend Sirs, it is known to you how far go my esteem (or regard) and faith in the Buddha. The Dharma (the Law of piety) and the Saṅgha (the Congregation).' The translation of the line corroborates the view that has been expressed above. In other words the expression *hamā* is definitely a form of the genitive.

Now let us see what might be the origin of the form. Jules Bloch[1] explains it as the product of contamination of two words, viz, *aham* and *mama*. But this explanation does not appear suitable because it does not show the origin of the vowel *ā* that stands at the final syllable of the word i.e., *hamā*.

According to our opinion the term *asmā* is the real source of this word. It is the stem-form of the pronoun for the 1st person, which is being used for the form of the genitive. In its evolution it has been subject to the following phonetic modifications. At first by anaptyxis this word *asmā* becomes *asamā*, then by aphesis the initial vowel *a* disappears and finally the dental *s* becomes changed into *h*, which produces the form *hamā* from *asmā*. The change of *s* to *h* is not an uncommon phenomenon in Prakrit. In the Aśokan Prakrit too we note the trace of the phenomenon. Here we get the form *dāsyanti* as developing into *dāhanti* (4th pillar edict) and *eṣyatha* into '*ehatha*' (1st Kaliṅga edict, Dhauli version), where the same kind of change of *s* to *h* is to be noticed, although the same sound *s* remains combined with another consonant. Now some may argue that the word *asmā* as a stem-form cannot be found anywhere, so it is not proper to consider it as the

1. *Aśokan inscription introduction*, Section 33, page—70.

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source of the word *hamā*. But there is no scope for this kind of argument since the occurrence of the stem *asmā* is suggested by such terms like *asmābhiḥ*, *asmākam*, *asmāsu* etc. all of which are formed from the stem *asmā*. Further the pronominal adjective word *asmāka* also suggests the occurrence of *asmā* as the stem-form, since *asmāka* develops from the combination of *asmā+ka*, the latter being a suffix giving the adjectival character to the word. We get also the form *yusmāka* where *yusmā* stands as the stem and becomes combined with *Ka*.

Thus we conclude that there is no harm in deriving the word *hamā* from the stem-form *asmā*. Prakrit *amhā* occurring in Māhārāṣṭrī form *amhāṇaṁ* also suggests the prevalence of *asmā* as the stem-form, which is the source of *hamā* in the present case.

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ORIGIN OF INDO-EUROPEAN LONG SECONDARY VOWELS

By

SATYA SWARUP MISRA, CALCUTTA.

The Indo-European long Secondary Vowels (henceforth SV = Secondary Vowel) are of twofold origin. It is well-established that in many cases they have developed due to contraction of a short SV with schwa. I assume that, in other cases, a long SV was invariably a positional variant of a short SV. when this was preceded by a heavy syllable and followed by a consonant.

This assumption rests on the following basis.

Edgerton has shown in *Language* (XIX pp. 83 – 124) that a SV had three positional variations. (i) It was short syllabic (e. g. *i*) if preceded by a light syllable and followed by a consonant. (ii) It was consonantal (e. g. *y*) if preceded by a light syllable and followed by a vowel. (iii) It was syllabic-cum-consonantal (e. g. *iy*) if preceded by a heavy syllable.

Edgerton's strong and logical assumption remains incomplete, because of his partial silence about the syllabic-cum-consonantal SV and full silence about the long SV. I add the following to his statement, so that it becomes complete. (Vide iii above) (iii) It was syllabic-cum-consonantal (e. g. *iy*) if preceded by a heavy syllable and followed by a vowel. (iv) It was long syllabic if preceded by a heavy syllable and followed by a consonant.

Now my portion of the theory is to be proved. That the syllabic-cum-consonantal SV occurred before vowels and the long SV occurred before consonants is universal and obvious. But that a long SV occurred after a heavy syllable cannot be illustrated. Yet in this respect it must be parallel to syllabic-cum-consonantal SV. These two must have had identical situation with reference to the previous sound. They differed with reference to the following sound as stated above (e. g. I-E Nom. Sg. bhrū-s. Skt. bhrūḥ, Gk. ophrūs. IE. Gen. Sg. bhruw-os, Skt. bhruvaḥ, Gk. ophruos etc.). The preceding situation for long SV cannot be illustrated because this long SV was confused in proto-IE period with the contractional long SV, which presumably occurred after light syllables. That the contractional long SV occurred after light syllables is evident from its alternative treatment in IE. (e. g. IE. after heavy syllables tri + ə > triy + ə > triyə cp Gk. tria, otherwise after light syllables tri + ə > trī cp. Vd. trī). Individual languages have generalised either forms.

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Edgerton has cited a number of examples for illustrating the alternation of short syllabic SV, consonantal SV and syllabic-cum-consonantal SV and examples are cited below for illustrating the alternation of long SV.

IE q̊is, q̊im : IE q̊īs, q̊īm
(cp Skt. kiḥ, kim, Gk. tis, Lat. quis, Ht. kwis etc.) : (cp Skt. (Vd) kīs, kīm).
IE ǧiwos : IE ǧīwos
(cp Gk. bios. Goth. qius) : (Skt. jīvas, Lat. vīvus etc.)
IE wiros : IE wīros
(cp Lat. vir, Skt. vīra in Vd virāṣāṭ) : (Skt. vīras, Lith. vyras)
IE wiso— : IE wīso—
(cp Skt. viṣa–) : (cp Gk. ío̅s, Lat. vīrus, Av. vīšō)
IE. Su : IE. Sū
(Skt. su, Av. hu, Gk. hu— : (Skt. Sūnara–)
IE. nu : IE nū
(Skt. Gk, Ht, OE. nu) : (Skt. Av, OE, Gk. nū)
IE. Stṛ : IE. Stṝ
(Skt. vistṛtas, Gk. stratos) : (Skt. vistīrṇas, Gk. strōtos, Lat. stratus)
IE pl̥ : pl̥̄
(Av. pərənō, Goth. fulls, Lith. pilnas, O. Bulg. plŭnŭ) : (Skt. pūrṇas, Gk. polloi)
IE. ǧm̥ : IE ǧm̥̄
(Skt.gatas, Gk. batós, Av. jasaiti etc.) : (Skt. gāt, Gk. bê)
IE. ǧhn̥ : IE. ǧhn̥̄
(Skt. hatas, Gk. phatos) : (Skt. ghātas, Gk. thnātos)

Besides examples are well-known for alternation of ī : iy, ū : uw etc. (Skt. dhīs : dhiyas, bhrūs : bhrūvas etc. Gk. ophrûs, ophrous etc.)

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DRAVIDIC STUDIES SECTION

THE INFLUENCE OF CAṄKAM LITERATURE ON KAMPAN

By

M. A. DORAIRANGASWAMY, MADURAI

The origin of the story of Rāma belongs to the pre-historic period. It is said that the story of Rāma was written first of all by Saint Vālmīki in Sanskrit and the epic so written by him has been considered as the 'Ādi Kāvya' or the 'First Epic' in Sanskrit, known by the name Rāmāyaṇa. It belongs to the category of 'Itihāsa' literature on account of the extraordinary happenings or occurrences mentioned in it which make readers marvel at each happening and ask themselves with awe and wonder, "Can it be so?". It is surmised that the story of Rāma came to be known to the people of the other languages only after Vālmīki wrote his *Rāmāyaṇa*.

But evidences in Caṅkam literature in Tamil show independently that the Tamilians were familiar with the story of Rāma even before they came to know of the existence of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* in Sanskrit. These ideas are not found in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and therefore they are fit to be considered as original traditions about the story of Rāma belonging to the pre-historic period of the Tamil country handed down from generation to generation till at last they were recorded in Caṅkam literature. It may be that there was an epic of the story of Rāma in Tamil belonging to the pre-historic period, but along with other works of the pre-Tolkāppiyan era, it was lost to us.

Kampaṉ of the medieaval period of the history of Tamil literature has written the story of Rāma in his great and well known epic, originally called *Rāmāvatāram*, though it is now known as *Kampa Rāmāyaṇam*. It is considered by some as a translation of *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*, but a thorough examination of *Kampa Rāmāyaṇam* will show that it is more an adaptation than a translation of it. It is said that Kampaṉ himself confessed that he had taken a spoonful from every available work in Tamil to compose his epic, keeping the story of Rāma as the background. *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* would have served him as the background for his epic. Parallel ideas and lines can be quoted from several works in Tamil to show how they influenced Kampaṉ. It is now for us to show the influence of Caṅkam literature on Kampaṉ.

Vālmīki depicts Rāma more as a heroic prince with divine qualities than as an incarnation of God. But Kampaṉ depicts Rāma as an *avatāra* of God at every turn. He is blamed for this conviction of his by a group of

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Tamil scholars who are of opinion that *Rāmāyaṇa* is only a narration of the expedition of the northerners under the leadership of Rāma to the south to crush and root out the Tamils. Was Kampaṉ, by himself, responsible for mentioning Rāma as an *avatāra* of God? Not at all. Then what was his source? Alwars of the hymnal period have of course sung in all their compositions depicting Rāma as an *avatāra*. We may now ask how did they get that conviction? What is their source?

We have an anecdote in Caṅkam literature (*Akanāṉūṟu*, 70) used as a simile. Rāma and the Vānara heroes held a secret conference to discuss the ways and means of rescuing Sītā from Rāvaṇa. The conference was held under a large banyan tree near the shore of 'Toṉmutukōṭi', of the Pāṇṭiyas now known as Dhanuṣkōṭi. The birds were chirrupping so loudly, not to speak of the noise of the roaring waves of the seas, that it was found impossible for them to hear one another. But at the commanding gesture of Rāma, the whole noise of the birds and the seas hushed up into complete silence so that they were able to conduct the conference successfully and smoothly. If we make a trip to Dhanuṣkōṭi, we can notice even now the still waters of the seas there, as reminiscence of the past incident or event. The then people of the Tamil country were eye-witness to this miraculous deed of Rāma and the miracle was handed down from generation to generation until at last it was recorded in the Caṅkam literature. Can any ordinary human being control nature? Nature can be controlled only by God who is beyond nature. Hence it is that Rāma is to be conceived as an *avatāra* of God, if not God Himself. Is it not right on our part, therefore, to say that Kampaṉ was influenced by this anecdote of Caṅkam literature to treat Rāma as an *avatāra* of God?[1]

We shall examine another anecdote of the story of Rāma in Caṅkam literature:

When Rāma was in exile, he was living in Daṇḍakāraṇya with his wife Sītā, and brother Lakṣmaṇa. Rāvaṇa wanted to have Sītā as his own consort. He would wage a hand to hand fight with him, defeat him and take her away. But Rāma was such an invincible hero, an *avatāra*, that Rāvaṇa could not at all defeat him. He was 'Katunteṟal Irāmaṉ'. Rāvaṇa could take her away in his (Rāma's) absence. But Sītā was always united with Rāma. Both of them were one soul with two bodies, inseparable from each other. It was Rāma who was ordered to go into exile. But Sītā could not

1. "Veṉvēr Kavuriyar toṉmutu Kōṭi
Mulaṅkirum pavvam iraṅkum muṉtuṟai
Velpōr Irāmaṉ arumaraikku avinta
Palvil ālam pōla". (*Akanāṉūṟu*, 70).

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keep herself away from Rāma and hence she followed him with pleasure though she was made aware of the torture she must undergo in the forest. She was "Utaṉpuṇar Cītai". Rāvaṇa realized that he had no strength to defeat Rāma and carry away Sītā. He was, "Valit- takai arakkaṉ". 'Takai' in ancient usage would mean 'without'. Rāvaṇa was without strength. So, what did he do? He came in disguise and by a cunning plot made Rāma go away from Sītā for a while and during his absence kidnapped her. In two lines,

"Katunteṟal irāman Uṭaṉpuṇar citaiyai
Valittakai arakkaṉ vaviya ñaṉṟai",

Caṅkam literature has given in a nutshell what *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and *Kampa Rāmāyaṇa* have given in detail in the first three cantos (Kāṇḍams). What next?

When Rāvaṇa was passing through the peaks of the Kiṣkindha mountains carrying Sītā with him, the latter removed all the ornaments from herself, tied them into a bundle with a piece of cloth torn from her own saree, and threw it in the midst of the monkeys there.

Monkeys have got a special instinct to examine everything they come across, part by part as a doctor skilled in the science of anatomy would do. We have a proverb to reveal this trait: "As a flower garland got into the hands of a monkey". What will a monkey do with a flower garland? It will pluck out each and every petal from each flower, smell or bite each petal and throw it out as useless and run away. This is on account of its inborn instinct of curiosity.

Now we can imagine what the monkeys would have done when they found a bundle of ornaments in their midst. This incident occurred in the South and the Tamilians were as before eye-witnesses, to the occurrence and a record of it is found in Caṅkam literature as a simile. Where?

Ilañceṭ cenni was a Cōḻa king of Caṅkam period. He was a great warrior. He was about to lead an expedition of war when a minstrel (pāṇa) approached him with his family members and sang musical compositions in praise of his attempt. Pleased very much by his praises, the Cōḻa presented him with precious ornaments plundered from his enemies in war. As the ornaments were not specially made for them and as they were not accustomed to adornments of such varieties, they adorned their fingers wrongly with the ear ornaments and their ears with finger ornaments; they adorned their necks with waist ornaments and their waists with neck ornaments and so on. This mistaken action of theirs was exactly like that of the monkeys mentioned above. Sugrīva, the leader of the monkeys collected the ornaments and preserved them in a bundle in a safe place. Who will not smile, when they

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come in contact with this kind of action either of the monkeys or of the pāṇas? Caṅkam literature has a beautiful record of this humourous action.[1]

This action of the monkeys does not find a place in *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa*. Why? The reason is obvious. The action took place in the South and Vālmīki belonging to the North was not aware of any such tradition prevailing there. But Kampaṉ must have been aware through Caṅkam literature of the action of the monkeys. Then how was it that he did not mention this action in his *Kampa Rāmāyaṇam*?

Both Vālmīki and Kampaṉ mention the ornaments bundled and thrown in the midst of the monkeys by Sītā only in the *Kiṣkindhā* Kāṇḍam where Sugrīva is made to present the bundle to Rāma. Vālmīki says here that Rāma swooned as soon as he saw the ornaments. After he got up Lakṣmaṇa was made to console him. Vālmīki deals more about Lakṣmaṇa's character than about that of Rāma here.

But Kampaṉ identifies himself with Rāma here and with all seriousness narrates Rāma's emotion of grief. So, there is no opportunity for him to mention about the humourous statement contained in Caṅkam literature. He elaborates the contents of the phrase "Uṭaṉ puṇar cītai", the special trait of the Tamilians, in treating Akapporuḷ. At the sight of the several ornaments, Rāma is made to have a vision of the several limbs of Sītā and cry in grief at his separation from her.

One more place in *Kampa Rāmāyaṇam* is worth mentioning to show how Kampaṉ was influenced by Caṅkam literature. A bow handled by Śiva Himself had to be bent to win the hand of Sītā. Many tried and failed in their attempt. It was Rāma's turn and he succeeded without any exertion whatsoever in his attempt. Vālmīki has merely said here that Rāma took the bow without any exertion but when he bent it, it broke into two with a roaring noise which made all except Viśvāmitra, Janaka and Rāma swoon.

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1 "Eñcā marapiṉ vañci pāṭa
Emakkoṉa vakutta alla mikappala
Mēmpaṭu ciṟappiṉ aruṅkala voṟukkai
Tāṅkātu poḻitan tōnō atukaṇṭu
Ilampāṭu uḷantaoṉ irumpōr okkal
Viraṟceṟi marapiṉa cevittoṭak kunarum
Cevittotar marapiṉa viraṟ ceṟik kunarum
Araikkamai marapiṉa miṭaṟṟiyāk kunarum
Miṭarramai marapiṉa araikkiyak kunarum
Katunteṟal irāmaṉ utaṉpuṇar cītaiyai
Valittakai arakkaṉ vayviya ñāṉrai
Nilañcōr mataraṇi kaṇṭa kuraṅkīṉ
Cemmukap peruṅkilai iḷaippoliṉ tāṅku
Aṟāa arunakai initupoṟ ṟikumē" (*Puṟanānu*, 378)

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But Kampaṉ's narration of this incident is full of rhetoric beauty. He has said that Rāma took the bow as if it was a flower garland fit to be offered to Sītā in marriage to adorn herself with. When he attempted to bend the bow, all, around him watched the action so closely with rapt attention even without winking their eyes. But in spite of it, they were not able to follow fully his swift actions. They were not aware of how he placed one end of the bow at his feet to bend it nor how he fitted the bow-string at the other end of it. They only saw him lifting the bow and at once heard the noise of its breaking into two :

" Taṭuttimai yāmal iruntavar tāḷiṉ
Maṭuttatum nāṇuti vaittatum nōkkār
Kaṭuppiṉil yārum aṟintilar kaiyāl
Eṭuttatu kaṇṭaṉar iṟṟatu kēṭṭār " (*Kārmukappaṭalam*–34)

The rhetorical narration of the speedy action of Rāma is appreciated as Kampaṉ's original contribution in full. But we may point out that he had his source from Caṅkam literature.

The warfare has come to an end. The hero is very keen to meet his beloved as soon as possible. So he boards his chariot. Within a wink of the eye the charioteer begs of him to alight from the chariot. The hero is astonished. He observes, " What ! I was aware of my entering into the chariot. But I was not at all aware of how the chariot passed such a long distance so soon. I am very much amazed at your request that I have to get down from the chariot, stopping it in front of the house of my beloved. Did you attach the wind that moves about in space in great speed to your chariot as the horse ? Or, did you attach your mind in the form of horse to the chariot ? Please tell me my friend ! Please ! May you live long ! "[1]

Do not the words, " Eṟiya taṟintaṉ ṟallutu vantavāṟu naṉiyarin taṉṟō ilaṉē ", suggest that they are really the source for Kampaṉ's words " Etuttatu kaṇṭaṉar, iṟṟatu kēṭṭār ?"

Many are the words and phrases in Kampaṉ's *Rāmāyaṇam* (K. R.) to show the influence of Caṅkam literature on him. A few are given below :

1. (a) *Taṇiṉḷal.* (*Pattinap*; 204)

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1 " Peruntēr yāṉum
Eṟiya taṟintaṉ ṟallatu vantavāṟu
Naṉi yaṟintaṉṟo ilaṉō.....
Melliyal arivai ilvayiṉ niṟṟi
Iḷimiṉ eṉṟaniṉ moḷimaṉaṉ ṭiciṉō
Vāṉvaḷaṅ kiyaṟkai vaḷipūṭ tiṉaiyō
Māṉuru vākaniṉ maṉampūṭ tiṉaiyō
Uraimati vāḷiyō valava !" (*Akanāṉūṟu*, 384)

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(b) *Taṉṉilal.* (K. R; 176)

Substance: Mercy of the most sympathetic and everlasting nature; cf. 'ira anpu' of *Periyapurāṇam.*

2. (a) 'Ceṟuvar nōkkiya kaṇtaṉ
Ciṟuvaṉai nōkkiyum civappā ṉāvē:' (*Puranā.*, 100)
(b) 'Maṉṉar Maṉṉavaṉ.....
Kōmakar tirumukam kuṟuki nōkkiṉāṉ' (K. R., 290)

S: Father seeing his child at the first time after birth.

3. (a) 'Nallicai vēṭṭa nayaṉuṭai neñciṟ
Kaṭappāṭṭāḷaṉ poruḷpōr curuṅkum' (*Kuṟun.*, 142)
(b) 'Immaṉṉaṉ peruñcēṉai
ivutaṉai mēṟkoṇṭa
Cemmaṉṉar pukaḷvēṭṭa
poruḷēpōṟ rēyntatāl' (K. R., 771)

S: Wealth diminishing on account of charity for attaining fame.

4. (a) 'Piṭiyūṭṭi-p piṉuṇṇum kaḷiṟu' (*Kalit.*, 11)
(b) 'Kompukaḷ paṉaikkai niṭṭi-k
kuḷaiyoṭum otittu-k kōṭṭu-t
Tumpikaḷ uyirē aṉṉa
tuṇaimaṭa-p piṭikku nalkum' (K. R., 929)

S: Bull-elephant feeding the cow-elephant first and then taking its own.

5. (a) 'Vēṅkaiyum oḷḷiṇar virintaṉa' (*Akanā.*, 2)
(b) 'Kaṇmalar koṭicci mārkku-k
kaṇittoḷil puriyum vēṅkai' (K. R., 930)

S: Vēṅkai tree revealing auspicious time for marriage like an astrologer by blossoming.

6. (a) 'Putumalar tēṭum vaṇṭē pōla' (*Kalit.*, 26)
(b) 'Uṇmalar veṟutta tumpi
Putiyatēṉ utavu nāka-t
Taṇmalar eṉṟu vāṉa-t
tārakai tāvum aṉṟē' (K. R., 930)

S: Bees searching new blossoms for honey getting disgusted with old blossoms.

7. (a) 'Arivai kūntaliṉ
Naṟiyavum uḷavōṉi aṟiyum pūvē' (*Kuṟun.*, 2)
(b) 'Tuṟumpōti niṟṟēṉ tuvaittuṇṭuḷal
tumpi iṭṭam
Naṟuṅkōtai yōṭu naṉaiciṉṉamum
niṭṭa nallār

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Veṟunkūntal moykkiṉ raṉavéṇṭala
vēṇṭu pōtum
Uṟumpōka mellām nalaṉuḷvaḷi
uṇpar aṉṟē' (K. R., 986)

S : Bare tresses of women of chastity emitting pleasant odour.

8. (a) 'Pōreṉir pukalum puṉaikaḷal maṟavar' (*Puṟanā.*, 31)
(b) 'Pōreṉṉa viṅkum poruppaṉṉa
pōlaṅkoḷ tiṇṭōl' (K. R., 992)

S : Warriors desirous of hearing news of war.

9. (a) 'Mōyiṉaḷ uyirtta kālai
Mamalar aṇiyaḷi tōṟṟam' (*Akanāṉū.*, 23)
(b) 'Taikkiṉṟa vēlnōk kiṉaḷ taṉṉuyir
Aṉṉa maṉṉaṉ
Maikkoṇṭa kaṇṇāḷ etirmāṟṟavaḷ
pēṟvi lampa
Meykkoṇṭa nāṇam talaikkoṇṭu
vetumpi meṉpū-k
Kaikkoṇṭu mōntāḷ uyirppuṇṭu
karinta taṉṟē' (K. R., 994)

S : Flowers fading away at a heave of sigh of a damsel on account of jealousy against another who is loved by her own husband.

10. (a) 'Eḷilvēḷam pūṉirmēṟ coritara-p
purinekiḷ tāmarai malaraṅkaṇ viṟeyti-t
Tirunayan tiruntaṉṉa tēṅkamaḷ viṟalverpa' (*Kali.*, 44)
(b) 'Taiya lāḷaiyor tāraṇi tōḷiṉāṉ
Neykoḷ ōtiyiṉ niṟmukan teṟṟiṉāṉ
Ceyya tāmarai-c Celviyai-t timpuṉal
Kaiyiṉ āṭṭum kaliṟṟara ceṉṉavē' (K. R., 1038)

S : Lakṣmī seated on lotus flower with magnificence is bathed by elephants with water from their trunks.

11. (a) 'Porupaṭai tarūum koṟṟamum
Uṉṟucāl maruṅkiṉ iṉṟataṉpayaṉē' (*Puṟanā.*, 35)
(b) 'Kōlvarum cemmaiyum kuṭaivarum
taṇmaiyum
Cālvarum celvamenṟu uṇarperun
tātai' (K. R., 1141)

S : Income through cultivation is the source for the victory and good administration of a ruler.

12. (a) 'Tavamcey mākkaḷ tammuṭam piṭātu
Aṭaṉpayam eytiya aḷavai māṉa' (*Porunar.*, 91–92)

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(b) 'Uṭampotu tuṟakkanakar uṟṟavarai
ottār' (K. R., 1245)

S : Like those who have attained heaven without leaving their body on earth as a rēsult of their penance.

13. (a) 'Kankuḷ veḷḷam kataliṉum peritē' (*Kuṟun.*, 387)
(b) 'Kaṉaiyēḷ kaṭalpōl karunāḷikai' (K. R., 1249)

S : The time needed to pass a night appears to be greater than that needed to cross the seven oceans.

14. (a) 'Vīyātuṭampoṭu niṉṟa uyirum illai' (*Puranā.*, 363)
(b) 'Irappeṉum meymmai' (K. R.. 1419)

S : Death is real and cannot be crossed.

15. (a) 'Immai yulakat ticaiyoṭum viḷaṅki
Maṟumai yulakamum maṟuviṉ reytupa
Ceṟunarum viḷaiyum ceyirtir kāṭci-c
Ciṟuvar-p payanta cemma lōreṉa-p
Pallōr kūṟiya paḷamoḷi' (*Akanānu.*, 66)
(b) 'Urimai maintarai-p perukiṉṟa
turutuyar niṅki
Irumai yumperar keṉpatu
periyavar iyarkai' (K. R., 1461)

S : "Children are desired by parents to be born to get themselves rid from miseries and to attain pleasure both in this world and the other world", is the conviction of great men.

16. (a) 'Vāra ulakam' (*Puranā.*, 341)
(b) 'Miḻvil iṉṉulaku' (K. R., 1465)

S : Salvation or the pleasant world reaching which there will be no necessity to return.

17. (a) 'Nāal vēta neṟi tiriyiṉum
Tiriyā-c Cuṟṟam' (*Puranā.*, 2)
(b) 'Curuti yaṉṉtaṉ mantira-c Cuṟṟam' (K. R., 1469)

S : Relationship of ministers whose words are reliable like the four Vedas.

18. (a) 'Tavamcey mākkaḷ tammuṭam piṭātu
Ataṉpayam eytiya aḷavai māṉa' (*Porunar.*, 91–92)
(b) 'Uraiyum viṇṇakam uṭaloṭum
eytiṉar ottār' (K. R., 1473)

S : Like those who have attained heaven with their mortal coil.

19. (a) 'Yāṉvāḷum nāḷum paṇṇaṉ vāḷiya' (*Puranā.*, 173)
(b) 'Maintaṉī kōṭi eṅkaḷ
Vāḷkkai nāḷ yāvum eṉpār' (K. R., 1671)

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S : May you live long with our life period added to yours.

20. (a) 'Kaṇṇirkkaṭal' (*Kali.*, 145)
(b) 'Kaṇṇurra vāri kaṭalurra tannilaiyē' (K. R., 1788)

S : Ocean of tears.

21. (a) 'Melukum āppikaṇ kalulni rānē' (*Puranā.*, 249)
(b) 'Kaiyāl nilamtaṭavi-k kaṇṇir
Melukuvār' (K. R., 1799)

S : Paint the floor with tears flowing from their eyes.

22. (a) 'Iṭumpai yāvatum ariyā iyalpinar' (*Tirumuruku.*, 135–136)
(b) 'Evvamil iruntava munivan' (K. R., 1852)

S : Saint of great penance with no miseries.

23. (a) 'Irumpanañ cerumpin anna
parūu mayir' (*Akanā.*, 277)
(b) 'Peṇṇai vancerum pirpiraṅ kicceri
Vaṇṇa vanmayir vārntuyar munkaiyān' (K. R., 2048)

S : Hairs thick like (the cerumpu) the fibres of the palmyra palm.

24. (a) 'Toṭarppaṭu ñamaliyin iṭarppaṭut tirīiya
Kēḷal kēḷir vēḷāṅ cirupatam
Matukai yinri vayirrut tīt taṇiya-t
Tāmiran tuṇṇum aḷavai īnmarōiv vulakattānē' (*Puranā.*, 74)
(b) 'Poymmai yakkaiyai-c
Cilpakal ōmpuvan cerunar cīriya
Illiṭai yitu patam ērka enkaiyāl' (K. R., 2308)

S : To save the mortal body, is it right to beg for food from the enemies without shame?

25. (a) 'Peruntōṭ kaṇavan māyntena
Naḷḷirum poykaiyum tīyum ōr arrē' (*Puranā.*, 246)
(b) 'Kompanārkaḷtām
Talaiyin muṇṭakam taluvu kāniṭai
Nulaiyum maññai pōl eriyin mūlkinār' (K. R., 2326)

S : Tank with water full of lotus and burning fire are the same to chaste women at the death of their husbands.

26. (a) 'Ponpōr putalvar' (*Puranā.*, 9)
(b) 'Porputalvar' (K. R., 2589)

S : Children precious as gold.

27. (a) 'Āay eyinan
Oḷvāḷ mayaṅkamar vīlnteṇa-p puḷḷoruṅku
Aṅkaṇ vicumpin viḷaṅku ñāyirru

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Oṇkatir teṟamai-c Ciṟakariṟ kōli
Niḻalcey tuḻaṟal kāṇēṉ yāṉena' (*Akanā.*, 208)

(b) 'Mayilmutaṟ paṟavai ellām
Maṇiniṟat tivarkaḷ mēṉi
Veyiluṟaṟ kiraṅki mitā
Viriciṟai-p pantar vīci
Eyilvakut teytukiṉṟa' (K. R., 3863)

S : Birds such as peacocks etc. spread their wings to proteet the bodies of these people from the scorching heat of the sun.

28. (a) 'Avaṉ, kaṭiyuṭai viyaṉpulam
Urumum uraṟātu aravum tappātu
Kāṭṭu māvum urukaṇ cēyya' (*Perumpāṇ.*, 42–44)

(b) 'Maḻaiyi ṭippuṟā vayaveñ cīyamā
Muḻaiyi ṭippuṟa muraṇveṅ kālumeṉ
Taḻaitu ṭippuṟa-c cārvu ṟātu' (K. R., 3934)

S : There will be no noise of thunders, nor the roaring noise of the lions and the tigers nor the fear of serpents in his guarded extensive country.

29. (a) 'Māntarañ cēral ōmpiya nāṭu
Puttēḷ ulakat taṟṟu' (*Puṟanā.*, 22)

(b) 'Imparir poṉṉinā tiḻinta taṉṉa
Vālivāḷ poruppiṭam' (K. R., 4046)

S : Like the heaven descended on earth.

30. (a) 'Nāṭpaṭukaḷ' (*Puṟanānū.*, 392)

(b) 'Nāṭkal' (K. R., 4257)

S : Toddy tapped early in the morning.

31. (a) 'Poṟkoṉṟai' (*Porunar.*, 200)
'Muṟiyiṇark koṉṟai naṉpoṉ kāla' (*Mullai*-p, 94)
'Poṉcey puṉaiyiḻai kaṭṭiya makaḷir
Katuppiṟ rōṉṟum putuppūṅ koṉṟai' (*Kuṟum.*, 21)
'Kārviri koṉṟai-p poṉṉēr putumalar' (Akanā, Kaṭavuḷ vāḻttu)

(b) 'Kuḻaitoṟum kaṉakam tuṅkum
Kaṟpakam nikartta koṉṟai' (K. R., 4286)

S : Koṉṟai flower of golden hue.

32. (a) 'Neṭiyāṉ mārpiṉ āram pōla-c
Cevvāy vāṉam tiṇṭimiṉ aruntum
Paiṅkāṟ kokkiṉ niraiparai Ukappa' (*Akanā.*, 120)

(b) 'Kāreṉum peyark kariyavaṉ
mārpiṉiṟ katirmut
Tāra māmeṉa-p polintaṉa
aḷakkaṟu maḻakkar

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Nīrmu kantamā mēkattiṉ
arukuṟa niraittu-k
kūṟum veṇṇiṟat tiraiyeṉap
paṟappaṉa kuraṇṭam' (K. R., 4293)

S : Chain of storks flying in the sky appears like a garland of pearls on the chest of the Lord.

33. (a) 'Kūtir uruvir kūṟṟam
Kātalar-p pirintaveṟ kuṟittu varumē' (*Kuṟun.*, 197)

(b) 'Vāṭaiyāy-k kūṟṟi nārum
Uruviṉai māṟṟi vantār' (K. R., 4312)

S : Lord of Death came in the guise of the north-breeze.

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DELINEATION OF DEVOTION IN THE WORKS OF HARIHARADĒVA

By

S. S. MALWAD, DHARWAR

Hariharadēva is an epoch-making poet of ancient Karnatak. While there has been some controversy about his exact date, it is generally accepted that he lived round about 1200 A. D. It was in the latter of the 12th century that Śrī Basavēśvara released a tremendous spiritual force in Karnatak. Revolutionary changes were brought about in the fields of religion, philosophy, literature and social structure. These are reflected in the works of Hariharadēva.

Prior to Hariharadēva, Kannada poetry was mostly pedantic and conservative. Though it displayed learning of high order, it failed to touch the hearts of common people. There was a tendency to eulogise the ruling princes by identifying them with the mythological heroes. It was given to Hariharadēva to change this vogue. He took a vow to sing the glory of none else than the Supreme Lord and His devotees. He fulfilled his vow. By his voluminous and effective writing, he inspired the common man to take up to a life of intense devotion.

The lives and the achievements of Śrī Basavēśvara, the other Śaiva saints of the period and the sixty-three Śaiva saints of Tamil Nadu influenced his writings and philosophy of life. His *Girijā Kalyāṇa* in *campū* style may be a concession to the prevailing tradition in Kannada poetry. But he has given a new turn to the mythological story as is narrated in *Kumāra Sambhava*. The title 'Girijā Kalyāṇa' is itself significant. The marriage of Girijā with Śiva serves as a symbol of the union of Prakṛti with Puruṣa. Hariharadēva depicts Pārvatī as a great devotee of Śiva. So this work has the stamp of Hariharadēva's devotional fervour. Pārvatī, puffed with her beauty and vanity, aided by Manmatha, finds herself disillusioned in her attempts to win over Śiva. She realised that it was through intense devotion that Śiva could be won over. Her worship of Śiva with flowers was of no avail. Then she decided to offer flowers of her heart and she realised unity with the divine. The descriptions of Hariharadēva in this context reflect his deeply devotional bent of mind.

Such a bent of mind is more explicit in the two Śatakas of his. *Paṁpāśataka* and *Rakṣaśataka* are of autobiographical nature. In these two works, Hariharadēva reveals his inner conflict arising out of the vicissitudes

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of human life. He is assailed by temptations and tribulations. He is inclined towards a life of devotion. Possibly he was an employee at the royal court of a Hoysal king. He was disgusted at the humiliation he felt as a servant of men and also at the artificial life he saw all around. More than anything else, he was assailed by his mind straying in all directions. He realised that the so-called happiness, the human beings were struggling for, was all illusion. He is thus led to a firm decision to follow the path of steadfast devotion to the Supreme Lord. He left Dvārasamudra where he was serving and came to Hampi to seek refuge at the feet of Virūpākṣa. It was at this period that the two Śatakas are written.

Hariharadēva dedicated himself and all that belonged to him exclusively to Virūpākṣa of Hampi. He loses himself in the ecstacy of his worship towards the Supreme Lord. Virūpākṣa of Hampi is, he knows, an ocean of love. But his mind strays into worldly temptation. He, therefore, prays earnestly for His protection. And the protection does come his way. His mind which was wandering in all futile directions is now fixed on Virūpākṣa exclusively. Further, his prayer that the lotus feet of the Lord should find a lasting abode in his heart is also granted. When he roamed about in search of mundane advantages his mind was distracted. Thus, he realised the futility of roaming about. Now that he made the feet of the Lord his abode, he found peace and bliss. Time there was when he humiliated himself by seeking favours from men. He was now able to get over such pitiable situations and make himself free from all the entanglements. Wife, children, wealth did bother him once. Pride, envy, pettiness did disturb him. He now found himself free from all these and came to rely exclusively on Virūpākṣa. This was a secure and blissful condition. The worldly activities in which he expended his energies previously were in no way satisfying. As he retired to Hampi on the banks of Tuṅgabhadrā and surrendered himself entirely to Virūpākṣa, he found lasting satisfaction. In remembering the holy name of the Lord and in offering worship to Him, he found unspeakable joy. In thought, speech and in every act of his, he tried to remember the holy name. Thus he was able to find tranquility within and without. He was able to realise that there was divine splendour within himself. He held the feet of Virūpākṣa so firmly that even if his body were to be cut asunder he would not think of separating himself from those holy feet. He was able to get over his frailties and achieve steadfastness through his intense devotion.

The same devotional fervour runs through his other work, *Pampā-Śataka*. The intensity of his devotion has gradually grown to a very high degree. He wants Virūpākṣa to settle down in his eyes, tongue and mind. In short, Hariharadēva aspires to be completely identified with the divine. This is the

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consummation of one's devotion towards the divine. In this Śataka, Harihara-dēva has made brief references to the greatness of Śiva and the glory of the devotees of Śiva. These brief references have been later elaborated in his 'Ragale' works, which have earned for him a position which is unique in the History of Kannada literature.

Hariharadēva became a pioneer by writing 106 works of narrative poetry making use of 'Ragale' metre. In the days of Campū Kāvyas, it was a bold step on the part of Hariharadēva to use blank verse throughout his works. He also became a pioneer in the use of prose which ultimately shaped the Modern Kannada prose. This boldness is characteristic of Hariharadēva as well as of the heroes of his works. In their life, outlook and achievements, the saints portrayed by Hariharadēva are so different from the characters that were depicted in earlier Kannada works. These saints went through the ordinary mortal life but theirs was a sun-lit path of Devotion. Hariharadēva lived a life of deep devotion and he depicted the lives of saints who inspired such an exemplary devotion. The brief descriptions of nature as occur in these works only serve as a background to the divine path and the self-offering of Hariharadēva and the saints whom he has depicted. Just as Hariharadēva loses himself in the ecstacy of his worship to Supreme Lord, so are these saints. In brief, devotion is the sustaining power of Hariharadēva's life as also of his works. He discovers divinity in nature as also in the behaviour of beings all round. In *Girijā Kalyāṇa* he has briefly referred to the fact that Girijā who was seeking Śiva looked upon Him as father, mother, all power and all her reputation. This aspect has been elaborated in the 'Ragale' works. The one abiding and all embracing reality of the lives of these saints is devotion to Śiva.

Śekkilār's *Periya Purāṇa* in Tamil is a source for Hariharadēva's narration of the story of 63 Śaiva saints. But he has provided a new facet to the old material. A comparative study of Śekkilār and Hariharadēva would be quite useful. It merits a separate paper. Suffice to say that Hariharadēva has integrated the different vocations and professions of the saints with their devotion. In this respect he has displayed great akill. He has been eminently successful in creating characters with flesh and blood though austerity has a significant place in their life. With enthusiastic and touching yet simple descriptions, he has portrayed lively characters. These characters are so varied that they constitute a vast community by themselves. And it is such a fascinating community. In that community, we find some people who are so innocent that they are looked upon as mad ones. There are others whose stern philosophy baffles the people around. There are poets as well as labourers. The envious poets turn into great devotees. The labourers engaged in ordinary work for their livelihood are able to concentrate on the ultimate

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reality. There are children, youngsters, elders, old men and women, people attached to family life and those who have renounced it. One who madly pursued the pleasures of flesh transfers that mad pursuit towards the Supreme Lord. There is a regular race for achieving – and sometimes demonstrating – unusual powers through sheer devotion. If some of them thought of lifting their city or country towards heaven, we have the example of Basavēśvara who refused to be lifted to the heaven and who emphasised that the bliss on earth when he was in the company of the devotees was far greater than the one found in heaven. And this he made possible through devotion.

Basavēśvara preached and practised the principle of 'Kāyaka'– compulsory bodily work as an offering towards the divine. The devotees, as depicted by Hariharadēva illustrate this principle of Kāyaka. Their usual daily work is itself transformed into a divine path by self-surrender, higher consciousness and entire dedication. So many varied types of persons constituting the community are made to be a well knit unit as they are all linked up by sheer devotion. Both the Śaiva saints of Tamil Nadu and the saints of Karnatak of the times of Basaēśvara are mingled together in one stream of devotion. The fusion of Śekkilār's story, Hariharadēva's philosophy of life and Basavēśvara's teachings has provided us with a world which is blissful because devotion reigns supreme in that world. The people living in that world have sublimated their lives, their work and their outlook.

The sentiment of devotion spontaneously springs forth from the poetry of Hariharadēva and engulfs us. Being so engulfed we feel blissful,

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BHAKTI CULT OF MANIKKAVASAHAR AND KABIRDAS

By

S. SHANKAR RAJU NAIDU, MADRAS

I (a) I think that the designation given to the 'Śrṅgāra Rasa' (sentiment of love) as 'Rasarāja' (King of Rasas) is but proper, not only because it has the supreme capacity to cover the vast fields of affectionate feelings of Pleasure and Pain but also because it covers the two divergently opposite worlds of mundane and spiritual levels, the former dragging the *manas* or the mind of the man downwards and the latter upwards.

We have poets and poets in various languages who have sung and are singing the pleasures and agonies of the lower mundane world, but very few indeed who have soaked their sublime thoughts with a poetic flavour in singing the glory of the higher spiritual spheres. Fewer still are the men of letters who have tried to attract the attention of the people towards the spiritual through the picturisation of the mundane. Manikkavasahar, the Tamil Minister-Saint and Kabirdas the Hindi Weaver-Saint belong to this sublime category. Both have sung for the Lord, sung to the Lord and sung about the Lord in their respective inimitable styles considering themselves as His bride and giving the examples from the ordinary mundane bridal situations.

(b) Generally the modes of devotion are categorised under three channels viz., external (Bāhya Bhakti), mental or internal (Ananya Bhakti) both of which are aimed at the salvation of the self and the third being selfless worship (Ekānta Bhakti) for Him and not for himself. It is in the third type that the self dies and regains life in God. Such a devotee sees all things in God and God in all things. This indeed is the most superior type of devotion. Manikkavasahar and Kabirdas belong to this category. The methodology adopted by both for the consummation of this aim is the above said Bridal Mysticism.

(c) Bridal Mysticism is unique in various respects. The devotee here considers himself as the bride and God as the bridegroom. Bridal mysticism takes God as the only male and all other souls as His consorts. The best example for this unique conception is that of Kṛṣṇa and gopīs of Vṛndāvana. This concept is as great as greatness can be and is the purest and noblest in character. Saints invariably use this picture of bridal element to depict the blossoming of spiritual love which is the culmination of the

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'Sāttvika jñāna' or pure wisdom. The Soul loses itself in the union with the Lord.

(d) Again from another line of categorisation, there are mainly four forms of links established between the devotee and the Lord in the Indian conception. They are, namely Dāsya (servant and master), Sakhya (friend and friend), Vātsalya (child and parent) and Dāmpatya (wife and husband.) The popular examples are respectively Hanumān, Sudāman, Yaśodā and Rādhā. The fourth type i. e. Dāmpatya Bhakti or Bridal concept is accepted by Manikkavasahar and Kabirdas and is well established in their poetical works with beautiful metaphors and symbols.

(e) As a matter of fact, this way of expressing is universal and ample examples are available in both Oriental and Occidental literatures. Andal of Tamilnad and Mirabai of Rajasthan are the best exponents among ladies in the East and St. Terese is the most remarkable poetess of the West. It is interesting to note that poet Shelley also following the same pattern muses in the following captivating words—

"Love wrapped in its all dissolving power
I saw not, heard not, moved not, only felt
His presence flow and mingle with my blood
Till it became His life and His grew mine
And I was thus absorbed."

Here we find the deification of the mundane love!

Plotimus in undoubtable terms has stated :—

"The Divine union is the real marriage of which
the marriage of earthly lovers is but a copy"

Hilton (or Hylton) and St. Bernard John of Ruysbrock also reflect the same sentiment. Even Plato called it as 'the instinct of immortality in a mortal creature.' Similarly among Muslims, the Sufi Ralia of Basra, Hallaj the saint of Bagdad, Jalal-ud-din Rumi and several others have metaphorised in this style their sentiments but in a different perspective i. e. God as Lady and the devotee as husband. So also to the mystic poet Coventry Patmore, 'a true woman is God's image infusing clod and purity.' This goes well with the poetic conception of the Avadhi poet Malik Mohammad Jayasi who depicts the heroine of his epic *Padmāvat* as a symbol of God.

On final analysis we find Manikkavasahar and Kabirdas as true followers of this bridal mysticism.

(f) In Manikkavasahar's example for Bridal mysticism can be formed in ample measure in both of his works *Tiruvasaham* and *Tirukkovaiyar*, though in the latter he is at his best in the picturisation of this element as an autobiography. Though apparently *Tirukkovaiyar* may appear to be an

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ordinary story of 'love-birds', its inner meaning is pure bridal mysticism of the highest order. It is a veritable testament of love. This gets clarified when at the end of the work, the heroine is addressed as follows:—"look here woman! Your Lord is as noble and generous as the Karpaha tree, he is a good patron of the learned, he is extremely kind to the bards and minstrels. In philanthrophy, he matches Cintāmaṇi. He is verily the 'Saṅgha Nidhi'– the source from which wealth flows inexhaustibly. He is the fountain of joy to all mankind"– and the heroine surrenders herself to her Lord.

Paying a tribute to this work, Saint Kumaraguruparar says – "It is a song of supreme knowledge of Gyana (wisdom) infused with love-theme." The story-poem truly represents the adventures, troubles and turmoils suffered by the soul in acquiring the supreme wisdom and thereafter the stage of Bliss when soul gets united with God and both become one, the former losing its identity in the latter.

(g) Kabirdās also goes hand in hand with this line of conception. His soul remains lamenting till the attainment of union. He considers himself as a 'chaste woman' and does not even dream of looking at any other power due to his unshakable love and belief in his God who is 'beyond the perceptible and the imperceptible.' He considers himself (or any devotee) as a newly wedded bride and wants the veil to be opened to get at the beloved. He says "Make eyes thy room and the black of the eye the bed. Be happy with the Lover putting the curtain of eye-lids." He does not dare to utter his name, as a chaste wife does not utter the name of her husband! He invites the beloved to his house for he is too agonised without Him. He says that once He is caught, he would never let Him go. Kabir proclaims that all learnings are but useless and that it is only the element of Love which is true learning and wisdom. He, however, acknowledges that that path of love is too steep, slippery and with unaccountable obstacles. But still to him, without Him, food is tasteless, bed is an enemy, nights are sleepless, mind is full of apprehension and even then house looks like a wild forest. He feels his life getting out without Him. He is however confident that He is residing in the middle of the two eyes, and hence he finds no need to send any letter. "Is it not meaningless to send any message to one who is in the body, in the mind, and in the eye," he questions

Thus we can conclude that both are Poet-Saints of Bridal Mysticism of the superb type.

II (a) It is generally understood that the Gods of creation, protection and destruction (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa) are the three powers who have evolved from the supreme Almighty God who is Omnipresent, Omnipotent and Omniscient i. e. Sarvavyāpi, Sarvaśaktimān and Sarvajña.

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It is generally accepted that Śiva and Kṛṣṇa are but two different manifestations of the one God. To complete the picture Brahmā is also taken up as the third facet of the Triune God. Consequently we find Jayantabhaṭṭa saying–

"तत्र च भगवान् विष्णुः प्रणेता कथ्यते स चेश्वर एव ।
एकस्य कस्यचिदशेषजगत्प्रसूति–
र्हेतोरनादिपुरुषस्य महाविभूतेः ।
सृष्टिस्थितिप्रलयकार्यविभागयोगाद्
ब्रह्मेति विष्णुरिति रुद्र इति प्रतीतिः ॥"

Udayana also echoes the same idea of the evolution of the 'Trimūrtis'. All these three and the other 33 crores of gods and several others are supposed to have emanated from Him.

(b) All the Shaivaite poet-saints have generally sung the glory of the Lord Śiva or Maheśa, taking him as the supreme destroyer with the 'third eye', the Ganges on his head, crescent moon on his tûft and the serpent around his neck. He is generally visualised as having goddess Pārvatī as his half, his cosmic dance 'Tāṇḍava Nṛtya' signifying the changing time and universal evolution. The Nayanmars or Śaiva-saints of Tamil and Naiyāyikas etc. have invariably offered this picture of Śiva and taken him as their Supreme Lord.

(c) All the Vaishnavaite poet-saints have generally sung the glory of the Lord Viṣṇu, taking him as the Supreme Protector. He is conceived of as being with his divine partner Lakṣmī lying on the serpent-bed in the middle of the ocean of milk. For all his devotees he incarnated as Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and the other eight *avatāras* in the world in various forms, signifying the gradual evolution of life. All the Alwars, the Vaiṣṇava Saints of Tamil, Tulasidas, Surdas etc. have invariably offered this picture of Viṣṇu and taken him as Supreme Lord.

(d) In this generally accepted heirarchy we find Manikkavasahar and Kabirdas striking at a common higher level though the former speaks of Śiva and the latter speaks of Rāma. Their idea of God is based on Advaita (non-dualism) or Monism in spirit. Their conception generally corresponds to the Christian idealogy which is expressed in the *New Testament* under the gospel of St. John as "In the beginning was the word and the word was with God and the word was God."

(e) Saint Manikkavasahar freely uses the word Śiva to denote his God and the mystic symbol with which he begins his *Tiruvasaham* in 'Na-mah-śi-vā-ya' the five letters which is invariably accepted by all the Śaiva-caints. But Manikkavasahar explains his chief ideal of Godhood in various places in his works in unmistakable terms. His God is certainly not anyone of the

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above mentioned three gods, the 'Trimūrtis'. His God is not even known to any of the 'Trimūrtis'. He categorically states : "Hari and Brahmā knew not Him to mete" and "To the primeval beings He gives grace, the God of gods His sacred name". According to Manikkavasahar, God is not only unknowable to the above three but is the preserver of Viṣṇu, destroyer of Śiva and creator of Brahmā himself. Consequently he states :—

He is the Ancient one, who creates the creator of all;
He is the God, who preserves the preserver of things created;
He is the God, who destroys the destroyer;
But thinking without thought, regards the things desrtoyed.

He designates his God as the king of the three gods and all the others too. "The God of gods to king of gods unknown; King of the three what teeming worlds create." He goes on in the same strain and says that he need not fear as he is his own.

"The king of all. He came, and made me too His own,
Henceforth I'm no one's vassal; none I fear"

He attains supreme bliss by bowing to Him who is invisible to the Three :—

"The three, the thirty-three all other gods beside,
See Thee not, Sivan, mighty Lord ! Riding the stead
Hither descending didst thou come, When at Thy foot,
I lowly bow, bliss thrills my frame".

He positively speaks of an Absolute God 'Turīya Śiva'. According to Sri K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, "this conception of godhood was the result of acute-philosophising which the Tevaram singers did not follow, much less preach. They on the other hand, depict Śiva as the God of destruction who baffled the other two of the 'Triad' in their attempt to measure him."

One special feature of Manikkavasahar is that he has expressed both the visible and invisible – Saguṇa and Nirguṇa – form of God. The Absolute and the unqualified God for the sake of his devotees, is said to manifest Himself with 'Form' though He, in essence, is the unmanifested. He is said to be without qualities, but still takes upon Himself certain qualities with his invisible powers and is 'the First creator of all the universe' consisting of all the elements.

(f) Kabirdas is a 'Rāma Bhakta', an ardent devotee of Rāma but the mystery is that his Rāma is not the generally accepted Rāma, the son of the king Daśaratha of *Rāmāyaṇa*. He on the basis of the 'Absolute sound Rankara' which is ever vibrating in the supermost level of the spiritual stages, gives predominance to the name 'Rāma' though other names like Rahim, Allah, Kṛṣṇa, Govinda, etc. are also not unacceptable to him. He says :—

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" दशरथसुत तिहुँ लोक बखाना ।
राम नाम कर मरम है आना ॥ "

All the worlds praise the son of Daśaratha but the secret of the name 'Rāma' is quite different, and unique. His 'Rāma' is above the 'Trimūrtis'.

Kabir takes pure wisdom as the basis for 'True understanding' and is generally taken as one representing the 'Nirguṇa school of poets'. He takes God, whom he names as 'Rāma', as 'All-pervasive, Impersonal deity without attributes that can be perceived or expressed'. He believes in the Vedantic concept just as he believed in the Islamic doctrine, particularly Sufism. He accepted the Siddha philosophy in as much as he agreed to the Vaishnavaite doctrine. He was influenced by Rāmānanda equally as he was by Sheikh Taqui. Rāma and Rahim to him differed only in name and so were Kashi and Kaba. Hinduism to him was as good or as bad as was Islam or as a matter of fact any other religion or sect. To him God is one, formless without any attribute that could be perceived by human senses. He is beyond the reach of human comprehension and expression. The *summum bonum* of life was the realisation of the self and unification of the soul with God. With the above principles in view, he founded a new school with a happy combination of the Hindu and Islamic doctrines which could be designated 'Deistic Monism' for which rituals are futile. The attributes that were essential are only pure wisdom or proper understanding and interval meditation. He believed that 'that Unfathomable Being is like a tree and 'Nirañjan' is its branch with the 'Triad' or Trimūrtis as off-shoots and the world is its leaves.'

He categorically states that 'Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara also could not find out this Absolute God.'

He believes that 'This God did not incarnate as the son of Daśaratha, did not appear in the womb of Devakī, did not play in the lap of Yaśodā, did not lift the mountain Govardhana and did not roam about in the woods with cow-herd companions.'

He states that 'the qualities of Rāma are strange, strange, strange' and that 'Rāmacandra, Kṛṣṇa, Brahmā, Śiva and munis like Śaunaka have not got sight of Him.'

We can safely say that the oft-repeated Sanskrit śloka :—

" एको देवः सर्वभूतेषु गूढः
सर्वव्यापी सर्वभूतांतरात्मा । "

fully supports his stand and his mode too is confirmed by the statement—

" विशुद्धं केवलं ज्ञानं । "

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His considered belief was that 'God' is neither in any temple nor in any mosque, neither in Kashi nor in Kaba, neither in any external worship nor in austerity, but in one's own self and could be found out in no time.

He asked the people to turn inwardly and repeat the name of God in the proper way and find Him in the form of 'light' and listen to Him in the form of a 'sound' (Anahadnad) which would emanate without any beat. He felt sorry for those who forgot everything in the worship of the 'Four handed' and wanted them to pray to that God who has 'innumerable hands', who is beyond all perceptible and imperceptible things.

He was confident that God is in man as is oil in the seed, and as is the scent in fragrant flower.

He generally believed in all the names of god and explained them as different names of ornaments made of the same gold. He only questioned as to wherefrom two Gods could come! And answered, "The same is Mahādeva, the same is Mohammed, call him as Brahmā or Adam. Different names are given to different vessels made of the mud".

On final analysis we find that in his philosophy the Monism or non-dualism of Hinduism, the idealistic mysticism or Sufism, the practical mysticism of Haṭhayogins and the non-violence cum Mercy of Vaishnavism have been blended with the name of 'Rāma' signifying on practical experience the spiritual Absolute sound, and the Divine being above Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. His 'Rāma' denotes the eternal principle.

(g) Hence we can safely conclude that Manikkavasahar and Kabirdas with their names 'Śiva or Namasivaya' and 'Rāma' respectively agree in so far as their concept of God is concerned.

III (a) When we look at the lives of the two saints as lived or made to live by them, we come across certain stages which have surprising similarities. Manikkavasahar was a saint of Tamilnad in the Shaivaite tradition. He was born and brought up in a village Tiruvadavur near Madurai which was the seat of Tamil Sangam. Madurai, as the capital of Pandya country was a centre of Shaivism and scholarship. There lived the great Śaiva poet, Nakkirar who told Śiva face to face that–'Though he may show His third eye, mistake is a mistake'. Manikkavasahar who was originally known as 'Vadavurar' after his village, learnt all the Vedic literature and other disciplines even at the age of sixteen and he became renowned for his great scholarship and wisdom. The King Arimardana of Madurai took a fancy for him and appointed him as Prime Minister. He proved successful. He was offered the title 'Bramarayan'. He was once asked by his king to purchase horses from the seaport where they had arrived. The young Tiruvadavurar started with a good lot of money as his stars are said to have

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changed. On the way he happened to meet a saint with his disciples. Tiruvadavurar forgot himself and the errand for which he had been sent by the king. He spent all the money for the saint and his disciple and temples, sat screening the saint in mendicant's garb. When the king heard the news he got him imprisoned. But he was told that horses would arrive on an auspicious day and they did arrive. The minister was released, but again the horses got transformed into jackals and left the city howling and killing other horses. The Minister was again punished and imprisoned. As this was all a play of the Lord, the river Vaigai broke open its banks with a sudden flood. King realising his mistake set the minister free and the flood receded. However as a precaution, the king ordered for the closure of the broken banks and each family had to provide for a person. One old lady by name Vandi got a young man employed for her part who did the work with a little slackness. Observing this the king gave him a strike with his rod. This beating fell on the back of all living creatures. The young boy threw basket over the broken bank and instantaneously disappeared. King could only now understand the entire history of his Prime Minister. Vadavurar now resigned his post and after a tour of great many sacred temples and cities, lastly went to Chidambaram and became one with the Lord there.

His period is supposed to be 3rd century by some and by a few others 9th century. His works are two, *Tiruvasaham*, and *Tirukkovai*, the former a collection of autobiographical gems and the latter a spiritual allegorical story poem of love. It is said that 'one who does not melt to *Tiruvasaham*, will not melt to any other work'.

(b) Life of Kabirdas was as mysterious as his birth. It is said that he was a son of a Brahmin widow, and found by a Muslim couple Nima and Neeru at Banaras near a pond. He was brought up in Islamic traditions. It is said that Hindu monk Ashtananda by name coached him in Hinduism too. However Kabir was anxious to have *guru*, a religious guide. On hearing about Rāmānanda he created a stratagem to become his disciple. He lay down on the steps of the *ghats* of the Ganges at night to receive the step of Rāmānanda while going down to the river for early morning bath. His desire was amply fulfilled and got the initiation direct as 'Rām Rām'. Touched by the intense feeling for true search for God, Rāmānanda took him in his fold and he easily rose to the highest among his disciples. Thereafter he developed his philosophy by comingling the different concepts of Hinduism and Islam and started a new sect.

Sikendar Lodi, the Muslim king of his time at Delhi, summoned him after getting reports from Muslims and Hindus and threw him into the river after tying him with chain but he could not be damaged. Elephants were

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driven against him but in vain. Several other injuries were made but Kabir continued to stand safe repeating the name 'Rāma'. The king only got vexed and defeated.

Kabir lived by weaving and never begged for anything from any man. However his earning was insufficient to the members of his family consisting of his wife Loi and children Kamāl and Kamālī. Still he spent profusely on god-seekers and others who used to come to him, forgetting the situation of his family. With all these difficulties and turmoils, he never by-passed his word or truth and lived an honourable life.

At the last stage of his life, he was banished from Kashi. He willingly accepted it and died at Magahar which was understood to be a place leading to hell, if dead there as against Kashi which got the dead salvation.

(c) Thus we see that the kings of Manikkavasahar and Kabir misunderstood them and afflicted pain on them which they suffered with deep devotion in God.

For both money was primarily meant for God-seekers and temples of God. They cared least for themselves.

(d) There is another interesting parallel in their mode of getting their works written. It is said that Manikkavasahar had never written any verse of his own and it was God in the human form who wrote all for him. Even *Tirukkovai* was written, it is said, by God who left it after its completion at the gateway of the temple in Chidambaram. The priest only got it and found the signature of the Lord Himself as Arumbalavanan. They brought it over to Manikkavasahar and asked for its inner meaning. Manikkavasahar pointed toward the Lord and said at the end "He alone is the meaning" and simultaneously came his end by his merging into the Lord himself.

Regarding Kabir's writings it is said that it was only his disciples who wrote all his sixty-one (or fifty-seven according to some and a few enumerate seventy-five) works. Kabir himself has said :—

"I have touched neither ink nor paper."

What all he has said is the result of what he heard from great men of wisdom (Śravaṇa Gyāna) coupled with self thinking and pure reasoning.

(d) There are certain salient features in the lives of both and deserve special mention :—

(i) In the life of Manikkavasahar and that of Kabirdas too we find that both were in search of *guru* for themselves and both got at proper spiritual-preceptors yielding to them their objectives.

(ii) Both were wandering monks before they settled down with their realised objects and philosophy.

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(iii) Their lives came to an end practically in a similar manner. Manikkavasahar disappears melting into the image of Master. When the cloth over Kabir's corpse was lifted, he had disappeared physically and instead there was a heap of flowers pretty, fresh and fragrant for the Hindus and Muslims to share equally.

IV There are seven important acpects which deserve special mention for a clear understanding of our two saints of India, one of the South and the other of the north. They may be classified as follows though each means much more than what the words could ordinarily suggest.

(i) Guru, (ii) Grace, (iii) Omkar-Ramkar (Namasivaya, Rama), (iv) Non-dualism or Monism, (v) Māyā, (vi) Reincarnation and Law of Karma, (vii) caste. Let us now observe, how the two saints viewed at these aspects—

(i) *Guru*:— Both the saints believed that without a Guru i. e. spiritual preceptor in human form, they can attain no wisdom and consequently no knowledge or light of the inner self. To them Guru was the mediator.

Manikkavasahar practically equates Guru to God and advises devotees to :

" Strike the sounding drum of the Guru,
Wielder of Wisdom's sword :
Spread the white canopy over the Guru,
who mounts the charger of heaven;
Enter and take to you arms of ashes, fragrant, divine;
Possess we the heavenly fortress,
where hosts of illusion come out "

In his *Tiruvasaham* i. e. 'Holy word'. Manikkavasahar was also sure that such a guru could be only He, and that He would take human form for the sake of those disciples who searched for Him with a sincere heart. Such a guru only can teach the highest truths and consequently the saint states in praise of the guru —

" .... and though taught the meaning of the mystic Om
It was thus the Guru gave me grace : O Rapture ! who so blest as I "

Kabirdas has perhaps conceived the place of the Guru to its highest where he says that :

" If Guru and Govinda (God) would stand together, I would rather prostrate and pay obedience to my Guru who showed me God. "

Thus Guru's position, for practical purposes, is greater even than God. He is the medium. In another place Kabir says that God Himself becomes the Guru and gives the magic word for spiritual realisation.

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So also he fears the anger of the Guru more than that of God for according to him, 'If God feels angry on a disciple there is a positive refuge in the form of Guru but if Guru himself gets angry, there would be no refuge at all.'

(ii) *Grace* :— Manikkavasahar and Kabirdas equally believed in the grace and compassion of God and wanted all God-seekers to be compassionate towards other fellow beings, or say creatures. Both agree that all creatures were sinners and had to reap the consequences of their immediate and past sins, and that with the merciful hand of God, they would also be washed off or at any rate reduced to the minimum. Both seem to be in agreement with the oft-repeated Upanishadic statements—

"Not by study, not by intelligence and not by much learning is Ātman to be obtained. It can be obtained only by him whom it chooses. To such a one Ātman reveals its true nature."

Hence Manikkavasahar craves for His Grace thus in a heart felt verse :

"Melting my frame, carving thy grace, showing to me Thy flowery feet,
Erewhile Though modest me Thine own, O sage, O First of sages all.
My bliss, Though did'st dissolve my soul; and that my life consume
Grant me Thy love king of my soul; that so Thy grace from shame may shield!"

It is for getting this grace that he cringes—

"close following Thee
I've seized, and hold Thee fast, Hence forth
"Ah whither grace imparting wouldst thou rise"

Mānikkavasahar goes still a step further and says that it is only due to the merciful will of God that He assumes human form and comes to the world to show those the path of salvation assuming the form of a guru. He even suggests that all the punishments too accorded by Him are due to His grace. "Getting punished by Him adds to our great glory" he sings. To get defeated at His hands is only an expression of His grace! Here God and the doctor resemble each other, for both eradicate the sufferings of living beings in order to make them healthier. At times even the sin turns out to be source of veritable nourishment of enjoyment, thereby exposing God's immeasurable grace! According to Manikkavasahar, the best and easiest way to get this grace is the lament of despair. Thus he cries—

"All false am I; False is my heart; and false my love; yet if he weep,

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May not Thy sinful servant Thee, Though Soul's Ambrosial
sweetness gain ?
Lord of all homes, gladness pure in grace unto Thy servant
teach Thy way that he may come to Thee."

Manikkavasahar says that he knows fully well about several saints of old who had had the blessed privilege of adorning His feet by His grace and he wants the same to be done for him by taking his sins away. Consequently he laments with humility—

"In grace Thou best put far all ills of those that bowed; on
ancient saints
Thou didst bestow Thy foot adorned If that's too
Who'm like tough bambu destroy; come swiftly give Thy
healing foot
Thou only Thee from falsehood free."

He is sure that such a grace can be showered by Him and only by Him. We see here that his heart-melting streams are full of living faith and devotion and every little poem of the author exhibits his longing that he must make him His. All the verses in the chapter 'Tiruppalli Elucci or 'The Morning Hymn' describe the deepening of twilight into darkness making strides for a fierce battle of life leading to salvation through the grace of God.

We find Kabirdas also having the same magnitude with regard to 'grace'. He also states that it is only with the grace of God that one gets a true *guru* to the devotee and not by the devotee going to the *guru* ! He addresses God the 'most Merciful Lord' (Paran Dayalu). He has implicit faith in his God and states that 'It is only by the grace of God that every work is transacted and nothing by him. If there be grace, He can bring out a mountain from within a mustard seed and set in a mountain inside a mustard seed.' Kabir is very rational even in expecting grace from God. He considers that the grace would be only proportional to justice and the compassion exhibited by man. It is only in proper returns to one's saturated and sincere devotion. To be dutiful according to Kabir, is the primary requisite for devotion and to be devotional is to be a recipient of grace. He describes God as the 'most compassionate and lovable Omniscient and the Saviour.' The greatest of virtues of God and human beings, according to Kabir, is grace or compassion.

(c) *Oṁ : Rāma* (*Na-Ma-Śi Vā Ya : Rāma*) Manikkavasahar's and Kabir's thoughts are alike in the form of the initial manifestation of God. That form is of 'sound O Dhawant'. Manikkavasahar perceives that sound to be 'Oṁ' and Kabir 'Ramkar'. It is certainly a sound produced not by the contact of more than one element but is self manifested, 'Anahad'

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(without a beating) and soundless mystic and spiritual. It is itself the supreme Omnipotent entity and the Absolute. It is ever resounding everywhere and can be audible to anyone who has his entire undisturbed attention toward 'That'. Christian metaphysics terms it as the 'word' and the 'word' itself to be God.

Manikkavasahar, therefore, pointedly attracts our attention towards the understanding of this sound and its inner meaning and the understanding of which would pave the way for escape from the clutches of the word; he sings—

"Showed me the way to escape;
and taught the meaning of Mystic Oṁ,
'T was thus the Guru gave me grace;
O Rapture ! Who as blest as I"

As a matter of fact Vadavurar, who was later designated by his Guru as Manikkavasahar, got the first call through 'Sound'. Consequently he says–

"In Vathavur he came sweetly gracious
And caused the sound of His tinkling anklets to be heard,
And after getting at the Guru observes that
'Om' eternally rests in his soul
truly seeing Thy golden feet this day, I have gained release,
O truth ! as the Ongaram dwelling in my soul
That I may 'escape.'"

The very first in his *Tiruvasaham* (Holy word) is his Holy Word consisting of the mystic formula of the Five letters 'Na-Ma-Śi-Vā-Ya'. These five letters represent respectively the bond, the fair Māyā, the soul, the grace of Śiva the king and Śakti the Divine energy'. 'Oṁ' is the subtle form of the five letters and in it the five are concentrated (See p. XL of *Tiruvacagam* by G. U. Pope)

"Namashivaya Vazhha .....
Offering salutations to God .....
"Hail, the five letters ! Hail, foot of the Lord
Hail foot of him One, the Not-one and the King"

'Nihilism' (Śūnyavāda) was the basic philosophy of the Siddhas of the north among whom Gorakhnath (disciple of Machchandernath) was the chief exponent of doctrine. They believed in the voice (Anahad) and that God in man becomes one with man in God. Kabirdas, following the Siddhas skilfully accepted this element of the voice of the inner self and expressed that that mystic sound was 'Rung' i. e. 'Rankar'. He adopted the popularly known name 'Rāma' to signify this mystic sound and

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categorically refuted that his 'Rāma' was not that Rāmacaṅdra who was the son of Daśaratha of *Rāmāyaṇa*. His very famous verse .... stresses without any scope for that 'the son of Daśaratha who is mentioned in all the three worlds is different from the 'Dhvanyātmaka Rāma' the secret of which is quite different. He means by 'Rāma' that mystic sound the supreme being who is not known to even Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa. Even the Goddess of Learning or Śeṣa (the serpent king) cannot dare to describe that sound and its inner meaning. Kabir describes that sound to be every sounding above, the Bhamuvar *gufa* where 'Soham' sound is emanating. The secret is in know to any Ṛṣi of old. He mentions that God is the reservoir of light, Omnipotent and that the sound 'Rung' is very apparent in the mystic lotus with multi petals. Kabir also approves of 'Oṁ' but feels sorry that its true mystic significance is not understood by anybody and that is only in writing and physically over lips. He discovers that 'Rankar' is above 'Omkar'. He completes his analysis by stating that 'Rankar' is the name of that spiritual entity which rests finally above the unqualified (Nirguṇa) (Nirankar) and Supra Brahma (Para Brahma).

This according to both, the initial mystic manifestation of God is by sound.

(iv) *Non-dualism* :— Both believe in the philosophy of non-dualism or Monism. They believe that God is in all and all is in God. They believe that ultimately all will get merged into God and become one spiritual whole. They agree that Soul is but an atom from God. The devotee dies to live in God with complete identity and becomes one with the Almighty like a drop of water into the ocean, 'with no sense of duality ultimately.'

The last stage of successful human existence according to Manikkavasahar is a 'perfect union with Him' which he expresses as follows :—

"That day His servants who gained grace to go with Him
Mingled in perfect union with Himself
While those that gained it not, leaped on the fire"

In the very first stanza of the *Tiruvasaham*, again, he has in very clear terms stated that 'it is the One who became the many.'

Manikkavasahar's description of the last stage of the Universe is in the complete ceasing of the manifold phenomena of God and the duality completely falling away leaving One and the only One i. e. Himself :—

"The pure gems worldless music then shall rapture yield-
Shall it not be?

The light that yields within any soul sudden shall
rise and burn– Shall it not be?

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That manifold phenomena may cease the deity shall come-
Shall it not be?
Experiences divine unknown before shall unfolding rise;
Shall it not be?

It was Kabirdas who started a new sect of his own combining therein the philosophy of Non-dualism of Vedānta and Mysticism of Sufism. He believed implicitly in the 'existence of all in God the maker and the maker in all.' He says that He is the sun, ray, light, Brahmā, lives and Māyā (illusion). He also feels that God is in the soul. The Reality according to him is only God and all the rest is only like the image in a mirror. He is the water and all the rest the waves, which later merge into the water. All the powers are only His. The virtue of his 'non-dualism' is unique in so far as its practical aspect is concerned. It is not a dry philosophy but stresses on reason and the true path for a right living.

He described the entire Universe as existing God. He feels in God as the tree in the seed and the soul under the clutches as the shadow under the tree. Hence God is the only true element as in the seed. He further explains it and says that God Himself is the seed, tree, the flower, the fruit and the shadow. He expresses his opinion in favour of the Upanishadic state 'Tat-Tvam Asi.'

Thus we can conclude that both were non-dualists.

(v) *Māyā* (Illusion):—Both believe that all the suffering in the world is primarily due to the hosts of illusion or Māyā. The visible duality which is untrue according to them is again due to Māyā. But for Māyā, all will be peaceful, heavenly and spiritual.

Hence Manikkavasahar has given as a chapter full of description on 'taking the victory from Māyā' (Tiruppoovalli). He offers his gratitude to God for setting him free from the bonds of Māyā with his kith and kin—

"His sacred Feet, – the twain, soon as upon my head He placed,
Help of encircling friends – the whole – I utterly renounced
From father, mother, kindred and all else that were to me
As bonds, He set me free; made me His own – the Pandi Lord!"

He takes very birth as 'illusive'. The cause for this illusive birth too are the old bond-creating and illusionary deeds and states —

"Old deeds that made us wholly bond-slaves, sorely troubled us."

With the grace of the Lord, he hopes to get rid of all the false desires and the physical body too which according to him is the result of Māyā. One of the significant lines from his *Tiruvasaham* is–

"This my frame, mere mass of fierce desires, might pass away."

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The same view is shared by Kabirdas also. He however divides Māyā into two aspects – the true and the false, the true one leading one towards the good and the false one towards the evil, the true one leading one towards godhood and the false one leading one away from godhood, making one a sinner. This evil Māyā is spoken of as a 'decoitess' of the worst type. Kabir has described invariably this evil Māyā. He feels that this evil Māyā has three stings – creation, protection and destruction, signifying that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa are but different forms of only this evil Māyā. He observes this to be sweet like sugar but poisonous in effect. He finds the entire world in its bonds. Its chief weapons are money and maid, he says. He too considers parents, daughter and all the kindred only different forms of this evil Māyā. So also he takes Brahmā .... lives to be expressions of this Māyā. This Māyā, he says, resides in the form of Lakṣmī with Viṣṇu, and of Bhavānī with Śiva, It is the idol sitting with the priest and water in the sacred places. He takes all the incarnations, gods and goddesses as different manifestations of this evil Māyā.

Thus Manikkavasahar and Kabir believe that Māyā is the illusionary force, the prime cause for all pains and agonies, misunderstandings and miseries.

(vi) *Reincarnation and Law of Karma* :— The very existence of soul leaving the God away is punishment to the soul and takes various births and suffers a similar number of deaths due to the good and bad actions of its own. This view is valid to Manikkavasahar and Kabirdas. The above Māyā forces the soul to engage itself in activities based on situations in which it is pushed to exist. One of Manikkavasahar's very touching stanzas runs as follows :—

" Grass was I shrub was I, worm, tree
Full many a kind of beast, bird, snake,
Stone, man and demon 'Midst Thy hosts I served.
The form of mighty Asuras, ascetics, gods, I bore,
Within these innumerable and mobile forms of life
in every species born, weary I've grown, great Lord. "

How clear a confession proving the truth of reincarnation and consequently the doctrine of the law of Karma too is confessed by the saint.

Kabirdas also states that 'the soul comes to this city again and again' and adds that it is only He who can get the soul rid of from the sufferings of birth and death.' He cautions men that if he would indulge in evil deeds leading to godlessness, he must have to become a demon and repent for seven births. He wanted men to be careful about reincarnations; and stated in a forceful stanza as follows :—

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"The soul assumes many forms according to its merits
After birth and death it again comes to a body."

Thus the doctrine of transmigration, the basic Hindu concept, is acceptable to both.

(vii) *Caste* :— Casteism is supposed to be the greatest social evil penitrated throughout India in the Hindu fold and is of late corrupting other folds as well. Both the saints seem to have understood the seriousness of the evil system and so have condemned it from the bottom of their hearts. Men are all equal, none is higher or lower. Higher is he who is good and lower is he who is bad, and this should be, according to them, decided after their actions.

Manikkavasahar calls caste, sect and birth as cyclones which perplex one from finding out the right from the wrong. He suggests that caste is the most among them by placing it first. He declares that they are roots for sorrow and folly and lead one away from God and the assemblage of saints. Hence he pays obedience to god for freeing him from these bondages in these terms :—

"Me whiled about 'mid' 'caste' and 'clan' and 'birth' and
sore perplexed
Vile helpless dog – He made His own, all sorry rooting out,
Destroyed all folly, alien forms, all thought of 'I' and 'mine'
Ambrosia pure, Him have I seen in Tillai, where the saints concert"

It is therefore that the saint prays for a stage when these earth-born castes would be completely eradicated leaving no traces of its evil dividing nature, and cries :—

"From shell that music breathes the sounds
shall them burst forth; – shall it not be?
The qualities that quit not earthborn race shall fret no more
shall it not be?
Delusion that declares this good or that shall all die down
shall it not be?
Our whole desire shall ask to serve His servants: 'neath
His feet: shall it not be?"

(Here the translator Dr. G. U. Pope has used the word qualities for caste). Manikkavasahar here means that it is that caste which creates the delusion in society and makes men declare things 'good' and 'bad' for causes created by selfish men. The saint announced that his way of salvation was open to all classes of the community irrespective of caste, sect or birth. All men were equal for any god-seeker or anyone who believes in god sincerely.

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Kabirdas condemns caste in the severest possible terms. He does not give an iota of scope for the recognition of caste system in the society in any form for any purpose. He does not want anybody to enquire about the caste of any other person and should only look at his wisdom. He says that the value of the sword above should be taken into consideration and leave the sheath aside. He attacks all those who think that they belong to a higher caste, particularly Brahmins and states that the king Mahābali was deceived by Vāmana in the form of a Brahmin. He questions as to what good was done by to anybody. All the thefts had been committed by Brahmins. He takes that the cremation ceremonies according to Vedas and Purāṇas are only based on blindness for what understanding the *darbha* grass have, he asks?

Kabir in another place compares 'Pandas' (Brahmins who perform worship in temples) to clever butchers. He particularises the Brahmins of this age (Kaliyuga) as too wicked. He even tickles them directly by asking them as to why they did come from a different way if they were born to a Brahmin and Brāhmaṇī.

Thus both are against caste system.

V (a) We have, till now, observed that Saint Manikkavasahar of Madurai-Chidambaram, and saint Kabirdas of Kashi-Magahar, though belonging to South India and North India away from each other by a distance of more than a thousand miles and though composing in different languages like Tamil and Hindi respectively, are thinkers and poets of parallel ideals leading to the same Godhood centred above the 'Trimūrtis' through the same path of 'bridal mysticism' with the help of a true living Guru in human form and depending upon His indispensable grace. Scholars both Indian and foreign have spoken very highly of both the Poet-saints.

(b) There is a well known saying in Tamil which means that 'one whose heart does not melt to *Tiruvasaham* (or Holy Word) will not melt to any other *vasaham*'. Truly *Tiruvasaham* is the saint's spiritual autobiography and a personal record of the various phases of his spiritual experiences. It is stated by the late Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer in his Foreword to *Tiruvasaham* that a European author has thus commented—

"In no literature with which I am acquainted has individual religious life, its struggle and dejection, its hopes and fears and its confidence and triumph received a delineation more frank and pronounced."

Dr. G. U. Pope in his introduction to his English translation of *Tiruvasaham* tells the world thus about its superb effect on his mind—

"His songs vibrate still and shall vibrate in millions of hearts. No one can read the sage's verses without profound emotion, scarcely ever has the

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longing of the human soul for purity and peace and divine fellowship found worthier expression."

This is a sincere and frank expression of a Christian scholar of England who wanted that on his tomb-stone the words 'A student of Tamil' be inscribed.

The melting words of the Tamil Poet-Saint of the 19th century, Vadalurar Ramalinga Adihal, are unforgettable. He says "When I sing the songs of Manikkavasahar, they give me the taste of cane-sugar mixed with honey and milk, a taste which gets mingled with my flesh and blood and life too, and the desire for more is never quenched."

It is rightly stated that his poem compares well with John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, for both describe the soul's passage from life to life leading to godhood.

Maraimalai Adihal, one of the greatest savants of the 20th century characterises *Tirukkovaiyar* as the immediate jewel of his soul.

'Kalladam' is a classical work of Tamil literature. In one of its stanzas, the author who is popularly known after his work as 'Kalladanar' states as follows – "The Tirukkovaiyar is a lotus offered at the feet of the Almighty. The Tamil Sangam is the flower-pond where it blossoms; Mei-gyanam (true knowledge) in the lustre of the lotus. The four hundred verses are its petals. The beauty of its meaning is the honey in the flower and the poets are the bees. This divine work will pave the way for the salvation of the world. God's rays of kindness are the rays that make it blossom forth."

(c) So also very many encomiums have been paid to Kabirdas, his works and philosophy. It was only he among the Hindi poets who by the power of his conviction and poetry started a new religious sect in a period of historical, religious and social upheavals. If popularity is to be taken as the measure of evaluation, he is perhaps next only to Tulasidas in the whole of North India. Kabirdas has a more unique position than Tulasidas, because the former is read and quoted profusely both by Hindus and Muslims whereas the latter generally by Hindus only. The poetry of Kabirdas aims at establishing communal concord which is absent in Tulasidas who tried to bring only Shaivaites and Vaishnavaites nearer. Kabir's rationalisation covered a wider arena indeed than of Tulasidas.

F. E. Keay in his *History of Hindi Literature* rightly states "It is certainly true to say that it was he more than any others before him who popularised Hindi religious literature and vastly expounded its influence, and Hindi Literature of the same type subsequent to Kabir owes to him a great debt."

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One of the greatest of critics of the present age, Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi., an ardent follower of Rabindra Nath Tagore, states in his well-studied treatise *Kabir* that he was the exponent of that Bhakti cult of 'Dravida Desha' (South India) which had been brought to the North by Ramananda. He adds that it goes to the credit of Kabir to have spread this message of Bhakti (devotion) in all the 'seven islands and nine parts of the world.' This statement is only a replica of the following stanza of Kabir himself :—

"भक्ती द्रविड़ ऊपजी, लाये रामानंद ।
परगट कियो कबीरने सात दीप नव खंड ॥"

(d) Lastly, the melting unforgettable penegyric of the Tamil Poet-Saint of the 19th century, Vadalurar Ramalinga Adihal in praise of the melting verses of Manikkavasahar deserves special mention. He offers this encomium to Manikkavasahar direct through the astral medium—

"Oh divine Manikkavasahar ! When I sing your songs in tune with their spirit the resulting experience is sweet like the sugar-cane juice in which are mixed honey, milk, the taste of mellow fruits, my entire self, body and soul. And yet it is a sweetness without satiety."

This is true of Kabirdas also.

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PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION SECTION

CAUSAL ARGUMENT ACCORDING TO UDAYANA

By

HEM CHANDRA JOSHI, GORAKHPUR

The causal argument is the chief weapon in the armoury of theists to prove the existence of God. Of course, it has assumed different forms at the hands of different philosophers. For the Naiyāyikas it proves the existence of an efficient cause of the universe, whom they call Īśvara. This is quite in keeping with their general theory of causality. Udayana has explained this argument threadbare in the fifth Chapter of his *Nyāya-kusumāñjali* as no other Naiyāyika has done. The argument has not been initiated by Udayana. It had already been discussed by Uddyotakara in sufficient detail. But it had been scathingly criticised by the Buddhists and the Mīmāṁsakas. Udayana took up the challenge and very stoutly defended the Nyāya position.

In the following lines we shall try to explain very briefly this argument and see how Udayana meets one of the objections, viz., that Īśvara cannot be the *kartā* or the Creator of the universe, since He is not embodied. To explain:

Every positive entity, which is an effect (*bhāva-kārya*), has three causes, viz. the inherent cause (*samavāyi-kāraṇa*), which is always a substance (*dravya*) (for instance, potsherds constitute the inherent cause in the case of a jar); the non-inherent cause (*a-samavāyi-kāraṇa*), which is either a quality (*guṇa*) or some action (*karman*) (such as the conjunction of the potsherds is the non-inherent cause in the case of a jar) and the *nimitta-kāraṇa* which includes all the auxiliaries and the 'doer' or the *kartā*. In the case of the production of a jar, the potter's wheel, the staff and the potter himself together constitute the *nimitta-kāraṇa*. Out of these, the potter is considered the 'doer', 'agent' or the *kartā*.[1] The upshot of the situation is that the material cause, being insentient, must be moved or controlled by some intelligent being. On this universal law is based the causal argument of Udayana. The argument is as follows:

The Earth and the like have had a *kartā*,
(That is, the Earth and the like have been created by some one) – –

1. *Kārikāvali*: Pratyakṣa, 16-17.

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kṣityādikaṁ sa-kartṛkaṁ;
Because they are effects– *kāryatvāt*;
Whatever is an effect has a *kartā*, like a jar- (*yad yad kāryam, tat tat sa-kartṛkaṁ, yathā ghaṭaḥ,*) and so on.[1]
And the *kartā* in this case is God Himself.

As regards the question as to how the Earth and the like are effects, it might be urged that they are composite (*sāvayava*) entities and as such must necessarily be effects such as the jar and the like. As none from amongst us can be the creator of the universe we must admit God as the Creator. As to the possible objection,viz. why none from amongst us could be the Creator and why was it necessary to postulate God to do the job, the Naiyāyika would furnish the following explanation.

A *kartā* is one who has the immediate knowledge of the material cause, has the requisite desire to create the particular thing and who exerts himself in order to achieve his objective (*upādāna-gocara-aparokṣa-jñāna-cikīrṣākṛtimat-tvaṁ kartṛtvaṁ*).[2] The material cause of the gross Earth and the like are the four kinds of *paramāṇus* which are super-sensible entities. It is not possible for us to perceive them. Thus none from amongst us fulfils the first condition of being the creator. A potter is a *kartā* in respect of a jar because he fulfils all the three conditions. He perceives the material cause of the jar viz, the clod of the earth or the pair of potsherds, he has the requisite desire to fashion the jar and exerts in the manner expected of him. The same could not be said about any one of us in respect of Creation. It might be argued that any one from amongst the ancient sages (*ṛṣis*), who had attained supernatural powers, could perceive the *paramāṇus* and could thus fulfil the first condition along with the other two and, therefore, could be looked upon as Creator of the universe. Thus there would be no necessity to postulate God. In reply, the Naiyāyika would point out that the performance of austerities and the consequent attainment of supernatural powers follow the fact of creation and do not precede it, while God, being Omniscient and Omnipotent, is quite capable of creating the universe. It may be pointed out here that God as Creator cannot but be Omniscient and Omnipotent. It would do to postulate one God. For, if there were several Gods they would always be at cross-purposes with one another and only chaos would follow.

Objection against the Causal argument

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1. *kṣity-ādi kartṛ-pūrvakaṁ, kāryatvāt iti*, NKP. V. 33. 1.5
2. *kārakatvam eva tasya jñāna-cikīrṣā-prayatnavataḥ, na svarūpataḥ* NKP. V. p. 43. 11. 1-2.

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The *anīśvaravādin* raises an objection against the causal argument as explained above. He says that the potter, weaver and other 'doers' (*kartṛs*) are embodied persons. So, if the existence of God as the Creator of the Universe were proved at all, the God, so established, would be an embodied person (*śarīrin*). But according to the Naiyāyika, God is not an embodied person. Therefore, the argument from the fact of the universe being an effect does not help the Naiyāyika. Either Naiyāyika has to admit an embodied God or else he has to give up the argument, since the argument cannot prove the existence of an un-embodied creator.

Udayana's Answer to the Objection.

Before answering the objection Udayana wants the opponent to clarify as to what exactly he means to say when he brings in the question regarding the 'body'. The opponent may mean to say one of the following:[1]

1. God is an embodied person,
   because He is a *kartā*.
   (*Īśvaraḥ śarīrī, kartṛtvāt*).

In the inference God is looked upon as *pakṣa* or the 'subject'.

2. The Naiyāyikas do not admit God's body.
   Therefore –
   God is not a *kartā*,
   because He is not embodied.
   (*Īśvaraḥ a-kartā, a-śarīritvāt*')

3. The Earth and the like had some embodied person as their *kartā*.
   because they are effects.
   (*kṣityādi śarīri-kartṛkaṁ, kāryatvāt*).

In this inference the Earth and the like are looked upon as the subject (*pakṣa*).

4. The Earth and the like are not effects,
   because they are not produced by 'body'.
   (*kṣty-ādi a-kāryaṁ. Śarīra-a-janyatvāt*')

5. The Earth and the like have no *kartā*,
   because they are not produced, by a 'body'.
   (*kṣityādikam a-kartṛkam, śarīra-a-janyatvāt*)

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1. *Tathā hi atra ye śarīra-prasaṅgaṁ udghāṭayanti, kas teṣām āśayaḥ ? Kim Īśvaraṁ pakṣayitvā kartṛtvāc charīritvaṁ, tataḥ (atha) śarīra-vyāvṛtter akartṛtvaṁ, atha kṣity-ādikam eva pakṣayitvā kāryatvāc charīri-kartṛkatvaṁ, yad vā śarīra-ajanyatvād akāryatvaṁ tata eva vā akartṛkatvaṁ, paravyāpti-stambhanārthaṁ viparīta-vyāpty-upadarśanamātraṁ veti,*

– NKP. V. p. 34. 11. 2-4.

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The opponent does not propose to put forth any inference in order to prove something. He simply aims at arresting the operation of the *vyāpti* as put forth by the Naiyāyika (*'para-vyāpti-stambhanārtham*) and in order to do that he comes forward with a contrary *vyāpti* viz. that a *kartā* is an embodied person or that one who is not embodied is not a *kartā*.

As regards the first two, the objections are vitiated by the fallacies etc. known as *āśraya-asiddhi, bādha, apa-siddhānta* and *pratijñāvirodha*. To explain: In the first two inferences *Īśvara* is the 'subject.' But according to the opponent Īśvara is not *siddha* (i. e. the existence of God is not established). As such any inference based on a *pakṣa* that is *a-siddha* would suffer from the 'defect' (*doṣa*) called *āśraya-asiddhi*. And if God's existence is proved then God could only be proved as un-embodied and as Creator of the universe. In that event the inference, seeking to prove that He is embodied or that He is not a Creator, would be contradicted (*bādhita*). And if the opponent were to admit God in order to get away from the fallacy called *āśraya-asiddhi*, then he will have violated his own position (*apasiddhānta*). Moreover, the word Īśvara stands for an un-embodied Creator of the universe. The word Īśvara, which stands for the 'subject' and the words *śarīrin* (embodied) and *a-kartā* (non-creator) which stand for the *sādhya* or the probandum, are mutually, contradictory. Thus to infer *a-kartṛtva* or *śarīritva* in respect of Īśvara would amount to what is known as *pratijñā-virodha* (contradicting the proposition).[1]

As regards the third possible objection (viz. *kṣityādi śārīri-kartṛkam, kāryatvāt*), it might be said that one could infer an embodied creator if there was invariable concomitance between *kāryatvam* and *Śarīri-kartṛkatvam*. In fact, if the opponent infers an embodied creator in respect of the Earth and the like, that does not undermine the position taken up by the Naiyāyika that the Earth and like have a Creator. The non-apprehension (*anupalabdhi*) of the Creator of the universe would mean that the opponent cannot infer an embodied creator, for the relation of invariable concomitance does not obtain between *kāryatvam* and *śarīri-kartṛkatvam*. The fourth alternative is also not tenable. The opponent cannot infer *a-kāryatva* in respect of the Earth and the like, since it is contradicted by 'perception'. We see that the Earth and the like are composite (*sāvayava*) entities and, as such, the fact of their being effects cannot be questioned. And as the relation of invariable concomitance does not obtain between the fact of 'being not created by body' (*śarīra-ajanyatva*) and 'not being an effect' (*a-kāryatva*), the probans viz.

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1. *Tatra prathama-dvitīyayor āśraya-asiddhi-bādha-apasiddhānta-pratijñā-virodhāḥ.*

– NKP. V. p. 34. l. 6.

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śarīra-ajanyatva suffers from the fallacy called *anaikāntika* (indecision). As such it is inconclusive.[1]

That the fifth alternative viz. '*kṣityādi a-kartṛkaṁ, śarīra-ajanyatvād*', is not possible, can be shown as follows. In the probans *śarīra-ajanyatvād* the qualification *śarīra* is redundant, since it does not serve any purpose (*a-samartha*). The relation of invariable concomitance does not obtain between *śarīra-ajanyatva* and *a-kartṛkatva*. Rather it obtains between *a-janyatva* and *a-kartṛkatva*. Thus the probans is vitiated by the fallacy called *vyāpyatva-asiddhi* (it occurs when the probans is unestablished in respect of its concomitance). And if the opponent drops the qualification *śarīra* in the probans *śarīra-ajanyatvāt* then the probans is vitiated by the fallacy called *svarūpa-asiddhi*, which obtains when the probans is unestablished in respect of itself. Surely, the Earth and the like are not *a-janya*.[2]

Finally, we come to the sixth possible alternative. As against this it might be argued like this: Mere *vyāpti* does not prove anything. It should be accompanied by what is known as *pakṣa-dharmatā*. That is, the probans should be apprehended as present in the subject. The probans *kāryatva* in this case, is apprehended as characterising the 'subject' viz. the Earth and the like. This probans, as advanced by the Naiyāyikas cannot be contradicted by the two *vyāptis* as put forth by the opponent, since they are not accompanied by *pakṣa-dharmatā*. In the first two cases just mentioned above, where Īśvara is the 'subject', the *hetus* viz. *kartṛtva* and *a-śarīritva* do not characterise the 'subject' (Īśvara) as the existence of Īśvara is not yet established.[3]

The opponent comes forward with another argument. Here again the Earth and the like constitute the 'subject' of inference. The argument is as follows. Whatever has an intelligent (*buddhimat*) person as a cause has also 'body' as its cause. According to the rule that the non-existence of the 'pervader' (*vyāpaka*') proves the non-existence of the *vyāpya*, the reverse would also be true. In other words, whatever is not caused by 'body' is also not caused by an intelligent person. The probans viz. *śarīra-ajanyatva* characterises the 'subject' viz. the Earth and the like. Thus the Earth and the like are not caused by an intelligent person. This rules out the existence of Īśvara. The opponent labours under the idea that the *vyāpti* as stated

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1. *Tṛtīye tu vyāptau satyām nedam aniṣṭam, asatyāṁ tu na prasaṅgaḥ. Caturthe bādha-anekāntau.* – NKP V. p. 34. 11. 6-7.

2. *Pañcame tv asamartha-viśeṣaṇatvaṁ.* – NKP V. p 34. 11. 7-8.

3. *Ṣaṣṭhe'pi na agṛhyamāṇa-viśeṣaṇa vyāptyā bādhaḥ. na ca agṛhyamāṇa-viśeṣaṇā vyāptya gṛhyamāṇaviśiṣṭāyāḥ sat-pratipakṣatvaṁ. Asti ca kāryatva vyāpteḥ pakṣadharmatā-parigraho viśeṣaḥ. kartā śarīrī, viparīto na kartā iti anayos tad-virahaḥ.* – NKP V. p. 34 11. 8-9 and p. 35, l. 1.

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above is a negative one (*kevala-vyatireki*), since there is no 'similar instance' (*sapakṣa*). Udayana, however, says that there are 'similar instances' also like the Ākāśa. The Ākāśa and the like are not caused by 'body' and as such are also not caused by an intelligent person. Thus the *vyāpti* is affirmative as well. In this event the qualification 'body' in the probans *śarīra-ajanyatva* is redundant, as shown already. The *vyāpti* obtains between "being uncaused" (*hetu-vyāvṛtti*) and "having no *kartā*" (*kartṛ-vyāvṛtta*). Only that probans is considered as qualifying the 'subject' which is pervaded by the probandum and no other. Otherwise unwarranted consequences would follow.[1]

1. *Gagana-ādeḥ sapakṣabhāgasya api saṁbhavāt kevalu-vyatirekitva-anupapatteḥ Anvaye tu viśeṣaṇa-asāmarthyāt. Hetu-vyāvṛttimātraṁ hi tatra kartṛ-vyāvṛtti-vyāptaṁ, na tu śarīra-rūpa-hetu-vyāvṛttir ityuktam. Vyāptāś ca pakṣadharma upayujyate, na tu anyo'tiprasaṅgāt.*

– NKP V. p. 35. ll 5-7.

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देशिकदर्शने शरणागतिविधिः

सत्यव्रतसिंहः

श्रीरामानुजदर्शनस्यैव समुपबृंहणमिदं यद्धि देशिकदर्शनमित्युच्यते। देशिकदर्शनमिति च श्रीमतो कवितार्किकसिंहस्य वेङ्कटनाथाभिधानस्य वेदान्तदेशिकस्य यद् दर्शनं तस्यैव संक्षिप्तमभिधानं सरलमभिज्ञापनञ्च। एतर्हि दर्शने शरणागतिर्वेदवित्संमता वेदैरेव विधीयमाना साध्यते। 'तानि धर्माणि प्रथमान्यासन्' इत्यादिर्मन्त्रवर्णः परस्यै देवतायै प्रत्यगात्मरूपस्य हविषस्त्यागरूपं शरणवरणमपि क्रोडीकरोति। 'इन्द्राय इदं न मम' इत्यादिवत् भगवत एवाऽहमस्मि न ममेति रूपं प्रपदनमेव शरणवरणम्। भगवत्पारतन्त्र्यानुष्ठाननिष्ठा हि शरणागतिनिष्ठेति निगद्यते।

'भूयिष्ठां ते नम उक्तिं विधेम' इत्यादिवेदान्तवाक्यजातं शरणागतिमेव सर्वभूतान्तरात्मभूतब्रह्मदर्शनस्य परां काष्ठां प्रमाणयति। उपनिषत्सु मूर्धन्यभूता या खल्वीशोपनिषत् सा विशिष्टाद्वयब्रह्मस्वरूपस्यैव संदर्शनाय प्रवृत्तेत्युच्यते श्रीदेशिकैः स्वरचितस्येशोपनिषद्भाष्यस्योपोद्घाते—

'ईशावास्यमिदं सर्वमित्यादि यदनूच्यते।
शिष्यं प्रति गुरोरेतद्ब्रह्मविद्यानुशासनम्॥'

अर्थात् येयमीशोपनिषत् सा ब्रह्मविद्यानुशासनम्। यच्चात्र ब्रह्मविद्यानुशासनम् तत् चिदचिच्छरीरिणः सर्वभूतान्तरात्मनः परस्य ब्रह्मणः सिद्धेरेव शंसनम्। यद्धि परब्रह्मणः सिद्धिशंसनम् तत् शरणगतिसाधनानुशासनमेव। इदमेव ब्रह्मवेदनं यत् परब्रह्मणि भगवति परमेश्वरे स्वात्मसमर्पणमिति शरणवरणमिति वेति।

एवं तत्त्वमसीति यद् विशिष्टाद्वयब्रह्मात्मकं प्रज्ञानघनं परतत्त्वं साध्यते तत्त्वदर्शिभिः मुमुक्षुभिस्तद् वस्तुतः 'यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि।'

'यो सावसौ पुरुषः सोऽहमस्मि।'

इतीशोपनिषन्मन्त्रार्थ एव साक्षात्क्रियते। साधूक्तं श्रीदेशिकैरीशोपनिषदः षोडशतमस्यास्य मन्त्रस्य व्याख्यानावसरे—

'पुरुष :— पूर्णत्वपूर्वसत्त्वादिगुणकः आदित्यवर्णविग्रहविशिष्टः सर्ववेदपठितानन्यपरपुरुषसूक्तादिप्रसिद्धो महापुरुषः। सोऽहमस्मि इत्यहम्' शब्दोऽत्र जीवद्वारा तदन्तरात्मपर्यन्तः। अत एवास्मीत्यपि प्रत्यग्रूपस्वविशिष्टे परमात्मनि विश्राम्यति। 'अस्मद्युत्तमः' : पाणिनि १।४।१०७ : इत्येतावदेव ह्यनुशिष्टम्। न पुनरस्मच्छब्दस्य प्रत्यगात्मद्वारा परमात्मपर्यन्ततायामुत्तमनिवृत्तिः। एवं 'तत्त्वमसी'त्यादिषु असिशब्दो निर्वाह्यः। तत्रापि 'युष्मद्युपपदे समानाधिकरणे स्थानिन्यपि मध्यमः' : पाणिनि १।४।१०५ : इत्येतावदेव हि स्मर्यते। न तु युष्मच्छब्दस्य स्वाभिमुखचेतनद्वारा तदन्तर्यामिपर्यन्तत्वे मध्यमनिवृत्तिः। लोके तु 'अहं त्वमस्मि', 'त्वमहमसि' इत्याद्युपचारेपूद्देश्यानुसारेण मध्यमोत्तमयोर्व्यवस्था। तद्वदत्रापि व्यवस्थोपपद्यते। ..... ये पुनः

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'तत्त्वमसि', 'सोऽहमस्मी'त्यादिषु कार्यकारणोपाध्याकारविधूननेन निर्विशेषस्वरूपैक्यं वाक्यवेद्यमाहुः, तेषामसिवदस्मिरपि खण्डकः।

अर्थात् निर्विशेषस्वरूपैक्यमेव यदि 'तत्त्वमसी'ति श्रुतिविभावितं तत्त्वं तदा भक्तिरेव नोदेति प्रागेव शरणागतेः। तत्त्वस्य भगवत्त्व एवं दृष्टे भक्तिः स्फुरति; शरणागतिश्च पुष्यति। तत्त्वमिदं परवासुदेवात्मकं, परमशिवात्मकञ्च। इदमेव परमं प्रापकम्। न चान्यत् किञ्चित् तत्प्रापकं श्रूयते। अत इदमेव भगवद्रूपं परतत्त्वं मम सकलः पुरुषार्थवर्ग इति भावयन् एव भक्तः शरणागतिं भावयति। 'धर्मक्षेत्रे कुरुक्षेत्रे अनयैव शरणव्रज्यया व्रजन्' 'पार्थो धनुर्धरः' 'अर्जुनः' श्रियं विजयं भूतिं च संप्राप्तवान्।

भक्तौ भवतु नाम तत्तद्धर्मान्तरङ्गता, शरणागतिस्तु स्वत एव भगवत्प्रसादनविशेषः। शरणागत एव भगवन्तमेवं प्रार्थयितुं प्रभवति यथोक्तमीशोपनिषदः १७ तमे मन्त्रे —

'वायुरनिलममृतमथेदं भस्मान्तं शरीरम्।
ओं क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर, क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर॥'

कथमिति चेत्? अत्र खलु श्रीदेशिकदर्शनरसिकैः 'वायुरनिलममृतम्' इतिपदत्रयेण प्रत्यगात्मतत्त्वं प्रत्यभिज्ञायते, प्रत्यभिज्ञाप्यते च। 'वायु' रिदमात्मतत्त्वम्, विद्यानुसारं कर्मानुसारं वा यत्र तत्र सर्वत्र गन्तृत्वात्। 'अनिल' मिदमात्मतत्वम् निलयनरहितत्वात् क्वचिदपि व्यवस्थितत्वाभावाच्च। अमृतमिदमात्मतत्त्वम्, म्रियमाणेऽपि देहसन्ताने स्वयममृतत्वात्। 'विजरो विमृत्युः विशोकः' इत्यादीनि वचनानि वस्तुत अस्यैवात्मतत्त्वस्यामृतत्वमुशन्ति। यत्तु क्षेत्रज्ञशरीरं तद्विनाशधर्मकमेव यथोक्तमन्त्रेव मन्त्रे — 'अथेदं भस्मान्तं शरीर' मिति। एवंरूपे खलु चिदचिद्विवेके संवृत्ते सति, तत्प्रेरितारमौपनिषदं पुरुषं प्रति 'ओं क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर, क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर' इत्यादिरूपा या भावना तस्या एव शरणागतिरिति नामान्तरम्। शरणागत एव भगवन्तं परशिवं परवासुदेवं श्रीनिवासं नारायणं परं ब्रह्म संबोधयितुं शक्नुयात् — 'हे क्रतो! क्रत्वात्मक पुरुष! स्मर माम् सानुग्रह्या बुद्ध्या मां विषयीकुर्विति। 'स्नेहपूर्णेन मनसा यन्नः स्मरसि केशव।' इत्युक्तमेवाभियुक्तैः। एवमेव 'कृतं स्मर' इत्यपि भावना भगवतः शरणागतिमेव पुष्णाति। यतो हि 'मत्कृतं यत् किञ्चिदनुकूलत्वमनुसन्धाय कृतज्ञस्त्वं मां रक्षे'ति भावः खल्वत्र तत्त्वतो भासते। अथवा 'एतावदन्तं त्वत्कृतमानुकूल्यं प्रतिसन्धाय त्वमेव शेषपूरणं कुर्वि'ति वा भावोऽत्र भाव्यते। 'क्रतो स्मर कृतं स्मर' इत्यावृत्तिस्तु भगवच्छरणागतेर्गमनिकेव। भगवन्तं प्रति आनुकूल्याद्यनुस्मारणादौ यः त्वरातिशयः यत्रावृत्तेरस्याः कश्चन आग्रहविशेषः, तत्सर्वं शरणागतिमेव प्रपत्याद्यपरपर्यायां मोक्षरूपां मोक्षफलाञ्च प्रसाधयति।

सेयमीशोपनिषदभिनन्दिता शरणागतिर्वर्णचतुष्टयसाधारणी वैदिकैरेव विधिभिः प्राप्यते। द्रविडाम्नाये रागतोऽपि प्राप्तेयमिति त्वन्य एव कथाविस्तरः। लोके शरणागतवत्सलत्वं कारुणिकानां स्वभाव इति सिद्धे सिद्धमेव कैमुतिकन्यायेनापारकारुण्यजलधेः भगवतः परमेश्वरस्य प्रपन्नसंरक्षणम्। अतोऽपि हेतोः प्रपदनविधिवाक्यान्तरमप्यनुसृत्य प्रपत्तिः स्वतन्त्रेव ब्रह्मविद्यैति सिद्धम्।

एवमेव 'ओमित्यात्मानं युञ्जीत' इत्यादौ य आत्मन्यासः प्रकरणादधिगतस्सोऽपि प्रपदनं वेदप्राप्तं वैधं चेति समर्थयन्नेव स्थितः।

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शरणागतेः प्रपन्नस्य वा तत्तत्स्वतन्त्रविधिप्राप्तत्वं तत्तदर्थवादादिपरिकल्पितविधिभावं वा मन्वानेन श्रीदेशिकेन स्पष्टमेवोक्तं शरणागतिगद्यभाष्ये—

'प्रपत्तेः क्वचिदप्येवं परापेक्षा न विद्यते ।
सा हि सर्वत्र सर्वेषां सर्वकामफलप्रदा ॥'

अथ च श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतायां स्वतन्त्रप्रपत्तिविधिपरोऽपि श्लोकः प्राप्यते–

'सर्वधर्मान् परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं व्रज ।
अहं त्वां सर्वपापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः ॥' इति

अत्र हि भगवानेव स्वशेषभूतेन मया स्वात्मानं प्रीतंकारयतीति यदनुसन्धानं तदेव ज्ञानिनो भक्तस्याकिञ्चन्यानन्यगतित्वादिकं पुरस्करोति । कर्मयोग-ज्ञानयोग-भक्तियोग-प्रपत्तियोगाख्येषु पर्वचतुष्टयेषु वर्णाश्रमधर्मानुष्ठानस्य यदपरित्याज्यत्वं गीतोपनिषदा समुन्मीलितं ततोऽपि शरणागतेर्विधिपुरस्कृतत्वमेव संसिद्धम् । अत्रेव 'मामेकं शरणं व्रजे' त्युपदिष्टं यथा युद्धाख्यस्य क्षात्रधर्मस्य सर्वावस्थायामनुष्ठेयत्वं साधयति तथैव शरणागतेरपि सर्वावस्थायामनुष्ठेयत्वमेव प्रमाणयति ।

भगवत्प्रवृत्तिविरोधिनी या स्वप्रवृत्तिस्तस्याः निवृत्तिरेव प्रपत्तिरिति यद्दर्शनं श्रीदेशिकदर्शनानुमतं तत् प्रपत्तिमार्गे विधिविगानमेव न सहते । यद्दर्शनं खल्वीश्वरमेव तादृशं दयालुसार्वभौममौपनिषदमभ्युपगच्छति, तत् प्रपत्तिमेव परां विद्यामुपासनां वा वैधीं साधयतीति शम् ।

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ŚĀLIKANĀTHA-THE VAIŚEṢIKA

By

ANANTALAL THAKUR, DARBHANGA

The early commentaries on the Vaiśeṣikasūtras went into oblivion because of the popularity of the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha* of Praśastapāda. This *Saṅgraha* is generally called Praśastapādabhāṣya. It gives us the gist of the Vaiśeṣika speculations from the time of Kaṇāda in a systematic way. We have seen elsewhere that Praśastapāda wrote a detailed commentary on the ancient *Vaiśeṣikabhāṣya*, fragments from which have been preserved. Thus the additional material in this *Saṅgraha* over and above those available in the Sūtras of Kaṇāda may be taken as the result of investigations of the Vaiśeṣika masters who came between Kaṇāda and Praśastapāda. But it is unfortunate again to say that except the small digest of Candramati we are not in possession of any other Vaiśeṣika work for several centuries. Among the commentaries on the *Saṅgraha* of Praśastapāda the earliest available one is the *Vyomavatī* of Vyomaśivācārya which has been placed in the middle of the tenth century A. D. Thus we find that the gap between Praśastapāda and Vyomaśiva is also considerable.

Cannibhaṭṭa in his commentary on the *Tarkabhāṣā* of Keśavamiśra quotes a passage from the *Praśastapādabhāṣya-Vyākhyāna* of Śālikanātha. The passage runs as follows : *mṛtpiṇḍapāṣāṇādilakṣaṇaḥ śarīrendriyavyatirikto viṣaya iti Śālikanāthaḥ Praśastapādabhāṣyavyākhyānam nyarūpayat— Tarkabhāṣāprakāśikā*. B S & P Series. p. 211.

The passage is connected with *Viṣayas tu dvyaṇukādi prakrameṇārabdhas trividhaḥ, mṛtpāṣāṇādilakṣaṇaḥ–Praśastapādabhāṣyam*, Chowkhamba, p. 196. There is only one Śālikanātha known to the History of Indian Philosophy and he is Prābhākara mīmāṁsaka, the author of the *Prakaraṇapañjikā* and *Ṛjuvimalāpañjikā*. Considering the close relation between the Vaiśeṣika and the Prābhākara schools one is tempted to identify the author of the *Praśastapādabhāṣya-Vyākhyāna* quoted by Cannibhaṭṭa with the Mīmāṁsā scholar. In the following pages we shall see how far this identification is justified and what Vaiśeṣika materials can be gathered from the mīmāṁsā works of this author.

Vardhamāna in the *Kiraṇāvaliprakāśa* attributes an unspecified quotation in the *Kiraṇāvali* to Śālikanātha. The passage in question relates to ocular perception and runs as follows : *Kecit tu saṁsargidravyatayā niḥsaraṇ-*

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eva nāyanaṁ tejo bāhyālokenaikatāṁ gataṁ yugapad eva tadarthena saṁsṛṣṭaṁ indriyam utpāditavad iti Śākhācandramasos tulyakālagrahaṇam upapadyata iti samādhānam āhuḥ—*Kiraṇāvali*, Bibl. Ind., p. 288. The *Prakaraṇapañjikā* of Śālikanātha seems to give a similar view in–*nāyanaraśmibhir ekibhūte'pi bāhya tejasi yāvān eva tasya bhāgo 'dṛṣṭavaśeno 'palabdhihetutayo 'pāttaḥ tāvān evo 'pālabdhaye prabhavati na sarvaḥ iti na sarvopalambhaḥ yugapac ca bhaumadhruvādidarśanasiddhiḥ.*–*Prakaraṇapañjikā*, Chowkhamba, p. 45.

Again in the *Guṇakiraṇāvaliṭīkā* Bhaṭṭavādīndra refers to Śālikanātha in connection with the explanation of error *uṣṇaṁ jalam iti saṁvādivyavahāre' pi bhedagrahasyai'va Śālikanāthena hetutvāṅgīkārāt.*

The above seems to show that Udayana recognised Śālikanātha as a Vaiśeṣika though he did not see eye to eye with him on particular topics. As Śālikanātha belonged to a dark period in the history of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy, the materials he offers deserve special attention. We find him to quote some Vaiśeṣikasūtras and at times to explain them or add some discussion on them. Besides he is found to refer to Vaiśeṣika tenets. We give below the Vaiśeṣika materials gleaned from the *Prakaraṇapañjikā* and the *Ṛjuvimalāpañjikā*.

In the Vaiśeṣika sūtras quoted the readings sometimes differ from the current ones.

1. अग्नेरुर्ध्वज्वलनं वायोस्तिर्यक्पवनमणुमनसोश्चाद्यं कर्मेत्यदृष्टकारितानि ॥ (*VS.* V. ii. 14.) *P* (*rakaraṇa*) *p* (*añjikā*), Chowkhamba p. 53. Here Candrānanda's *Vṛtti* adds *Ca* after *Vāyoḥ*.

2. एतेनैव न्यायेन येऽपि कार्यकारणभावसंयोगसमवायविरोधाख्यान् पञ्च संबन्धान्
अस्येदं कारणं कार्यं संबन्ध्येकार्थसमवायि विरोधि चेति लौकिकम् ॥ (*VS.* IX. 18)
इत्यनुमानकारणमाहुः ..... p. 68. Here *laukikam* is a mistake for *Laiṅgikam*. The *Vyomavatī* takes *saṁyogi samavāyi sambandhyekārthāsamavāyi* and reverses the order in *kāraṇam kāryam*.

3. आर्षं सिद्धदर्शनं च धर्मेभ्यः ॥ (*VS.* IX. 28)
In *Ṛ* (*juvimalā*) *p* (*añjikā*, Madras), p. 285, it is followed by a discussion.

4. तदाह भगवान् काश्यपः
एकद्रव्यमगुणं संयोगविभागेष्वनपेक्षं कारणं कर्मलक्षणम् ॥ (*VS.* I. i. 16) *ṚP.* p. 270. The *Nyāyakandalī* reads *saṁyogavibhāgayor* and *Candranandavṛtti* adds *iti* after *kāraṇam*.

5. भगवान् काश्यपो वेदान् पौरुषेयान् मन्यमानः शब्दमनुमानेऽन्तर्भूतमुवाच । तस्येदं (? अस्येदं) कारणं कार्यं (*VS.* IX. 18) इति लौकिकम् (? लैङ्गिकम्) उक्त्वा
एतेनैव शाब्दमप्युक्तमिति (cf. *VS.* IX. 19, where the reading is *etena śābdam Vyākhyātam*) *PP.* p. 96.

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6–7. तदाह भगवान् काश्यपः

कारणाज्ञानात् कार्याज्ञानम् ॥ (*VS.* III. i. 4)

कार्याज्ञानात् कारणाज्ञानम् ॥ (*VS.* III. i. 5)

इति सूत्रद्वयस्यार्थः ॥ *ṚP.* p. 211.

Candrānanda omits *kāryājñānam* and *kāraṇājñānam* respectively from the sūtras.

8. कार्यविरोधि कर्म ॥ (*VS.* I. i. 13) – *ṚP.* (MS. in Adyar Lib. TR. 77·4) *PP.* p. 184.

9. तदुक्तं तैरेव

गुणान्तर[ा] प्रादुर्भावाच्च व्यात्मकमपि न इति ॥ (*VS.* IV. ii. 2) *ṚP.* p. 210

10. तदाहुर्योगा एव

प्रत्यक्षाप्रत्यक्षाणामप्रत्यक्षत्वात् संयोगस्य पञ्चात्मकत्वं न विद्यते ॥ (*VS.* IV. ii. 1) *ṚP.* p. 210. Candrānanda reads *pañcātmakam.* The term Yoga used to mean the Vaiśeṣika should be noted. cf. *Sad akāraṇavan nityam* (*VS.* IV. i. 1) *iti Yogavaco yathā-Patraparīkṣā* of *Vidyānanda.*

11. गुणाः रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शाः संख्याः परिमाणानि पृथक्त्वं संयोगविभागौ परत्वापरत्वे बुद्धयः सुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नाश्च ॥ (*VS.* I. i. 5) *PP.* p. 54. Candrānanda reads *rupa° duḥkhe icchādveṣau prayatnaś ca guṇāḥ.* The *Kandalī* reads *°prayatnaś ca* and agrees with Candrananda elsewhere.

12. आह भगवान् काश्यपः

सर्पिर्जतुमधूच्छिष्टानां पार्थिवानामग्निसंयोगाद् द्रवत्वमद्भिः सामान्यम् ॥ (*VS.* II. i. 6) *PP.* p. 202. Candrānanda reads *dravatā* for *dravatvam.*

13. तदाह भगवान् काश्यपः

संख्याः परिमाणानि पृथक्त्वं संयोगविभागौ परत्वापरत्वे कर्म च रूपिद्रव्यसमवायाच्चाक्षुषाणि ॥ (*VS.* IV. i. 12) *PP.* p. 79. It is introduced with *tantrāntare'pi sūtram* in *ṚP.* p. 99 and again with *tad āha Bhagavān Kāśyapaḥ. PP.* p. 125.

14. तदुक्तं परैः

संयोगस्त्वप्रतिषिद्धो मिथः पञ्चानाम् ॥ (*VS.* IV. ii. 3) Here Candrānanda reads *ātmasaṁyogas tvaviprati°.*

15. औलूक्यो वा भवतु राद्धान्तः

संयोगाद् विभागात् शब्दाच्च शब्दनिष्पत्तिः ॥ (*VS.* II. ii. 36) *ṚP.* p. 30. The same is again introduced with *aulūkyo Vaiśeṣikiyo bhavatu rāddhāntaḥ ṚP.* p. 301.

The references to the author of the sūtras with the term *bhagavān* deserve special notice here.

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In some cases Śālikanātha gives the subject matter of the Vaiśeṣika-sūtras in his own language :

(i) कारणगुणपूर्वको हि कार्यद्रव्ये वैशेषिकगुणारम्भः ॥ *RP*. p. 210.

cf. कारणगुणपूर्वकः कार्ये गुणो दृष्टः *VS*. II. i. 24.

(ii) नानाव्यवस्थाना नानाभूताः प्रतिक्षेत्रं पुरुषाः धर्माधर्मसुखादिव्यवस्थादर्शनात् ॥ *PP*. p. 159.

cf. नाना *VS*. III. ii. 16.

(iii) महत्त्वमेकद्रव्यत्वं [? मनेकद्रव्यवत्त्वं] रूपविशेषश्च सन्निकर्षं इव प्रत्यक्षत्वे हेतुः ॥ *PP*. p. 45.

cf. महत्यनेकद्रव्यवत्त्वाद् रूपाच्चोपलब्धिः ॥ *VS*. IV. i. 6.

(iv) सदकारणत्वमेव नित्यत्वम् *PP*. p. 152 and सदकारणं च यत् तदविनाशि गगनवत् सदकारणं चायमात्मा इत्य[? ति] विनाशित्वाभावसिद्धिः *PP*. p. 157.

cf. सदकारणवत् तन्नित्यम् *VS*. IV. i. 1. tat is omitted in versions other than that of Candrānanda.

(v) न तावत् पञ्चानां चतूर्णां वा संभूय [शरीर-] आरम्भकत्वं संभवति । ..... अतो न पञ्चभिश्चतुर्भिर्वा समारब्ध आकाशानिलयोरचाक्षुषत्वात् ॥ *PP*. p. 43.

cf. प्रत्यक्षाप्रत्यक्षाणामप्रत्यक्षत्वात् संयोगस्य पञ्चात्मकत्वं न विद्यते ॥ *VS*. IV. i. 1.

(vi) द्रव्याश्रयसंयोगविभागौ प्रति निरपेक्षकारणत्वाभावेन च गुणत्वसिद्धेः [ज्ञानस्य] *PP*. p. 147.

cf. द्रव्याश्रय्यगुणवान् संयोगविभागेष्वकारणमनपेक्ष इति गुणलक्षणम् ॥ *VS*. I. i. 15.

There are several passages in the works of Śālikanātha which show close resemblance with passages of the *Padārthadharmasaṁgraha* (PDS) of Praśastapāda.

(i) अवयववहुत्वमहत्त्वप्रचयविशेषाणां महिमगुणकारणानां- *PP*. p. 24.

cf. ईश्वरबुद्धिमपेक्ष्योत्पन्ना परमाणुद्व्यणुकेषु बहुत्वसंख्या.....द्वितुलके महत्त्वमारभते । PDS, Chowkhamba, p. 471–2.

(ii) त्रिविध एव संयोगः अन्यतरकर्मज उभयकर्मजः संयोगजश्चेति ॥ *PP*. p. 151.

cf. स च त्रिविधः.....श्चेति PDS, p. 483–4.

(iii) संयोगो ह्युभयकर्मजो भवति मल्लयोरिव ।.....तुरीसंयोगः *PP*. p. 26.

cf. अन्यतरकर्मजः क्रियावता निष्क्रियस्य.....एकपटतुरीसंयोगः ॥ PDS, p. 484.

(iv) बाह्यरूपादिग्रहे च सन्निकर्षचतुष्टयं कारणम्..... सन्निकर्षश्चेति *PP*. p. 53–4.

cf. रूपरसगन्धस्पर्शेषु अनेकद्रव्यसमवायात् स्वगतविशेषात् स्वाश्रयसन्निकर्षात् नियतेन्द्रियनिमित्तमुत्पद्यते PDS. p. 553.

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(v) बुद्धिसुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नादृष्टसंस्काराणां नवानामपि वैशेषिकगुणानां मनः संयोगेनैवोत्पत्तेः। *PP*. p. 149.

cf. बुद्धिसुखदुःखेच्छाद्वेषप्रयत्नानां द्वयोरात्ममनसोः संयोगादुपलब्धिः॥ PDS. p. 553.

(vi) शब्दोऽम्बरगुणः इतिप्राप्यकारीन्द्रियवादिनाभ्युपेयम् *PP*. p. 173 and आकाशगुणः शब्दः *PP*. p. 174.

cf. शब्दोऽम्बरगुणः॥ PDS, p. 645.

(vii) केचिद् गवादितुल्यतया द्रव्यगुणकर्मस्वपि सत्ताजातिमङ्गीकुर्वन्ति। भवति हि सर्वेष्वेव सत्सदिति प्रत्ययानुवृत्तिरिति संवदन्तः। *PP*. p. 28.

cf. द्रव्यादीनां त्रयाणामपि सत्तासंबन्धः॥ PDS. p. 121,

(viii) काश्यपीयानां जातिसमवायविशेषेषु स्वरूपसत्तोपाधिक एव सच्छब्द इत्यभ्युपगमः। *PP*. pp. 29–30.

cf. सामान्यादीनां त्रयाणां स्वात्मसत्त्वम्॥ PDS. p. 133.

(ix) अनुगतं हि सामान्यमुच्यते, व्यावृत्तश्च विशेषः। *PP*. p. 55 and अनुवृत्ताकारावभासिनी हि बुद्धिः सामान्यसिद्धौ निबन्धनम्। *PP*. p. 87.

cf. × × सामान्यम्। तच्चानुवृत्तप्रत्ययकारणम्। PDS. p. 51 and ×× विशेषाः। ते चात्यन्तव्यावृत्तिबुद्धिहेतुत्वात् विशेषा एव *Ibid*. p. 55.

(x) अयमिह प्रत्ययात् समवाय इति पदार्थविदामुद्गारः *RP*. p. 269.

cf. अयुतसिद्धानामाधार्याधारभूतानां यः संबन्ध इहप्रत्ययहेतुः स समवायः PDS. p. 58 and इहेति यतः कार्यकारणयोः स समवायः *VS*. VII. i. 29.

There are again references to Vaiśeṣika categories and tenets in the works of Śālikanātha.

Thus the *Prakaraṇapañjikā* (p. 110) counts the six Vaiśeṣika categories substance, quality, action, generality; inherence and particularity. It does not fail to mention that Śālikanātha as a Prabhākara mīmāṁsaka does not accept inherence as an eternal category like the Vaiśeṣikas समवायं च न वयं काश्यपीया इव नित्यमभ्युपेमः॥ (*PP*. p. 26) It further shows that some substances i. e. the paramāṇus of earth, water, light, air, and ākāśa, soul, mind, space and time are eternal (किञ्चिद् द्रव्यं नित्यं परमाण्वाकाशात्ममनो *PP*. p. 84). Mind is like a *paramāṇu* in size. It is eternal since it is existent and at the same time is not produced from any cause. It is very swift in motion as we find it to move from one sense organ to another in the smallest possible time. (*PP*. p. 157). And this mind comes in contact with the soul due to the latter's merits and demerits earned from time immemorial (*PP*. p. 157).

The black colour in the earthly paramāṇus is due to the contact with fire, technically called faka (chemical action) *PP*. p. 152.

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The non-inherent cause of all the specific qualities of the soul is the contact between the soul and the mind. This contact cannot take place where both the constituents are absent. And the mind resides inside the body. (*PP*. p. 157).

Now the effect occurs when the non-inherent cause is present and hence the specific qualities of the soul are not cognised outside the body. (*PP*. p. 158).

The account will convince any one that Śālikanātha had a thorough knowledge of the Vaiśeṣikasūtras and the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*. It will again establish the identification of the mīmāṁsaka Śālikanātha with the author of the Commentary on the *Padārthadharmasaṅgraha*. The Vaiśeṣika materials casually quoted in the Mīmāṁsā works throw some light on a dark period of the history of the Vaiśeṣika philosophy.

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TECHNICAL SCIENCES AND FINE ARTS SECTION

KRODHARĀJA
(A BUDDHIST DEITY IN THE ĀRYA-MAÑJUŚRĪ-MŪLA-KALPA)

By

SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA, BURDWAN

Krodharāja, a little known Buddhist deity occupies a very prominent place in the *Ārya-Mañiuśrī-mūla-kalpa* (MMK). This Buddhist tantric work contains very little of Buddhism. It describes in Saṅgīti style elaborate tantric rites with all sorts of rules and regulations concerning their performances. The most striking feature of these rites is that in almost all cases they are prescribed to be performed either on *paṭa* or on *maṇḍala* of the deity concerned. The work gives in minute details instructions and injunctions regarding the preparation, drawing, painting and decoration of these *paṭas* and *maṇḍalas*. A close study of these portions of the work throws a flood of light on the evolution of the Buddhist pantheon and iconography. Here is an humble attempt in this direction and a single deity, Yamāntaka-Krodharāja has been selected for the purpose.

Altogether fifty-four deities are described in the MMK of which eight are taken from the Hindu pantheon. Of the Buddhist deities Krodharāja receives special attention and is described five times in different contexts.[1] All the awe-inspiring attributes are heaped upon this deity. He is as black as the collyrium paste, dark cloud and smoke (*bhinnā-ñiana-kṛṣṇa-megha-saṁkāśam*[2]). Krodharāja is variously described as having one face and two arms; four faces, four arms and six legs; six faces, six arms and six legs. In each case face or faces of this compassionless (*nirghṛṇa*) deity with enormous prowess (*mahaujas*) is fierce with frown, hoarse laugh and red eyes with anger. He is further described as having erected hairs, dreadful and tawny long beards, long nails, a tiger skin as garment and as with dangling snakes adorning his neck. He is the killer of Yama and Rudra. In different forms of two or four and six arms, his weapons are noose (*pāśa*) and staff or sword, club, noose and axe. In his one-faced form he is depicted as having three eyes. His mount is a buffalo. It is to be noted that Krodharāja is not a malignant deity, as may be erroneously supposed from

1. MMK. pp. 15, 64, 153, 553, 577
2. *Ibid.* p. 64

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his ferocious appearance and other awe-inspiring attributes. He is represented in fierce form just to inspire malignant spirits with fear. He is the subduer of all evil beings (*duṣṭa-sattva-damanaka*) and the dispeller of all obstacles on the way of worship or meditation including inauspicious dreams due to *vāta-pitta-kapha* of a Sādhaka engaged in a particular Sādhana.[1] He inspires even fear itself with fear (*bhayasyāpi bhayatrāsam*). According to the MMK Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi instructs that in case of apprehension from enemy Krodharāja is to be worshipped.[2] For this purpose a Paṭa of Krodharāja is required to be painted at night in a cremation ground by a painter of cruel or terrific nature on a piece of cloth taken from the dead body of a Brahmin; the colour is to be mixed with the blood of the worshipper himself and the brush is to be made of hairs taken from the head of a dead man. All this, however, intensifies the terrific nature of the deity.

Krodharāja in the MMK is said to be the killer of Vināyaka but at the same time like the latter he is the dispeller of the obstacles. The main epithet of Krodharāja is Yamāntaka, the killer of Yama. But in his one-faced form he is described as holding *pāśa* and *daṇḍa* or *mūṣala* and also as riding on a *mahiṣa*. These are also the prominent iconographic features of Yama. The MMK. clearly states that Krodharāja is kṛtāntarūpa. Similarly with Rudra (Śiva) also he shares some attributive epithets such as 'vyāghra-carmanivasana, sarpa-maṇḍita-kaṇṭha, pāśa-paraśu-mūṣala-dhara', etc. It may be noted here that axe, noose and mace as weapons of Śiva are found as early as on Kuṣāṇa coin.[3] It is also interesting to note that the MMK prescribes the meditation or worship of Krodharāja either in a cremation ground, the favourite abode of Śiva, or in a temple of Śiva. Like Śiva, as depicted in the Puranic story of the re-birth of Mārkaṇḍeya, Krodharāja is also the subduer of Yama. There is only one instance in the MMK where Śiva has been made a victim of insult from a devotee of Krodharāja.[4] There the work instructs the devotee (sādhaka) to go on muttering the *mantras* of Krodharāja placing his left foot on the *liṅga* in a temple of Śiva as long as the *liṅga* is not broken into pieces. It should be noted here that this is the solitary instance of humiliation of a Hindu deity in the MMK. Unlike the Sādhanas of the *Sādhana-mālā* Hindu gods and goddesses are assigned to respectable positions in almost all the *paṭas* and *maṇḍalas* depicted in the MMK. Moreover, the marked anti-Brahmanic feeling expressed in later Buddhist works is conspicuous by its absence here in this work.

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1. *MMK*. p. 153
2. *Ibid*. p. 553
3. Dr. J. N. Banerjee, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*. Ed. 1956, pp. 117–125.
4. MMK. p. 553

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It requires to be stated here that the MMK betrays no knowledge of the systematic Buddhist pantheon of five Dhyāni-Buddhas presiding over five *skandas* as is generally followed in the traditional Buddhist iconography. The pantheon is not divided here into five *kulas* of five Dhyāni-Buddhas with their *śaktis* and Bodhisattvas, though the names of all of them are there. The word *kula* and their names are there in the work but not in the terms of the *Śrī-guhyasamāja* and there is no clear attempt of arranging the deities into *kulas*. The MMK is an earlier work than the *Śrī-guhyasamāja* and here we find the names of ten *kulas* instead of five of the latter. According to the MMK Krodharāja is associated with the Vajra-kula and this *kula* may be identified with the Dveṣa-kula of the traditionally accepted pantheon.[1]

Sādhana-mālā knows no Krodharāja the Yamāntaka. But Yamāntaka or Yamāri as a Buddhist deity is widely known both in theory and practice. In the *Sādhana-mālā* there are *sādhanas* of two Yamāntakas or Yamāris[2]; the Rakta-yamāri and Kṛṣṇa-yamāri. Both of these Yamāris possess many attributes of Krodharāja along with some new ones, but none of them can be wholly identified with Krodharāja. It may be suggested that these two Yamāris whose icons are not rare, are later forms of Krodharāja. Moreover Yamāris belong to the Dveṣa-kula of Dhyāni-Buddha Akṣobhya. An effigy of Akṣobhya is often found on the crest of Yamāri and the *Sādhana-mālā* also sanctions the same.

Prof. Tucci in his voluminous masterpiece *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* gives description of the terrific Tibetan god C'os-skyon on the Y-dam[3] with coloured copies of taṅkas representing the god. This is the instance of an indigenous deity finding a place among Tibetan Buddhist gods. The interesting point is this that this Tibetan god very closely resembles Krodharāja. So, the possibility of some relation of this Tibetan deity with Krodharāja cannot be altogether ruled out.

In the MMK Krodharāja is intimately associated with Mañjuśrī. He is 'mañjuśrīyasya mahākrodharāja'.[4] I-tsing, as pointed out by M. Winternitz,[5] refers to a Tantra in which China is said to be the home of Mañjuśrī. The relation of Mañjuśrī with Nepal is also very close.[6] He is also said to

1. These points have been discussed by the same author in "The MMK. and Buddhist Iconography", –*Burdwan University Journal*, 1st issue.
2. *Sādhana-mālā*, Vol. II, Sādhana Nos. 268–280
3. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, Vol. I, p. 305; plate Nos. 87, 647, 657, 677
4. MMK. p. 15.
5. *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, p. 401
6. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 559

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be the tutelary deity of the Tibetans[1] and Yamāntaka according to the Tibetan tradition is a form of Mañjuśrī[2] in his Dharmapāla (Drag-ched) forms. It has been suggested above that Yamāntaka or Yamāri is a later form of Krodharāja. According to the MMK[3] also Krodharāja is a form of Mañjuśrī the kumāra; he is 'kumāra-mūrti-niṣṭa'. Representation of eight Dharmapālas in ferocious forms just to inspire like Krodharāja, malignant spirits with fear is very common in Tibet.[4] Alice Getty[5] further informs us that according to the *Mahā-vajra-bhairava-tantra* Yamāntaka is to be represented as having sixteen feet, thirty-four arms and five or nine heads. But neither this textual evidence nor the iconographic representation of any one of the above Yamāntakas, Yamāris or Dharmapālas can be placed earlier than the Krodharāja of the MMK which represents an earlier tradition than that which is found formulated in the *Guhya-samāja* and other later Buddhist tantric works. It may also be noted that most of the above mentioned deities who possess some attributes similar to those of Krodharāja are very often represented with their consorts (*śaktis*) both in theory and practice. But nowhere in the MMK Krodharāja is depicted as having a *śakti*. It is also to be pointed out in this connection that Sanskrit Buddhism spread from Kashmira and Gandhara to Tibet, Central Asia and China and the "process began in the 1st century A. D., if not earlier".[6]

So far as the name Krodharāja is concerned, it may be pointed out that its source is found in the Hindu tradition. Krodhātman, an Avatāra of Viṣṇu among a list of thirty-nine, is mentioned in the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* which again quotes the list from the *Sātvata Saṁhitā*.[7] The Agamic-texts enumerate as many as sixty-four Bhairavas divided into eight groups of eight each and one of the leaders of these groups is Krodha, an awe-inspiring deity.[8]

From the above discussion it follows that :—

a) The conception of Krodharāja as described in the MMK., appears to be originally derived from an amalgam of the attributes of Hindu deities Gaṇeśa, Yama and Śiva (Rudra). Rudra (Śiva), of course, played the major role. It is interesting to note that in the MMK. only these three Hindu deities are represented as subdued by Krodharāja himself. The reason is very

1. A. Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 136
2. " " " p. 132
3. MMK. P. 153
4. *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 131
5. " " p. 146
6. *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 401
7. *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 391
8. " " " p. 465

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simple; it is just an attempt to give the deity a prominence over his originals of other faith.

b) Krodharāja seems to be the earlier form of Yamāris (Yamāntakas) and Dharmapālas and these elaborated forms are well-known in the iconography of Northern Buddhism, particularly of Tibet.

c) Krodharāja, at least through his later elaborated developments, is intimately connected with Tibetan Buddhism and iconography. Now, the MMK is a compilation and this was done in about 800 A. D. in Bengal according to K. P. Jayaswal.[1] But the work records an earlier tradition regarding the Buddhist iconography. Buddhism began to spread into Tibet as early as 1st cen. A. D. Thus the possibility of some influence of an indigenous Tibetan deity behind the evolution of the conception of Krodharāja of the MMK cannot be ruled out.

1. *Imperial History of India*, p. 4

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CLASSICAL HERITAGE OF NAṬA MOVEMENTS

By

E. NILAKANTA SINGH

To many, the Maṇipuri Vaiṣṇavas are a strange people. They often weep or cry or lie prostrate at the mere mention of Lord Kṛṣṇa or Rādhā in the midst of a *saṁkīrtana* performance. When Rādhā, in the role of an *abhisārikā* Nāyikā, starts dressing herself, the devout Vaiṣṇava weeps - a sight which is certainly un-intelligible from the traditional Hindu poetics. To understand the heart and mind of a Maṇipuri Vaiṣṇava, one has to go to the depth of Vaiṣṇava aesthetics as interpreted in the hands of revered Goswamis of Vrindavan. Particular mention may be made of the two outstanding works, *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-Sindhu* followed by the supplement, *Ujjvala-Nīlamaṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin who attempted to give a reorientation to the understanding of the Rasa-Śāstra as the Vaiṣṇavas conceive of it. The love of Kṛṣṇa (Kṛṣṇa-rati) becomes the dominant feeling (*sthāyī-bhāva*) which, through its appropriate excitants (*vibhāvas*) as well as ensuants (*Anubhāvas*) and auxiliary feeling (*Vyabhicāribhāvas*) is raised to a supreme relishable condition in the Vaiṣṇava heart as the Bhakti-rasa. Bhakti to the Maṇipuri Vaiṣṇava is not a Bhāva but a Rasa which admits of five types viz. Śānta (with *śāntabhāva*), Prīti with Dāsatva bhāva), Preyas (with sakhyabhāva), Vātsalya (Vatsalabhāva), and Madhura (with Madhura-rati), after *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu*. And of the five, the last one namely Madhura Rasa is the most important and being known as Bhakti-rasa-rāja, it is the subject of a very detailed treatment in *Ujjvala-Nīlamaṇi* of Rūpa Gosvāmin. The eternal play of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopīs with Rādhā as the most prominent of them is the theme dear to the hearts of the Maṇipuri Vaiṣṇavas.

A Śloka from the standard work on Maṇipuri Dance, *Govinda-Saṅgīta-Līlā-Vilāsa* of Rājarṣi Bhāgyacandra (1764–89 A. D.) says that dance is not merely for amusement or recreation but mostly for the love of Bhagavat –

nartanam bhagavadbhakteḥ anubhāvatayā matam;

na kevalam vilāsasya vinodasya ca sādhanam.

It is meant for *Bhagavat-prīti-Bhagavat-Prīti Hetutvāt* and represents the time-old tradition of the Maṇipuri *Maṇipurī-vāsināmeṣā viśuddhā yā Paramparā*. All the dances, and festivals and līlās of the Maṇipuri Vaiṣṇavas are Bhakti-oriented and they have got to be approached and appreciated from the Bhakti-point of view. As a matter of fact, the life cycle of a

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Maṇipuri is marked by a series of *saṁkīrtanas* in its various stages - birth (ṣaṣṭhī pūjā on the sixth day), Anna Prāśana, Karṇabheda, adopting the sacred thread, marriage, death (at the various stages of cremation, Asthi sañcaya, Śrāddha and Anniversary). *Saṁkīrtanas* constitute the soul of Maṇipuri culture and it is aptly recognised as the Mahāyajña by every devout Vaiṣṇava.

The artists of the *saṁkīrtanas* known as Naṭa Kīrtakas are described thus by *Govinda-saṅgīta-Līla-Vilāsa* :

Strī vātha puruṣo vāpi naṭaḥ san guṇakīrtanam ;
karotīśasya yaḥ sābhinayam sa naṭakīrtakaḥ
(Nartana Adhyāya, Śloka 83).

This is after the conventional classification of the artist, with a particular accent on Bhakti. But the Maṇipuris follow a distinctive tradition of Gargācārya according to which Nāṭya is divided into Rapaka and Rasaka in which songs and dance predominate – *prādhānyam nṛtyagītādeḥ saṁlāpādy-apradhānyatā*. And of the six types of Rasaka viz. Maha, Manju (Vasanta). Nitya, Nirbesh, Gopa and tālaka, the last type of Rasaka has a special reference to the *saṁkīrtana* performances of the Naṭakīrtakas. The Tāla Rasaka admits of two types - Tālika (with the hands clapping) and Naṭa Pallī in which the metal instruments are used – *naṭapallyan tu tālaḥ syād ghana vādyena sarvadā*. This Naṭapallī which admits of both lāsya and Tāṇḍava aspects, is further subdivided into Ghana Melaka and Dhruva Melaka (with 14 mṛdaṅgas used by the nartakas) known as "Dhrumel" by the Maṇipuris. The Naṭakīrtaka of the various saṁkīrtanas come under the Naṭa pallī group.

It must be mentioned in this connection that the Maṇipuris follow a distinctive tradition which I am inclined to characterise as Nartana-Vārtika tradition as distinguished from the Nāṭyaśāstra tradition of Bharata Muni. While describing the three traditions of saṅgīta the author of *Govinda-Saṅgīta-Līlā-Vilāsa* makes special reference to this Maṇipuri tradition – *Garga Nāraddyam Ca Citrarathādīm Ca Sampradāyagatan* Because Brahmā, as the story goes, having learnt the art from Viṣṇu, taught the Nāṭyaveda at the request of Purandara (Indra) to Gandharvarāja (Citraratha), Bharata and Garga–*Gandharvarāja-Bhārata Gargādibhyo dadau mudā*. At the command of Indra, Citraratha taught it along with its *aṅgas* and *upāṅgas* to Arjuna who again imparted the *śāstra* to Uttarā of the Virāṭa king and latter to the women of Dvārakā. The classification of *lāsya* into two and the *tāṇḍava* style into *calanam gunthanam* and *prasaraṇam* is after the work, *Nartana Vārtika* of which Citraratha is the author, while the division of the Rasakas into six follows *Rāsa-Prakāśa* of Gargācārya who was the teacher of Kṛṣṇa in the house of Nanda and Yaśodā – both of which represent a very

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ancient Vaiṣṇava tradition. From a comparative study of the prevalent treatises like *Nāṭyaśāstra, Saṅgīta Ratnākara, Abhinaya Darpaṇa* etc.. I have a feeling that Gargācārya might be a later addition of the medieval age whereas Citraratha must have been a very ancient one as Gandharvas find a respectful mention on the various classical treatises. It is only a pity the two great works viz. *Nartana-Vārtika* and *Rāsaprakāśa* are nowhere available and hardly recognised even at this stage of research on classical Indian dance at the moment. One feels like reading a book of which the first page is torn away. We have to depend entirely on *Govinda-Saṅgīta-Līlā-Vilāsa* which is based on the two books for a proper appreciation of the distinctive classical heritage of Maṇipuri Dance.

Of the three aspects of Tāṇḍava style, Gunthanam represents movements of the limbs (*Aṅga-vikṣepaṇam*) with a lot of Bhramarī *utplavana* (jumping) and *upaveśana* (sitting) and the two legs and the knees are to be kept as close as possible. There should be only a distance of *tala* between two legs. There should be no thrusting from (*prakṣepa*), shaking (*kampana*) and hip movements (*Nitamba-cālana*) in this style. This tāṇḍava style though indicative of vigour (auddhatya), is based on sattvaguṇa (*sattvaguṇāśrayam*) and is still graceful (*saumyatam*). This is much used in the Gostha Bhangi Pareng and slightly less in Naṭa movements.

In the second style of Tāṇḍava known as Calanam, the standing postures for the males – puruṣasthānakas (numbering 17, after *Nartana Vārtikā*) are appropriately used. There is much of going up and down in almost an endless series of movements with heels touching occasionally and in the triangular and rectangular poses (*tryasram ca chaturasrakam*). The thighs and knees are to be kept apart. At the first sitting down, the wrists are to be kept on the knees; the next sitting involves the elbows resting on the knee with the breast loose (*śithilam*) and the head bent (*nata*). The movements of the legs can go upto calves, knees and thighs. Hands are not to be kept on the head or below the navel. What is popularly known as "cholom" (either of Kartala or Pung) of the various *saṁkīrtanas* of Maṇipuri is a corrupted expression calana which constitutes the basic movements of Naṭapallī. The last tāṇḍava style Prasaraṇam in which movements are more exaggerated and free, is mostly used for dances representing fights (*saṅgrāmābhinayārtham*).

I shall not go to a detailed discussion of the various movements of *aṅgas*, *upāṅgas* and *pratyaṅgas* most of which are there in this distinctive dance tradition and also thoroughly analysed in the book, *Govinda-Saṅgīta-Līlā-Vilāsa*. Apart from slight differences in the number and nomenclature of the various movements of the limbs *Govinda-Saṅgīta-Līla-Vilāsa* preserves almost all the classifications as are found in the various treatises like *Nāṭya-*

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śāstra, Abhinaya-Darpaṇa etc. But following the tradition, there is little discussion about eyebrows, pupils, cheeks which are not much used in Maṇipuri Dance – *Sampradāyabhedena sthūlānām iha darśanam.* And what matters ultimately is not the classifications so much as the pattern of movements–the co-ordinated harmonisation of the various limbs in the total image of a distinctive Maṇipuri style. There is much of stillness, softness and suggestiveness in the Maṇipuri style which gives a definite accent on what can be called Aṅgikābhinaya. Much is left to the on-lookers to perfect the meaning of the Aṅgikābhinaya in which mere songs become insignificant and sometimes superfluous. I am prepared to call it a characteristic eastern tradition – the tradition of the Gandharvas, of the Nartana Vārtika tradition which has its roots in the heart of the people.

Strictly speaking, Naṭapallī admits of both the Tāṇḍava and lāsya styles. But what is popularly known as Naṭa Kīrtanas indicate the tāṇḍava style in which the calanam tāṇḍava is predominant. This *saṁkīrtana,* which finds supreme flowering in Maṇipur, has been wonderfully adapted and conceived in the distinctive Maṇipuri pattern of a prayer – a form of a Rasaka, while keeping the spirit of the strict Vaiṣṇava aesthetics.

In the traditional *saṁkīrtana* there are usually 16 artists forming a circle in the Maṇḍapa under the following analysis : One Abhinetā (called Isheihanba in Maṇipuri), 3 of his assistants, one imitator of Abhinetā (called Dohara), 9 of his assistants and 2 players on Mṛdaṅga (*pung*). According to *Govinda-Saṅgīta-Līlā-Vilāsa* the number may be 16, 32 or 64. The entire group is called Naṭa Pāla, after the Bengali term, *pāla.* The *maṇḍapa* has the centre with a rounded plantain leaf with a piece of cloth as the seat (*āsana*) on it and other *pūjā* materials like lamp, pan and fruits. This is called *maṇḍalī pūjā* as 5 of the Vaiṣṇava gods viz. Śrī Kṛṣṇa Caitanya, Nityānanda, Advaita, Gadādhara and Śrīvāsa are supposed to be seated and are worshipped when the *saṁkīrtana* starts with the *adhivāsa.* On the day a flag is also dedicated to the lord to avoid the obstacles which might come in the way of *saṁkīrtana.* According to Panditraj Atombapu this corresponds to 'Jarjara Pūjā' for Indra as described in the *Nāṭyaśāstra.* Four earthen pots (called Ghaṭas) are placed in the four corners of the *maṇḍapa* to signify places of worship.

There are strict restrictions with regard to the style of dress. All the Naṭa Kīrtakas must observe 12 *tilakas.,* wear Tulasī mālās in the necks and adopt sacred threads. Each should wear the *dhotī* in the Trikatcha style and have a white turban on and remain seated with knees touching the ground. The big five viz. Isheihanba, Dohar, Khombanba and two mṛdaṅga players should show proper respect to the distinguished assembly by lying

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prostrate (*daṇḍavat praṇāma*) to all directly before they take their proper seats. This is also a graceful way of self-introduction to the gathering of the *rasikas*.

According to the Vaishnavic treatise, *Bhakti Ratnākara*, Khola (Mṛdaṅga) and Kartala constitute the wealth of lord Caitanya and both are to be worshipped. Following this tradition, the 16 sets of Karatalas (Ghana Vādyas) and two mṛdaṅgas are worshipped with lamps, *tilaka* and incense (in the Niranjana or Arati way) along with the Nartakas who may be compared to the priests of a Yajña which every *saṁkīrtana* really is. Clothes are distributed to each artist in place of money, after the tradition, by the performer of the Yajña. This is the *adhivāsa* stage of a *saṁkīrtana*: *yajña-saṁskāraḥ gandhamālyādyaiḥ yaḥ syāt tat adhivāsanam.*

The president of the assembly (called Maṇḍapa Mapu in Maṇipuri) then makes the dhvani:

Valaha premase kaha Śrī Rādhākṛṣṇa valaha Prabhu Nityai Caitanya Advaita kahata santa sādho Madhurasa vāṇi Hare Hare. When this recitation reaches the expression Caitanya, Mṛdaṅga players strike, with the *bola* Ten Ten Tat Tah Tang – which is known as the beginning of the *rāga* of Mṛdaṅga. The conch player starts aloud with his conch in a significant sound. The mṛdaṅga rāga is followed immediately by the *rāga* of the particular song which starts with the *ālāpa* – Ta A Ri Ta Na Na A. This corresponds to Hā, ri, te, na of Saṅgīta and is really the *ālāpa* portion of the particular *rāga* chosen by the Isheihanba (Abhinetā). Before this *ālāpa* stage, the Mṛdaṅga Rāga will go along with a recitation from Isheihanba – *Kṛṣṇa prīti ādanda Hari bolo,* to which all the remaining Nartakas respond with the voice – Hare Hare. This will be followed by a series of mṛdaṅga *bolas* along with the striking sound of the Kartalas known as a *sañcāra* of Mṛdaṅga. When this finishes, the Isheihanba starts with *sabhā-vandana* and *Guru-vandana* and returns to his original *rāga* which should deal with a theme of Caitanya known as 'Gauracandra'. This is to be followed by a few *padāvali* songs appropriate to the occasion, be it *śrāddha* or marriage or any other ceremony. The *tālas* of the mṛdaṅga also should pass through the stages of Tintāla small or big as Maṇipuris call it (Trikuṭa or Tritīyaka, after *Govinda-Saṅgīta-Līlā-Vilāsa*) Tanchap (chaturasra Ekatāla) and Menkup (Tryasra Ekatāla). The songs are to be sung by all seated in a distinctive posture.

The next and most important stage is known as Rajmel which is derived from a particular *tāla*, Rajmel (seven beats and two stresses in the *vilambita laya*). All the artists, after making a bow to each other in the *pañcāṅga* way should get up and start initiating a new song or picking up a continuation of the old song which all depends on the choice of the Isheihanba. Rajmel admits of some important stages viz. Bedighat, Lambi ghat, Melhou

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(the real Rajmel), Setughat, Malon (in the Menkup laya-Madhya) and Men thaba (in the *druta laya*). At the first stage of Bedighat, all the Kīrtakas should move in the anti-clock-wise direction up to a full round and while doing so, the Ishei hanba should bow down before the Dohara and the two Mṛdaṅga players with his Kartalas touching the Mṛdaṅga and the hand touching the Kartala of the Dohara and placing it on the forehead afterwards. The remaining nartakas also after the round bow down to each other and then stand up and start singing. This is supposed to be a very sacred position which should in no case be disturbed. Lambi ghat then comes in and leads to the very complicated chalanam movements in the *Vilambita laya* with the Rajmela *tāla*. This is followed by Setu ghat which results in a quicker tempo (*Madhya laya*) of the movements known as Malon. The final climax comes with a fast tempo (*druta laya*) and the Kartalas and the Mṛdaṅga *bolas* striking almost in ecstasy with perfect synchronisation and with all the Nartakas shouting *ehhh* upto the climax which is compared to the 'stova' of the Bhāgavata which describes the divine bird Garuḍa carrying the image of Lord Kṛṣṇa with wings flapping and reciting all the four Vedas. This is indeed a grand imagination after the Maṇipuri scholar, Panditraj Atombapu, which is supported by a statement that Kīrtanas are always seen and not listened to – Kirtana Darshanaya. Many old old *rasikas* would start rushing in at this climax and weeping and crying in *ānanda* would lie prostrate before the five including the Mṛdaṅga players.

This will be followed by the tāla – Tanchap and then by the tāla - menkup in which the Dohara will execute graceful calanam movements and he will be followed by others. The Mṛdaṅga players will strike *prastaras* known as Alamkar punglon, which will be followed again by a climax. The Nartakas will then remain seated in a distinctive posture and sing some *rasas* like sambhoga, Jalakeli and svadhin. The *saṁkīrtana* has almost come to a close at this stage and they are indeed marking time, as it were, waiting for the order of president. The conclusion will be provided by themes dealing with six Gosvāmis (six Goswamis of Vrindavan), *Jaya bhai Caitanya nityai* and finally all will shout – *Valaha premase kaho Śrī Rādhe Kṛṣṇa – Haribola Haribola.* When the Kīrtana concludes, the above-mentioned five will bow down to the distinguished audience as if waiting for their reactions, words of praise and appreciation which the audience liberally shower upon them.

The second type of Naṭa Pallī known as Dhruva melaka represents also an unique type of *saṁkīrtana*. There are 14 mṛdaṅga players in it and the same formalities will be applied, perhaps in a much stricter way and with more of details. The accent here is on the complicated *tālas* known as *sañcāras* which are 14 in number and dedicated to 13 personalities. The president will make the *jayadhvani* first with the following words – *Śrī Kṛṣṇa*

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Caitanya prīti ānanda Hari bolo Hari bolo – to which the remaining nartakas will respond with *Hare Hare*. This first Caitanya Mṛdaṅga sañcāra will be followed by 13 remaining independent *sañcāras* dedicated respectively to Nityānanda Advaita, Gadādhara, Śrīvāsa, Dvādaśā Gopāla, Aṣṭa Mohanta, six gosvāmins, sixty-four mohantas, Gaura Bhakta Vrinda, sat sampradāya, fourteen Mṛdaṅgas all the Bhaktas and lastly Śrīmad Rādhā Govinda. Dhruva melaka saṁkīrtana is a highly stylised pattern of Yajña which involves a lot of training, expense and patience. It admits of 4 types viz. Maha Dhruvumelaka (known as Maha Dhrumel), Gaura Dhrumel (composed during the reign of Maharaja Narasingh 1834 A. D) Nityai Dhrumela and Lairema Dhrumel (composed during the reign of Maharaja Chandrakirti 1860 A. D.)

Historically speaking Naṭa Kīrtanas first assumed the name of Bangadesh Pala during the reign of king Garibniwaz (1814 A. D.) with slight differences in the styles of dress, singing and even the size and look of the mṛdaṅga. The king adopted the Ramanandi cult and hence prayers were offered to Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Govinda. It is also called Bangadesh from the fact that a Bengali Kīrtanīya group introduced this form of Kīrtana. In the Bangadesh Dhrumel, another *sañcāra*, known as Gauracandra has been added making the number altogether 15. There is not much difference between the old Bangadesh and the new *saṁkīrtana* so far as basic aspects and attitudes are concerned. Both the Naṭa Kīrtaka groups are receiving the patronage of the Raja of Maṇipur even now.

To the Maṇipuri Vaiṣṇvas saṁkīrtana is really a Mahā Yajña - a form of worship and prayer associated closely with the life of the people. The Sanskrit work, *Nārada Saṁhitā* sums up beautifully this spirit: "I do not dwell in heaven, nor in the heart of Yogis. There only I abide, O Nārada, where my lovers sing".

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LOCAL HISTORY SECTION

तुलसीदास : इस्लामी प्रभाव

प्रेमशंकर, सागर

इतिहासकारों का वह वर्ग ठीक नहीं मालूम देता जो मध्यकालीन भारतीय जीवन पर विचार करते हुए यह घोषणा करता है कि हिन्दू और इस्लामी संस्कृतियां (तमद्दुन) अलग-अलग धाराओं में बहती रहीं और उन्होंने एक दूसरे पर ज्यादा असर नहीं डाला। एक जाति जब हमलावर बनकर आती और चली जाती है, तब यह मुमकिन है कि उसका कोई खास असर हारे हुए मुल्क की संस्कृति पर न पड़े, पर मुसलिम शासक यहां के बाशिन्दे होकर रहे थे और उन्होंने इस ज़मीन को अपना मुल्क माना था। शुरू शुरू में मेल-जोल ज़रूर कम था, पर बहुत से हिन्दुओं के इस्लाम में शरीक हो जाने के बाद सिलसिला बढ़ता गया और अकबर के ज़माने में तो यह मिलन अपनी पूर्णता अथवा कमाल पर पहुंच गया। हम कह सकते हैं कि इस ज़माने में हिन्दू मुसलिम सभ्यताएं एक-दूसरेपर ज़्यादा असर डालने लगी थीं और स्थापत्य, संगीत, चित्रकला, मूर्ति, साहित्य सभी क्षेत्रों में समन्वय के संकेत मिल जाते हैं। मुसलिम शासन अकबर तक आते-आते अपनी कट्टरता काफी खो चुका था। और वह अधिक उदार हो चला था। इसी प्रकार हिन्दू मुसलिम जातियों के मेल-जोल के ज़्यादा मौके आने लगे थे—।

कभी कभी महाकवि तुलसीदास को हिन्दू जाति का प्रतिनिधि कवि मानकर उन्हें कुछ तंग रेखाओं में बांधने की कोशिश की जाती है। तुलसी के ज़रिए हम मध्ययुग का एक बिम्ब प्राप्त कर सकते हैं और ऐसी विराट प्रतिमा के लिए अपने को किन्हीं दीवारों में क़ैद कर लेना मुमकिन नहीं था। हम मानते हैं कि वे भारतीय परम्परा से बहुत गहरे तरीके से जुड़े हुए हैं, और उन्होंने बहुतसा सामान पुराणों आदि से पाया है पर अपने समय की असली हालत की बाबत वे कितने सचेत थे, यह बात उनके कलियुग वर्णन से साफ़ हो जाती है। इसे केवल भागवत की नकल नहीं कहा जा सकता, क्योंकि उत्तर भारत में १५५६ तथा गुजरात में १५७३-७४ की जो भुखमरी आई थीं, उनका ज़िक्र तुलसी में कई जगह आया है। अपनी भक्ति-भावना, आदर्शवादिता और परंपरा से जुड़े रहने के बावजूद तुलसी में विद्रोह की कमी नहीं है और उन्होंने ज़माने को खुली आंखों देखा था—। कलियुग का वर्णन कवितावली, विनयपत्रिका, दोहावली आदि में भी हुआ है, पर रामचरितमानस के बालकांड में सँकेत से उत्तरकांड में दोहा सं० ९७ से यह विस्तार के साथ आरंभ होता है तथा १०४ दोहा तक चलता है।

> कलिमल ग्रसे धर्म सब लुप्त भए सद्ग्रंथ
> दंभिन्ह निज मति कल्पि कर प्रगट किए बहु पंथ।

कलियुग के पापों ने सभी मजहबों को डस लिया है। सद्ग्रंथ गायब हो गए हैं और अहंकारियों ने अपने दिमाग से कल्पना करके तरह-तरह के रास्ते बना लिये हैं।

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अकबर के ज़माने में मुगल राज्य की बुनियाद मज़बूत हो चुकी थी, इसलिए सभ्यता और संस्कृति का एक नया दौर शुरू हुआ और हम कह सकते हैं कि एक हिन्दुस्तानी तहज़ीब का सिलसिला जारी करने की ईमानदार कोशिश की गई। तुलसीदास ऐसे समन्वय काल में जन्मे थे कि उन पर उसका कोई असर न हो, यह मुमकिन नहीं दिखलाई देता। पर उनके कुछ ऐसे हालात थे जिनकी वजह से यह असर इतना कम और ऐसा बारीक है कि गौरसे देखे बिना वह हमारी आंखों से ओझल हो जाता है। पहली बात यह है कि अपनी पिछली परम्परा से बहुत गहरे लगाव की वजह से वे इस्लामी मज़हब, फ़लसफ़ा और तहज़ीब की ओर मुख़ातिब नहीं हुए। इसीलिए कबीर और तुलसी दोनों रामानन्द की शिष्य परंपरा में होते हुए भी दो अलग दिशाओं में जाते नजर आते हैं। तुलसी का सम्बन्ध किसी मठ से भी नहीं था कि उनका मज़हबों से परिचय होता। वे रामकाव्य से सम्बद्ध थे, पर यदि वे आगरा के पास की ब्रजभूमि और कृष्णकाव्य के कवि होते तो यक़ीनन ही उनमें शृंगार के छींटे ज्यादा होते और उन पर इस्लामी असर ज़्यादा होता। उस समय बनारस परंपरा से बंधी नगरी थी फिर भी तुलसी की शायरी पर जो इस्लामी असर हैं, उनकी ओर इशारा ज़रूरी है।

तुलसी ने ज़पने जमाने के राजनीतिक, धार्मिक मेल, वा अकबर के 'सुलह कुल' को एक दूसरे तरीके से अख़्त्यार किया। उन्होंने भी अपने ढंग से एक तरह का समन्वय किया। उनकी तरकीब पर सुफ़ी असर नहीं है, यह चीज थोडा ताज्जुब में डालने वाली है, पर तुलसी ने शिव और विष्णु को मिलाया, जिनका चक्कर लगाते हुए हिन्दुओं के संप्रदाय आपस में टकरा रहे थे। उन्होंने अपने ज़माने की छोटी-छोटी दार्शनिक गलियों को ग़लत बताते हुए कहा कि भक्ति का मार्ग ही सच्चा है। वे विनयपत्रिका में कहते हैं :

कोउ कह सत्य, झूठ कह कोऊ, जुगल प्रबल करि मानै
तुलसिदास परिहरै तीन भ्रम, सो आपन पहिचानै।

इसी तरह 'सगुनहिं, निगुनहिं नहिं कछु भेदा' कहकर उन्होंने एक दूसरे बड़े झगड़े से अपने को रफ़ा किया, अगरचे वे खुद सगुण के साथ थे।

अकसर कहा जाता है कि अकबर, जहांगीर का वह बड़ा सुनहला था। शानो-शौकत के लिहाज़ से यह बात ठीक जँच सकती है, पर आम जनता की हालत ख़स्ता थी, इसे इतिहासकारों ने भी माना है। इसीलिए तुलसी जब राम के महल या अयोध्या, जनकपुरी, लंका वगैरह की शान शौकत का ज़िक्र करने लगते हैं तब उस पर मुगल वैभव की छाया आ जाती है। जैसे बालकांड में 'कदलि के खंभा' की बात। राम के आयोध्या लौटने पर उस वैभव का वर्णन करते हुए तुलसी ने लिखा है—

मनि दीप राजहिं भवन भ्राजहिं देहरी विद्रुम रची
मनि-खंभ भीति विरंचि बिरची कनक मानि मरकत खची।
सुंदर मनोहर मंदिरायत अजिर रुचिर फटिक रचे
प्रति द्वार द्वार कपाट पुरट बनाहि बहु बज्रहिं रचे —

एक दिलचस्प बात यह है कि लंका का ज़िक्र करते हुए भी तुलसी ने ज्यादा तबदीलियां नहीं की सिर्फ वहां के लोगों की आदतें दूसरी तरह की बताई हैं और बलवती सेना की बात

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की है (सुंदरकांडः छंद १)। पर तुलसी ने इस शान–शौकत के दिखावे की मुखालिफत इसलिए की है, क्योंकि वे आध्यात्मिक (रूहानी) मूल्य विकसित करना चाहते थे और सिर्फ भौतिक (दुनियावी) उत्कर्ष से उन्हें सन्तोष नहीं हो सकता था। उन्होंने हर तरह के ढ़ोंग को गलत बताया। उस ज़माने में बहरायच इस्लामी मजहब की एक अहम जगह थी। दोहावली दोहा ४९६ में उन्होंने कहा :

लाही आंख कब आंधरे बांझ पूत कब ल्याय
कब कोढ़ी काया लही, जग बहराइच जाय – ।

तुलसी ने रामराज्य का सपना शायद इसीलिए देखा था क्योंकि उन्हें अपने ज़माने से पूरा सन्तोष न था, उन्हें आध्यात्मिक (रूहानी) मूल्यों की तलाश थी। यह बात रामचरित–मानस के उत्तरकांड में (दोहा २० से शुरु) रामराज्य के देखने पर साफ हो जाती है। यहां किसी प्रकार की तकलीफ नहीं होती और सब लोग मिलजुलकर भाईचारे से रहते हैं। यहां यह ज़िक्र कर देना भी जरूरी है कि तुलसी के ज़माने में औरतों की हालत भी अच्छी न थी, इसीलिए उन्होंने भोगवाद का विरोध किया।

तुलसी के संदर्भ में इस्लामी प्रभाव की बात करते हुए यह भी गौर करने लायक है कि कवि में कुछ प्रतिक्रियाएं भी जागी हैं, जैसे हम रावण के चरित्र को ही ले सकते हैं। लगता है कि इसमें पुरानी हैवानियत और मुगलकालीन ग़रूर, शान-बान का मेल हुआ है। इसकी वजह यह भी है कि तुलसी राम–रावण के चरित्रों को एक दुसरे के ख़िलाफ़ देखते हैं। इस लिहाज़ से अंगद के जाने पर रावण की राजसभा का वर्णन क़ाबिले गौर है। क्योंकि उस पर इस्लामी तहज़ीब का कुछ असर मालूम देता है। जब अंगद के देखते हि दरबार के लोग खड़े हो जाते हैं, तब रावण घमंड के मारे बहुत नाराज़ होता है (लंकाकाण्ड, दोहा १९)। कभी कभी लगता है कि रावण चापलूसों से घिरा हुआ बैठा है और उसमें अंगद एक निडर इन्सान की तरह गरजता है। इसी तरह हनुमान लंका जाते हैं, उस वक्त तुलसीने लिखा है—

' दसमुख सभा दीखि कपि जाई, कहि न जाइ कछु अति प्रभुताई। '

रावण को तुलसी ने एक निरंकुश शासक (सुंदरकाण्ड, दोहा २०) के रूप में पेश किया है और राम को प्रजातंत्र की हिफाजत करने वाला माना है।

कुरान शरीफ की सूरह फातिहा में (जो मक्का में नाजिल हुई थीं) सात आयतें इस्लामी भक्तिवाद पर पूरा प्रकाश डालती हैं। भारतीय भक्तिवाद, खास तौर से तुलसी के भक्तिवाद में वे कुछ विशेषताएं आ गई हैं जो इस सूरे में हमें मिलती है। इस्लाम का प्रार्थनापद होने की वजह से इस सूरे की अहमियत और भी बढ़ जाती है। इस में अल्लाह को ' रब्बुल आलमीन ' (सारे आलम का पालक, पोषक) ' रहमान (दयालु) और रहीम (करुणावान) और क़यामत के दिन का मालिक (अंतिम न्यायी) माना जाता है। इस तरह विश्वपालक, दयानिष्ठ और कारुणिक एवं न्यायशील व्यक्तित्व के रूप में परमसत्ता की कल्पना यहां की गई है। इस्लामी भक्त के लिए इबादत अथवा पूजाभाव खास माना जाता है और वह बार बार अल्लाह से अयानत अथवा पुष्टी की कामना करता है। वह सिरातुल मुस्तकीम अथवा सीधे रास्ते

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के लिए प्रार्थी है और यह राजमार्ग अथवा राजडगर (विनयपत्रिका) उन्हीं को मिलती है जिन पर अल्लाह की नियामत होती है। तुलसी के साहित्य में ये चीजें मुकम्मिल तौर पर आ गई हैं। सूरे फातिहा के समकक्ष हम उन का एक प्रमुख विनयपद रख सकते हैं :

' जाउं कहां तजि चरण तिहारे '

इस्लामी तहज़ीब भी कुछ बातें तुलसी के काव्य में उनके न चाहते हुए भी आ गई हैं, क्यों कि वे अपने अपने ज़माने से कटकर नहीं चल सकते थे। पतंग उडाना (अयोध्याकांड, दोहा २८), बाज चिड़िया से शिकार, चौगान (गीतावली, पद ४३), मुजरा, गुलामों का ज़िक्र, लक्ष्मण राम के नायब (अयोध्याकाण्ड, दोहा १९) ऐसी कई बातें हैं। इस्लाम का सबसे ज़्यादा असर आगे चलकर रीतिकालपर पड़ा, पर भक्ति भावना के होते हुए भी तुलसी की भाषा में अरबी, फारसी के बहुतेरे शब्द आ गए हैं, जिनकी खासी लम्बी फेहरिस्त बनाई जा सकती है जैसे अरबी के जिनिस (बालकाण्ड छ० ९२), हराम (उत्तरकाण्ड ७६), असबाब (सुंदरकाण्ड, २२), जमात (बालकाण्ड, ९२)। फारसी के शब्द हैं– बकसीस (बालकाण्ड, ३०५), सहनाई (बालकाण्ड ३४३), रुख (अयोध्याकाण्ड, ३), परवाह (उत्तरकाण्ड, २७), दरिया (उत्तरकाण्ड, ४६)। अरबी–फारसी के शब्दों की संख्या हज़ार तक पहुंच जायेगी पर तुलसी ने ध्वनि–परिवर्तन और व्याकरण में अपने ढ़ंग से काम लिया है और नए शब्द भी बनाए हैं, जैसे : निवाज अथवा नेवाज से निवाज बना लेना या शर्क से शरीकता।

तुलसी पर इस्लामी असर के कुछ संकेत ही यहां किए जा सके हैं, क्योंकि इससे उस महाकवि पर पड़ी हुई यह नक़ाब उठ जाती है कि वे सिर्फ परम्परा से बंधे हुए, किसी जाति खास के कवि थे। अगर मध्ययुग के भक्ति आंदोलन पर नज़र डाली जाय तो मालूम होगा कि यह दक्षिण में आलवार संतों से लेकर सारे मुल्क में एक साथ फैल गया, जैसे कि भक्ति की कोई लहर आई हो, जिसमें सब कुछ लपेट लिया हो। असम के शंकरदेव, महाराष्ट्र का वारकरी सम्प्रदाय तथा ज्ञानदेव, नामदेव, एकनाथ आदि, गुजरात में नरसी मेहता, उत्कल के पंचसखा (बलराम, अनंत, यशोवंत) के भक्ति आंदोलन वल्लभ सम्प्रदाय आदि से इसलिए जुड़ गए क्योंकि राम, कृष्ण की लीलाभूमि इधरही थी। रामानुज, मध्वाचार्य, रामानन्द, वल्लभ, निंबार्क इसके महत्त्वपूर्ण स्तंभ हैं। इसीलिए मध्ययुग के भक्त कवियों को उस समय पूरे हिन्दुस्तान के माहौल में रखकर देखना ही ठीक होगा।

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वैष्णव वार्ता साहित्य की कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण हस्तलिखित प्रतियां

श्री. हरिहर नाथ टंडन, आगरा

वैष्णव वार्ताएं विशेष रूपसे चौरासी और दो सौ बावन वैष्णवों की वार्त्ताएं ब्रजभाषा गद्य का बहुत ही व्यवस्थित रूप प्रस्तुत करती हैं। उन के रचयिता श्री गोकुलनाथजी प्रसिद्ध हैं। श्री गोकुलनाथजी पुष्टि मार्ग के प्रवर्तक श्री वल्लभाचार्य प्रपौत्र थे और इनका समय सम्वत् १६०८ वि० से सम्वत् १६९७ विक्रमी तक अर्थात् सन् १५५१ से १६४२ तक है। इतिहास में यह समय मुगल शासक जहांगीर का अधिक है।

इन वार्ताओं के गद्य की सराहना करते हुए भी हिन्दी के विद्वान इन्हें गोकुलनाथजी रचित नहीं मानते हैं क्योंकि इनमें इनके रचयिता का नाम बहुत ही आदरपूर्वक लिया गया है। पुष्टिमार्ग में वार्ता साहित्य का बहुत महत्त्व है। प्रत्येक वैष्णव रात्रि को सोने से पहले एक वार्ता का पाठ आवश्य कर लेता है। वार्ता के इस महत्त्व के कारण राजस्थान, गुजरात और उत्तर प्रदेश में इनकी अनेक हस्तलिखित प्रतियां प्राप्त होती हैं जिनमें से कुछ महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रतियों का विवरण नीचे लिखा जा रहा है क्योंकि इनकी प्राचीनता के आधारपर इन ग्रन्थों के काल निर्णय में सहायता मिलती है। वार्ता साहित्य द्वारा महाप्रभु वल्लभाचार्यजी और विठ्ठलनाथजी आदर्श वैष्णवों के चरित्र स्वयं अपने सामान्य वैष्णवों के समक्ष कहते थे और इनके द्वारा मार्ग की रीति, मर्म, रहस्य व सिद्धान्त उन लोगों को समझाते थे।

प्राप्त हस्तलिखित प्रतियों में तीन प्रकार की प्रतियां हैं :–

(१) प्रसंगात्मक प्रतियां, जिनमें न कोई क्रम है और न प्रसंगों का ही एकीकरण हुआ है। एक ही व्यक्तिका प्रसंग इस प्रकार की पोथियों में यदि आदि में है तो दूसरा अंत में है।

(२) वार्ता साहित्य की अन्य हस्तलिखित प्रतियां दूसरे प्रकार की वे प्रतियां हैं जिनमें चौरासी और दो सौ बावन की संख्या निर्धारित है। इस प्रकारकी प्रतियों को सुविधा के लिए संख्यावाचक प्रतियों का नाम देना अनुचित न होगा।

(३) वार्ता की तीसरे प्रकार की वे प्रतियां हैं जिन्हें सम्प्रदाय में 'भावना वाली' कहते हैं। इन प्रतियों में मूल वार्ताओं में उत्पन्न होने वाली शंकाओं का, सैद्धान्तिक प्रश्नों का समाधान किया गया है। इन्हें 'तीन जन्मवाली वार्ता' भी कहते हैं। तीन जन्म का तात्पर्य यह है कि उसमें आधिदैविक, आध्यात्मिक और आधिभौतिक तीन जन्म माने गए हैं और तीनों चरित्रों का उसमें उल्लेख है।

वार्ता साहित्य के प्रसंगात्मक संस्करण की जो प्राचीन प्रतियां मैंने गोकुल, मथुरा, अहमदाबाद, बड़ौदा, कांकरौली में देखी हैं उनमें से अधिकांश में लेखन सम्वत् नहीं लिखा है पर उन सब में विषय की दृष्टि से व्यापक एकरूपता है जिससे ऐसा लगता है कि यह सब एक ही

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पोथी की प्रतिलिपियां हैं। इन पोथियों में सबसे प्राचीन और उल्लेखनीय पोथी संवत् १७४६, सन् १६८९ की है जो कांकरौली विद्या विभाग सरस्वती भंडार में हिन्दी बंध संख्या १०१।१ में सुरक्षित है। इसमें कुल २१६ पृष्ठ हैं और वार्ताओं के १२८ प्रसंग हैं। पुस्तक के अन्त में श्रीवल्लभ कुल को प्रागध नामक एक स्वतंत्र ग्रंथ है। इस में लेखन संवत् इस प्रकार दिया है :—

संवत् १७४६ (कार्तिकी) वर्ष श्रावणसुदी ७ सुकरे पोथी लिखी छे प्रति गोविंददास ब्राह्मणनी पोथी थी लख्यु छें।

उपलब्ध वार्ता साहित्य का जो दूसरा विभाजन मैंने किया है और जिसे संख्यात्मक वार्ता नाम से पुकारा है उसकी भी सबसे प्राचीन प्रति कांकरौली विद्या विभाग, सरस्वती भंडार में बंध संख्या ९८।२ में सुरक्षित है। इसकी प्रति विक्रम संवत् १६९७, सन् १९०४ में गोकुल में चुन्नीलाल सनाढ्य ब्राह्मण द्वारा लिखी गई है। गोकुलनाथ जी सन् १९०४ तक वर्तमान थे अतः यह पोथी उनके समय की है और उनके अंतिम वर्ष की है। यह पोथी चैत्र शुक्ल पंचमी को आरम्भ या पूर्ण हुई है और गोकुलनाथ जी ने माघ वदी नौमी को शरीर छोडा है।

वार्ता साहित्य के तीसरे और भावनात्मक संस्करण की सबसे प्राचीन प्रति सिद्धपुर पाटन की प्रति है। जिसका लिपिकाल संवत् १७५२ है। इस प्रति के आधार पर वार्तासाहित्य और पुष्टि साहित्य के अभूतपूर्व विद्वान् स्वर्गीय द्वारकादास परीख ने अग्रवाल प्रेस मथुरा से अपना भावनात्मक संस्करण प्रकाशित कराया है। साम्प्रदायिक बंधनों के कारण इस प्रति का फोटो अभी तक नहीं मिल सका है। इस प्रकार की वार्ता की एक और बहुत ही सुन्दर और सचित्र पोथी गोकुल में ठकुरानी घाट पर गौरीलाल मुखिया के सुपुत्र श्री राधाकृष्ण के पास है इसका लेखन काल संवत् १७८५ अर्थात् सन् १७२८ है। इस प्रकार यह पोथी गोस्वामी हरिराय जी के समय की है जो इस भावनात्मक संस्करण के आदि आचार्य माने जाते हैं।

अन्य महत्त्वपूर्ण प्रतियां :

' चौरासी वैष्णवन की वार्ता की प्रतियां :

प्राप्ति-स्थान – बड़ौदा

(१) त्रिकमलाल सेठ विद्या की प्रति। इस हस्तलिखित पोथी में लगभग तीन सौ पचास पृष्ठ हैं। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ में तीस पंक्तियां हैं। इसमें लिपिकाल नहीं दिया हुआ है। कागज स्याही और पोथी की दशा से यह संवत् १८०० से पूर्व की ही प्रतीत होती है। इसमें प्रारम्भ में श्री हरिराय कृत ६६ अपराधों की सूची हैं, फिर ४० पृष्ठ तक निज वार्ता है। आगे पृष्ठ २५२ तक चौरासी वैष्णवन की वार्ता है। इसके पश्चात् निज वार्ता के ३६ पृष्ठ है, फिर सुआ की वार्ता के नौ (९) पृष्ठ हैं फिर तीन सौ पृष्ठ तक सूरदास के पदों की अनुक्रमणिका दी हुई है।

(२) श्री गोवर्द्धननाथ पुस्तकालय बड़ौदा की प्रति – इस प्रति के लेखक हैं माखनलाल ब्राह्मण और लिपिकाल संवत् १९२९ मिती चैत वादी सप्तमी शुक्रवार लिखा हुआ है। यह प्रति सन् १८७२ की है प्रत्येक पृष्ठ में २८ पंक्तियां हैं, पुस्तक में दोनों ओर हांसिया छोडा गया है और आकार १२×७ इंच है। इसमें पृष्ठ संख्या ३३ तक निजवार्ता पृष्ठ ३३ से (पांचवी पंक्ति

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से) दामोदरदास हरसानी की वार्ता आरम्भ हुई है । किन्तु भूल से पृष्ठ ३६ तक निजवार्ता हांसिए पर लिख गया है। पृष्ठ संख्या १५६ तक नीचे की ओर सी दसवीं पंक्ति से ८४ वैष्णवन की वार्ता है। इसी पृष्ठ १५६ से ही 'घरु वार्ता' आरम्भ हुई है जो १७२ पृष्ठ पर १६ वीं पंक्ति के पश्चात् समाप्त हुई है। इसके लिखने का स्थान 'खिरकी वाले मुहल्ला (गोकुल) में लिखी' लिखा है।

(३) स्वर्गीय गोविन्द हरि भट्ट के संग्रह में संवत् १८७७, सन् १८२७ की प्रति' जिसकी पृष्ठ संख्या ३१४ है, आकार १०×५ है। प्रति पृष्ठ में तेईस पंक्तियां हैं। इसमें निज वार्ता, घरुवार्ता सब तो हैं हीं अन्त में अजब कुंवर बाई की वार्ता के १४ पृष्ठ हैं। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है— 'मिती वैसाप सुदी पंचमी के दिन श्रीजी द्वार मध्ये लिखित चवाडी बलदेव ज्ञाती सनौढिया ब्राह्मण, जो बांचै ताको त्रय श्रीकृष्ण'। इस पोथी में अन्त में अनुक्रमणिका के भी तीन पृष्ठ हैं।

प्राप्त स्थान मथुरा :—

(४) हरिकृष्ण व्यास मथुरा की प्रति – पृष्ठ संख्या २३६ केवल चौरासी वैष्णवन की वार्ता, लिपिकाल संवत् १८३६, सन् १७७९।

(५) जेठानन्द आसनमल ट्रस्ट मुंबई की प्रति। इसका लिपिकाल संवत् १८५१, सन् १७९४ है। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है– 'इति श्री आचार्य महाप्रभुन के चौरासी वैष्णवन की वार्ता सम्पूर्ण। समाप्तं। शुभंभवतु। कल्याणमस्तुः। शुभमस्तुः। श्रीरस्तु। संवत् १८५१ मिती वैशाख छटी शनौ दिने लिखिते। ब्राह्मण ज्ञाति पुष्करणा वास्तु भीमसेन मेघराजात्यजेन लिपीकृते श्री नगरधाम मध्ये लिखी है।। श्री। श्री। श्री। श्री।'

यह पुस्तक काली स्याही से लिखी गई है। केवल अन्त में वार्ता का नाम तथा पुष्पिका लाल शाही से लिखी गई है। इसमें शिक्षा मार्ग नाम का दूसरा ग्रंथ भी जुडा हुआ है। पहले ग्रंथ में ११५ पृष्ठ हैं। दूसरे में ६३ पृष्ठ हैं। दूसरा अंश प्रसंगात्मक वार्ता का है जिसमें ५४ प्रसंग हैं। पुस्तक की लम्बाई चौडाई ९×५ इंच है। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ में लगभग १८ पंक्तियां हैं। लिपिकार की लिपि अत्यन्त सुन्दर है।

दो सौ बावन वैष्णवन की संख्यात्मक वार्ता की महत्त्वपूर्ण हस्तलिखित प्रतियां :

(१) प्राप्ति स्थान– बहादुरपुर, श्रीगोवर्द्धननाथ जी का मंदिर – यह पोथी सम्वत् १८७१ (सन् १८१४) की लिखी हुई है। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है : 'सम्वत् १८७१ माघ सुदी परवा को यह पोथी पूर्ण गोकुल मध्ये भई। पोथी लिखी दयाचन्द ब्राह्मण गुजराती औदीच्य वासी श्रीगोकुल जी ने जो या पोथी कूं बांचे ताकू दयानन्द की भगवत स्मरण बांचने।'

यह प्रति खंडित है। बीच बीच के पृष्ठ नहीं हैं। इसमें वार्ताओं का क्रम भावना वाली प्रतियों से मिलता है।

(२) प्राप्ति स्थान – बड़ौदा

आठ प्रतियां – संवत् १८००, १८८८, १८९७, १९००, १९०४, १९५४ की प्रतियां तथा दो तिथि रहित प्रतियां।

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(अ) श्री द्वारकादास पारिख के संग्रह में (अब कांकरौली में सुरक्षित) अपूर्ण प्रति। आकार १४×११ इंच। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ पर तीस पंक्तियां। पुष्पिका और अंतिम पृष्ठ नहीं। लेखन शैली गोकुलीय। कागज स्याही से १८०० के आसपास की हो सकती है।

(आ) श्री द्वारकादास पारिख के संग्रह की दूसरी पोथी। पृष्ठ संख्या ४७७ प्रति पृष्ठ पर १७ पंक्तियां। पोथी का आकार १२×७ इंच पुष्पिका अप्राप्य।

(इ) श्री द्वारकादास पारिख के पास एक और अपूर्ण पोथी है जिसका लिपिकाल नहीं लिखा है जो १८०० के पाश्चात् की लगती है। जिसका आकार १३×१२ इंच है। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ पर तीस पंक्तियां हैं।

(ई) श्री द्वारकादास पारिख के संग्रह में चौथी पोथी सम्वत् १९०४ है जो गोकुल में सनाढ्य ब्राह्मण गिरधरे मूलचन्द ने लिखी है। मिती काति वदी १३ धनतेरस – शुक्रवार संवत् १९०४। इसकी पृष्ठसंख्या ३६३ है। पोथी का आकार १४×१२ इंच है। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ में २९ पंक्तियां हैं।

(उ) श्री चुन्नीलाल पारिख बड़ौदा वालों की प्रति। पृष्ठ संख्या २९८, २९६ मूल + दो पृष्ठ अनुक्रमणिका। अंतिम दो पृष्ठ एक मे चिपट गए हैं। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है— 'मूलचन्द सुत गिरधरदास ने लिखी जो बांचे सुने तिनकूं भगवत स्मरण। श्री वल्लभ कुल बांचे तिनकूं दंडवत। मिती माह वदी १० ॥ संवत् १९१६ ॥ श्री कृष्णाय नमः —'

(ऊ) श्री मोतीलाल गोवरधनदास काठवाला की प्रति। आकार १४×१३ इंच। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ में २८ पंक्तियां और पृष्ठ संख्या ३०४। इसकी तिथि संवत् १९५२, (सन् १८९५) है। श्रावण वदी ५। और लेखन ने लिखी पन्नालाल ब्राह्मण – सात स्वरूप के मंदिर में लिखी।

(ए) श्री रतनलाल चुन्नीलाल पारिख बड़ौदा की प्रति। पृष्ठ संख्या २७०। जिसमें २३८ पृष्ठ तक – वार्ता है। शेष चार में अनुक्रमणिका। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ में तीस अथवा इकत्तीस पंक्तियां हैं। आकार १६×१३ इंच है। पुष्पिका है – इतिश्री गुसांई जी के सेवक दो सौ बावन वेस्नव परम कृपापात्र भगवदीय तिनकी वार्ता लिषी सो सम्पूर्ण। यह पुस्तक लिखी श्री गोकुल मध्ये, श्री यमुना तटे, श्री सातस्वरूप के मन्दिर के आगे ब्राह्मण सनोढिया लाला रामप्रसाद ने लिखी जो कोई वेस्तव बांचे तासों हमारी जै श्रीकृष्न। मिती पौष वदी ॥ ८ ॥ संवत् १९५४ ॥

(ऐ) प्राप्त स्थान – श्रीनाथ जी की बैठक, छिलीईट आगरा, पृष्ठ संख्या ४२७। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है। 'इति श्री गुसांई जी के सेवक दोयसे वामन वैष्णवन तिनकी वार्ता सम्पूर्ण। यह पुस्तक भाटिया सिंधूमल जी की है। दसकंत लिखिया सेदूके श्री गोकुल में राजा ठाकूर जी के मन्दिर के आगे बैठिके लिखी है। मिती चैत्र सुदी ॥ १ ॥ संवत् १८९७ के साल में लिख्यो'।

(ओ) प्राप्त स्थान – बम्बई, जेठानन्द आसनमल ट्रस्ट, आकार २४×१८ इंच, पृष्ठ संख्या २९०। अंतिम पृष्ठ को छोडकर शेष पर २६ पंक्तियां। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है— 'लिषितम् श्री गोकुल मध्ये ब्राह्मण मंसाराम सुत श्री गुपाल ने जो वेस्नव बांचे तिनकूं हमारी दंडवत्।

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दोहा – जैसी देखी प्रत्य में तैसी दई उतारि।
सुद्ध असुद्ध को राखिके लीजो प्रत्य समारि॥
मिती ववार सुदी १ सम्वत् १९२९'

भावना वाली वार्ताओं की महत्त्वपूर्ण हस्तलिखित प्रतियां।

चौरासी वैष्णवन की वार्ता :

(१) संवत् १७५२ की पाटन गुजरात की प्रति – प्राप्ति स्थान श्री मणिलाल ईश्वर भाई। इस प्रति के दो खण्ड हैं। एक में अस्सी वार्ताएं हैं। दूसरे में अष्ट सखान की आठ वार्ताएं हैं। प्रथम खण्ड में २६० पृष्ठ हैं और दूसरे में १३६ पृष्ठ हैं। आकार १८x१४ इंच। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ पर २६ पंक्तियां हैं। पुष्पिका पत्र फटा हुआ है – वह इस प्रकार है :–

'इति श्री चौरासी वैस्वनन की वार्ता तथा अष्ट छाप की वार्ता श्री गोकुलनाथ जी प्रकट किये ताको भाव श्री हरिराय जी कह्यो। सम्पूर्णम्। संवत् १७५२ मिती–'

(२) गोकुल के राधाकृष्ण मुखिया की संवत् १७८५ वैशाख कृष्ण १३ रविवार की सचित्र प्रति। इसके चित्र बहुत सुन्दर हैं। पुस्तक कई लेखकों ने मिलकर लिखी है। जहां सम्वत लिखा है वहां की स्याही कुछ हल्की है जिससे यह सन्देह होता है कि तिथि को घटाया बढाया गया है पर वैसी स्याही का प्रयोग अन्यत्र भी है।

(३) पाटन की प्रति – लिपिकाल अज्ञात – अनुमान से अट्ठारवीं शताब्दी – प्रति के लेखक रामदास बरधनपुर वाले। आकार २३x१८ इंच।

(४) बहादुर की प्रति। पृष्ठ संख्या ३३५। प्रति पृष्ठ पर २४ पंक्तियां। लिपि संवत् १८७१, मिती माघ वदी १ लेखक दयानन्द अवदीच वासी।

(५) मथुरा की दंडीघाट की आनन्द मंगल चतुर्वेदी की प्रति संवत् १९१४ की है। पृष्ठ संख्या ३७२ है। आकार १६x१४ इंच है। इसमें पुष्टि प्रवाह मर्यादा की गद्य टीका भी है। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है– "सम्वत् १९१४ ना वर्ष फाल्गुन मासे कृष्णपक्षे तिथि द्वादसी भृगुवासरे लिखितेयं श्रीमाली जातीय दवे श्री भगवान जी सुत डोशा लिखी। कृते लिखविता भाटिया जातीय श्री शिवजी सुत श्याम जी पठनार्थ।'

(६) मथुरा में ध्रुव जी मुखिया की प्रति, लिपिकाल संवत् १९४०, सन् १८९३, पृष्ठ संख्या २२०, आकार १८x१४ इंच। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है– 'यह पुस्तक लिखी श्रीमद गोकुल जी में नाज की मण्डी पास तालाब पडखे श्री यमुना जी की तट, लेखक कल्याणदास जी तथा रामलाल सनाढ्य ब्राह्मण ने जो ब्रह्मकुल बांचे तिनको दंडवत् और वैष्णव बांचे तथा श्रवण करे तिनको हमारे श्रीकृष्ण स्मरण बंचना जी। किमधिकं। मिती श्रावण कृष्ण पंचमी भौमे संवत् १९४० में।'

दो सौ बावन के भावनात्मक संस्करण की चार महत्त्वपूर्ण हस्तलिखित प्रतियां :

(१) खेरा (नन्दगांव के समीप) सखाराम ब्रजवासी की प्रति। इसमें १४०७ पृष्ठ हैं। इसका आकार १०x७ इंच। इसकी विशेषता यह है कि इसकी भूमि काले कागज की है

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और अक्षर सफेद हैं। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ के चारों ओर सुनहली किनारी है। प्रति विक्रम संवत् १९१७ की लिखी है।

(२) श्री द्वारकादास पारीख की संवत् १८७१ की पोथी। पृष्ठ संख्या ७३४, आकार १०x६। पुष्पिका इस प्रकार है– 'वैष्णव दो सौ बावन। इति श्री गोसांई जी के सेवक दोय सौ बावन वैष्णव तिनकी वार्ता श्री गोकुलनाथ जी प्रकट किये ताको भाव श्री हरिराय जी कहे सो सम्पूर्ण। श्री शुभम् भवतु। यह पोथी लिखी पठनार्थ बाबा द्वारिकेश जी। संवत् १८७१ फाल्गुन वदी ७ कू यह पोथी पूर्ण भई। श्री गोकुल मध्ये। श्री ठकुरानी घाट समीपे। लिषीया माधवदास ब्राह्मण —।'

(३) श्री द्वारकादास पारिख की संवत १९०७ की प्रति पृष्ठ संख्या ४३८, आकार १४x१२ इंच। प्रत्येक पृष्ठ में २८ पंक्तियां। लेखक गंगाराम सुत जमुनादास लिखी विक्रम संवत् १९०७ कातिक सुदी १ प्रतिपदायां शुभम्। पुस्तक पठनार्थ पारिष मूल जी भाई सोतीदास सुत ईश्वरदास गोकुल आए तब ले गए।

(४) हिन्दी साहित्य संम्मेलन प्रयाग की तीन प्रतियां—

(अ) राजस्थानी ब्रजभाषा मिश्रत संवत् १९३२ भादरा वदी ११ शुक्रवासरे। प्राप्ति स्थान जोधपुर।

(आ) कोटा की ९६ पृष्ठ की अपूर्ण प्रति।

(इ) कैथी लिपि की – पृष्ठ १५४ की कोटा से प्राप्त प्रति।

वार्ता साहित्य के यह हस्तलिखित ग्रंथ उसके रचयिता, लेखक और काल निर्णय में बहुत महत्त्वपूर्ण सामग्री प्रस्तुत करते हैं। अतः इनका अध्ययन आवश्यक है। इनके द्वारा वार्ता साहित्य प्रमाणिकता अथवा अप्रमाणिकता भी आपसे आप सिद्ध हो जाती है।

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पण्डितपरिषद्

तुतातस्तुतातितश्चेति कुमारिलभट्टस्य नामान्तरं न वा ?

श्री सुखमय भट्टाचार्य

महतस्तमसः पारे भान्तमानन्दविग्रहम् ।
यं ज्ञात्वा मृत्युमत्येति तं प्रपद्ये महेश्वरम् ॥

तुतातस्तुतातितो भट्टपादो भट्टाचार्यो वा कुमारिलश्च अभिन्नः पुरुषो न वेति विचार्यते ।

केचन कथयन्ति — तुतातस्तुतातितश्च भट्टपादकुमारिलस्यैव नामान्तरमिति । दृश्यते च वङ्गीये विश्वकोषसंज्ञिते अभिधाने कुमारिलशब्दस्य विवृति प्रसङ्गे— तुतात इति कुमारिलस्वामीति नाम्ना च भट्टाचार्य–कुमारिल एव प्रसिद्ध आसीत् । एकस्यैव पुरुषस्य विभिन्ननामभिः प्रसिद्धिश्च न दुर्लभा । तथाहि— चाणक्यः कौटिल्यः, गोतमः आक्षपादः, उलूकः कणादः, भवभूतिः श्रीकण्ठः इत्यादयः ।

भवदेवविरचित– तौतातितमततिलकस्य भूमिकायां पूज्यपादमहामहोपाध्यायचिन्नस्वामिशास्त्रिमहोदयैर्लिखितम्— "ग्रन्थोऽयं भट्टकुमारिलमतानुयायीति नाम्नैव स्पष्टमवगम्यते । 'तुतातित' इति कुमारिलस्य नामान्तरमिति प्राचीना प्रथा । तदुपज्ञस्य मतस्योपपादकः पोषकश्चायं ग्रन्थो यतः, अतस्तौतातितमततिलकमिति व्यपदेशः कृतो ग्रन्थकर्त्रा ।"

ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् मङ्गलाचरणानन्तरम्—

अजिता नैव सुबोधा संक्षिप्तं नानुपदमतो लोकाः ।
(वि)हतोत्साहा जाता न जानते तन्त्रटीकार्थम् ॥

इत्युल्लेखाद् ग्रन्थोऽयं भट्टकुमारिलविरचितस्य तन्त्रवार्त्तिकस्य व्याख्यासम इत्यवगम्यते । तेन च भवदेवोऽपि 'तुतातित' इति कुमारिलस्यैव नामान्तरं प्राह— इत्यपि वक्तुं शक्यते ।

भगवच्छङ्कराचार्यविरचिते सर्वसिद्धान्तसंग्रहे भट्टाचार्यपक्षे परिदृश्यते—

परानन्दानुभूतिः स्यान्मोक्षे तु विषयादृते ।
विषयेषु विरक्ताः स्युर्नित्यानन्दानुभूतितः ।
गच्छन्त्यपुनरावृत्तिं मोक्षमेव मुमुक्षवः ॥ इति ।

एतेन मोक्षदशायां परानन्दानुभूतिर्भट्टाचार्यकुमारिलस्य अभिप्रेता इति आचार्यपादानां सिद्धान्तः ।

किरणावलीग्रन्थे मुक्तिस्वरूपविचारे चोक्तमुदयनाचार्यैः—
'तौतातितास्तु अकार्यमपीश्वरज्ञानं शरीरमन्तरेणानिच्छन्तः कार्यमेव सुखज्ञानमपवर्गेऽस्तीति वदन्तस्त्रपा विरोधो भयमिति त्रयमपि त्यक्तवन्तश्च ।'

अस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रकाशटीकायामाहुर्वर्द्धमानोपाध्यायाः—

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'दुःखसाधनशरीरनाशे नित्यसुखाभिव्यक्तिर्मुक्तिरिति भाट्टमतं निराकरोति' इति। एतेन भट्टकुमारिलस्य सिद्धान्तप्रकाशने 'तौतातितास्तु' इत्येवं लिखितमुदयनाचार्यैरित्येव वर्द्धमानोपाध्यायानामाशयो लभ्यते। तौतातितस्तुतातितो वा यदि कुमारिलस्यैव नामान्तरं स्यात्तदैव उपाध्यायानां प्रयोगः संगच्छते, नान्यथा।

मानमेयोदयेऽपि कुमारिलप्रोक्तमुक्तिविषये सिद्धान्तितं नारायणभट्टैः—

"दुःखात्यन्तसमुच्छेदे सति प्रागात्मवर्त्तिनः।
सुखस्य मनसा भुक्तिर्मुक्तिरुक्ता कुमारिलैः॥

न च 'अशरीरं वावसन्तं प्रियाप्रिये न स्पृशतः' इति श्रुतिरानन्दानुभूतिबाधिकेति वाच्यं, तस्य वैषयिकप्रियाप्रियस्पर्शनिवृत्तिमात्रपरत्वात्। अन्यथा मुक्तेरपुरुषार्थत्वप्रसङ्गात्" इति।

अत्रापि उदयनपरिगृहीतं तौतातितमतमेव श्रूयते। कुमारिलेन तुतातितस्य अभेदश्च सम्भाव्यते।

तथाच माधवाचार्यकृत-सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहस्य अक्षपाददर्शने आम्नातम्—
'नित्यनिरतिशयसुखाभिव्यक्तिर्मुक्तिरिति भट्टसर्वज्ञाद्यभिमतेऽपि दुःखनिवृत्तिरभिमतैव'।

तत्रैव ग्रन्थे पाणिनिदर्शनप्रकरणे 'तदुक्तं तौतातितैः'— इत्युपक्रम्य

'यावन्तो यादृशा ये च यदर्थप्रतिपादने।
वर्णाः प्रज्ञातसामर्थ्यास्ते तथैवावबोधकाः॥'

इति कुमारिलभट्टकृत-श्लोकवार्त्तिकस्य स्फोटवादप्रकरणतः श्लोकः उद्धृतः। अयमुद्धारोऽपि कुमारिलस्य तुतातित इति नामान्तरकल्पने साधको भवतीति वक्तुं शक्यते।

भट्टाचार्य-गदाधरस्य नवमुक्तिवादेऽप्युक्तम्— 'भट्टास्तु नित्यसुख-साक्षात्कारोऽपवर्गः' इति। ग्रन्थेऽस्मिन् भट्टमतातिरिक्तं तौतातितमतं किमपि न लभ्यते। अतोऽनुमीयते—उदयन-माधवाचार्यप्रमुखाणां तौतातितमतमेव भट्टकुमारिलस्य मतमिति गादाधरी स्थितिः। तेन च तुतातित इति कुमारिलस्यैव नामान्तरमिति।

वैशेषिकसूत्रोपस्कारे शब्दशक्तिविचारप्रकरणे प्राहुः शंकरमिश्राः— 'समयश्च जातिमीत्रे, व्यक्तेराक्षेपत एवोपस्थितेरिति तौतातिकाः।' अनुपदमेव प्राभाकरसिद्धान्तोऽपि मिश्रपादैः प्रदर्शितः। न च तैर्भट्टकुमारिलस्य नाम पृथक्त्वेन गृहीतम्। प्रसिद्धमीमांसाप्रस्थानद्वितये तौतातिकप्राभाकर-सिद्धान्तयोरुल्लेखादनुमीयते – शंकरमिश्रा अपि तौतातिक इत्यादिना भट्टाचार्यकुमारिल-सिद्धान्तमेव प्रादर्शयन्।

प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयनाटके द्वितीयेऽङ्के अहंकारस्य वचनं यथा—

'नैवाश्रावि गुरोर्मतं न विदितं कौमारिलं दर्शनम्'— इत्यादि। निर्णयसागरमुद्रितग्रन्थे कौमारिलमित्यस्य पाठान्तरं तौतातितमिति पादटीकायाम्। तथाच पूज्यपादमहामहोपाध्याय–फणिभूषणतर्कवागीशमहाशयानां वात्स्यायनभाष्यटिप्पन्यां प्रबोधचन्द्रोदयनाटकस्य मूलपाठरूपेण तौतातिकमिति परिदृश्यते। एतेनापि तुतातितेन भट्टपाद–कुमारिलस्य अभेदोऽनुमीयत इति। अत्र तुतातशब्देन गुरुप्रभाकरसाहचर्यात् मीमांसाचार्यो भट्टकुमारिल एव परिगृहीत इत्यवश्यं वाच्यम्।

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तुतात इति कुमारिलस्य नामान्तरत्वे तस्य दर्शनं तौतातिकं, तस्य सम्प्रदायश्च तौतातिक इति स्पष्टं ज्ञायते। परन्तु तौतातित इति नामबोधकः पाठस्तु चिन्तनीयः।

एभिश्च मनीषिणां प्रयोगैस्तुतातस्तुतातितश्चेति कुमारिलभट्टस्यैव नामान्तरमित्यवगम्यते। तस्य दर्शनमेव तौतातिकं दर्शनम्, तस्य सम्प्रदायश्च तौतातिकस्तौतातितो वा, इत्यभिमतम्।

(उद्धृतेषु ग्रन्थेषु भट्टमते नित्यसुखाभिव्यक्तिर्मुक्तिरिति यदुक्तं, तन्न सर्ववादिसम्मतम्। आस्तां तावत्।)

एवञ्च कुमारिलस्यैव तुतातादि-नामान्तरत्वे प्राप्ते ब्रूमः— कुमारिलमतप्रतिपादकग्रन्थेषु शास्त्रदीपिकाया एव अभ्यर्हितत्वम्। यतः—

'न्यायाभासतमश्छन्नशास्त्रतत्त्वार्थदर्शिकाम्।
कुमारिलमतेनाहं करिष्ये शास्त्रदीपिकाम्॥'

इति तद्ग्रन्थकृतां पार्थसारथिमिश्रपादानां प्रतिज्ञा। ग्रन्थे च तस्मिन् तर्कपादे मुक्तिदशायां नित्य-सुखस्य अभिव्यक्तिर्निराकृता। तथा हि—

'तेनाभावात्मकत्वेऽपि मुक्तेर्नापुरुषार्थता।
सुखदुःखोपभोगो हि संसार इति शब्द्यते॥
तयोरनुपभोगन्तु मोक्षं मोक्षविदो विदुः।
श्रुतिरप्येवमेवाह भेदं संसारमोक्षयोः॥
न ह वै सशरीरस्य प्रियाप्रियविहीनता।
अशरीरं वावसन्तं स्पृशतो न प्रियाप्रिये॥
.....
सुखदुःखविहीनोऽतो मुक्तः स्वस्थोऽवतिष्ठते॥'

इत्येवं मिश्रपादानां मतम्।

'सुखलोपादपुरुषार्थत्वमिति चेत्—

नैवमल्पं हि संसारे सुखं तदपि सूरयः।
बहुप्रयाससाध्यत्वाद् दुःखमेवानुजानते॥'

इत्यपि मिश्रपादैरभ्यधायि।

कुमारिलस्य सिद्धान्तविषये मतभेदोऽपि प्रचलित आसीदित्यपि मिश्रपादानां लिपि-मङ्गितोऽवगम्यते। तथाहि— 'अपरे त्वाहुः—अभावात्मकत्ववचनमेव स्वमतम्, उपपत्त्यभिधानात्। आनन्दवचनन्तु उपन्यासमात्रत्वात् परमतम्। न हि मुक्तस्य आनन्दानुभवः सम्भवति, कारणा-भावात्। मनः स्यादिति चेन्न, अमनस्कत्वश्रुतेः, अमनोऽवाक्'— इति शास्त्रदीपिकायाम्। पार्थ-सारथिमिश्राणां समर्थितं मतमेव यथार्थतः कुमारिलमतमिति मन्यामहे।

गागाभट्टानां भाट्टचिन्तामणिग्रन्थस्य तर्कपादेऽपि दृश्यते कुमारिलमते 'प्रपञ्चस्य सर्वथा विलयो मुक्तिः। स च दुःखाभावरूपत्वात् पुरुषार्थः। तेन सुखदुःखोपभोगाभावो मोक्ष इति फलितम्।'

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वस्तुतस्तु कुमारिलभट्टपादैः श्लोकवार्त्तिकस्य सम्बन्धाक्षेपपरिहारप्रकरणे मुक्तिदशायां सुखानुभूतिपक्षः सयुक्तिकं निराकृतः। तथा हि—

'सुखोपभोगरूपश्च यदि मोक्षः प्रकल्प्यते।
स्वर्ग एव भवेदेष पर्यायेण, क्षयी च सः॥' इत्यादिना।

सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहस्य आर्हतदर्शनप्रकरणे— 'तथा चोक्तं तौतातितैः' इत्युपक्रम्य माधवाचार्यैः प्रमाणमुद्धृतम्। यथा—

'सर्वज्ञो दृश्यते तावन्नेदानीमस्मदादिभि —
दृष्टो न चैकदेशोऽस्ति लिङ्गं वा योनुमापयेत्॥
न चागमविधिः कश्चिन्नित्यसर्वज्ञबोधकः॥'

परन्तु नैतद् वचनं श्लोकवार्त्तिके दृश्यते। एतदर्थकानां वचनानां प्रायोऽन्यविधः पाठो लभ्यते श्लोकवार्त्तिकस्य चोदनासूत्रे यथा—

'सर्वज्ञो दृश्यते तावन्नेदानीमस्मदादिभिः।
निराकरणवच्छक्त्या न चासीदिति कल्पना॥
न चागमेन सर्वज्ञस्तदीयेऽन्योन्यसंश्रयात्॥' इति।

सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहस्य पाणिनिदर्शनप्रकरणे 'यावन्तो यादृशा ये च'— इत्यादिश्लोकस्तौतातितवचनरूपेण माधवाचार्यैः समुद्धृतः। परन्तु तस्मिन्नेव प्रकरणे अव्यवहितपूर्वमेव 'तदुक्तं भट्टाचार्यैर्मीमांसाश्लोकवार्त्तिके' इत्युपक्रम्य—

'यस्यानवयवः स्फोटो व्यज्यते वर्णबुद्धिभिः।
सोऽपि पर्यनुयोगेन नैकेनापि विमुच्यते॥'

इति श्लोकवार्त्तिकस्य स्फोटवादप्रकरणीयः श्लोक उद्धृतः।

एकस्मिन् प्रकरणे कुमारिलस्य वचनद्वयसमुद्धारे कथमाचार्यो माधवः एकत्र 'तदुक्तं भट्टाचार्यै'रिति, अन्यत्र च 'तौतातितै'रिति प्रयोगं कृतवान् इत्यपि विशेषतश्चिन्तनीयम्। तुतातेन सह कुमारिलस्य अभेदे नैवं प्रयोगः समाने प्रकरणे सम्भवति।

आर्हतदर्शनप्रकरणे यानि च तौतातितवचनानि माधवाचार्यैरुद्धृतानि, न तानि श्लोकवार्त्तिके दृश्यन्त इति प्रागेवावेदितम्।

वैशेषिकसूत्रविवृतौ पूज्यपाद-जयनारायणतर्कपञ्चाननमहोदयैर्लिखितम्— 'तुतातभट्टमतानुयायिनस्तु द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यरूपाश्चत्वार एव पदार्था इति वदन्ति।' परंतु श्लोकवार्त्तिके अभावपरिच्छेदे अभावपदार्थोऽपि कुमारिलभट्टैरङ्गीकृत इति न तिरोहितं विदुषाम्। तर्कपञ्चाननमहोदयानामुक्तेर्मूलमप्यनुसन्धेयम्।

एतैश्च प्रदर्शितयुक्तिप्रमाणैर्भट्ट-तुतातस्तुतातितो वा भट्टकुमारिलाद् भिन्न एव कश्चन मीमांसाचार्य आसीदिति वक्तुं शक्यते।

कथं तर्हि श्लोकवार्त्तिकस्य केचन श्लोकास्तुतातवचनत्वेन माधवाचार्यादिभिः परिगृहीताः— इत्यपि न वाच्यम्। भट्टपादस्य श्लोकवार्त्तिके ग्रन्थान्तरीय-श्लोकोऽपि दृश्यते यथा—

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'विशुद्धज्ञानदेहाय त्रिवेदीदिव्यचक्षुषे ।
श्रेयःप्राप्तिनिमित्ताय नमः सोमार्धधारिणे ॥'

इति मङ्गलाचरण-श्लोकश्च न कुमारिलविरचितः, परन्तु कीलकस्तवादुद्धृतः ।

एवं सम्भवति केषाञ्चित्तुतातवचनानामपि श्लोकवार्त्तिके उद्धृतिः ।

कुमारिलभट्टपादानां विचारपद्धतेर्बहुलप्रचारेण तुतातभट्टमतं प्रायो निष्प्रभतां गतमित्युत्प्रेक्षितं महामनीषिभिः पूज्यपादमहामहोपाध्याय-फणिभूषणतर्कवागीशमहोदयैरपि तदीयायां वात्स्यायनभाष्यटिप्पन्यामिति शम् ॥

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व्यञ्जनाद्योतनयोः भेदः अभेदः वा।

वा. वा. भागवत, पुणे

येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात्।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः॥

शब्दस्यार्थेन सम्बन्धः औत्पत्तिकः अर्थात् नित्यः, ईश्वरकृतः, मानवनिर्मितः इति शब्दविद्भिः बहुधा गीतः। स सम्बन्ध एव शब्दनिष्ठं विलक्षणं सामर्थ्यं येन ते ते शब्दाः अर्थबोधने सर्वथा प्रभवन्ति। ते च शब्दाः क्वचन साक्षात् क्वचन परम्परया क्वचिच्च सर्वथा प्रकारान्तरेणेति विविधैः प्रकारैरर्थं प्रत्याययन्ति। यथा गङ्गाशब्दः प्रवाहविशेषरूपमर्थं साक्षादुपस्थापयति, तीररूपमर्थं प्रवाहरूपस्य मुख्यार्थस्य सम्बन्धेन शीतत्वपावनत्वादिरूपाश्चार्थान् व्यापारान्तरेण बोधयति। तदिदं शब्दस्य विविधं सामर्थ्यं शास्त्रकाराः अभिधा, लक्षणा, व्यञ्जना तात्पर्याख्यादिभिः संज्ञाभिरुद्दिशन्ति, लक्षयन्ति, प्रमाणयन्ति च।

तत्र च केचन शब्दाः स्वयं साक्षात्कमप्यर्थं कदापि बोधयितुम् अक्षमाः, परं समीपवर्तिनः पदान्तरस्य अर्थविशेषबोधने सहकारितां यान्ति, ते च द्योतका इत्युच्यन्ते शास्त्रकृद्भिः, तत्र द्योतकेषु वर्तमानं सामर्थ्यमेव 'द्योतना' शब्देन निर्दिश्यते शास्त्रेषु। इदं द्योतनाख्यं सामर्थ्यं प्रायः सर्वैरपि शास्त्रकारैरङ्गीकृतप्रायमेव। तत्र के शब्दा द्योतका इत्यत्र विषये कदाचिद्वैमत्यं स्यान्नाम, यतः वैयाकरणाः भाट्टाश्च उपसर्गसहितानां निपातानां द्योतकत्वमभिप्रयन्ति, नैयायिकाः पुनः उपसर्गाणां द्योतकत्वं तदितरनिपातानां वाचकत्वमिति समर्थयन्ते, सर्वथाऽपि केषांचन शब्दानां द्योतकत्वमभ्युपेयमेव। भट्टैरुक्तम्–

'चतुर्विधे पदे चात्र द्विविधस्यार्थनिर्णयः।
क्रियते संशयोत्पत्तेर्नोपसर्ग निपातयोः॥
तयोरर्थाभिधाने हि व्यापारो नैव विद्यते।
यदर्थद्योतकौ तौ तु वाचकः स विचार्यते॥' (१. ३. १०)

वाक्यपदीये च उक्तम्–

'स वाचको विशेषाणां सम्भवाद् द्योतकोऽपि वा।
शक्त्यधानाय धातोर्वा सहकारी प्रयुज्यते। (२. १९०)
निपाता द्योतकाः केचित् पृथगर्थाभिधायिनः।
आगमा इव केऽपि स्युः संभूयार्थस्य वाचकाः॥' (२. १९४)

निपातानां द्योतकत्वमिदं न केवलं व्याकरणशास्त्रीयप्रक्रियानुसारं रूपसिद्ध्यर्थं स्वीकृता केवलव्याकरणशास्त्रपरिभाषिता तान्त्रिकी व्यवस्था, किन्तु सर्वैरेव शास्त्रकारैरभ्युपगन्तव्यः विषयः। अत एव 'आस्यते गुरुणा' इत्यकर्मकस्य आसधातोः 'उपास्यते गुरुः' इत्यादौ सकर्मकत्वं संगच्छते।

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अस्य द्योतनाख्यस्य सामर्थ्यस्य लक्षणप्रमाणाभ्यां स्वरूपसिद्धिः प्राचीनैः ग्रन्थकारैः स्वातन्त्र्येण न क्वापि समर्थिता उपलभ्यते। लक्षणा–व्यञ्जना–तात्पर्याख्याः परसंमताः स्वस्यासंमता अपि खण्डयितुं मण्डयितुं वा लक्षिताः सोदाहरणम्। द्योतनाया अस्याः तथाविधं खण्डनं मण्डनं क्वचिदेवाल्पीयसांशेनोपलभ्यते। व्यक्तिविवेके महिमभट्टः प्रथमे विमर्शे 'तस्माद् भाक्तमेव द्योतकत्वमुपगन्तव्यम् न मुख्यम्' इति तद्विषये उपसंहरति। श्रीमन्तः भट्टोजीदीक्षिताः शब्दकौस्तुभे प्रथमे पस्पशाह्निके साधुत्वासाधुत्वलक्षणावसरे 'औपसन्दानिकी शक्तिरेव द्योतना' इति तां लक्षयामासुः। श्रीमन्तः पातञ्जले महाभाष्ये कृतभूरिपरिश्रमाः व्याकरणशास्त्रपारावारीणा अन्येषु शास्त्रेषु द्रढीयः कृतावगाहाः नागोजीभट्टास्तावत् लघुमञ्जूषायां व्यञ्जनानतिरिक्तत्वं द्योतनायाः समर्थयन्ते। व्यञ्जनानिरूपणावसरे ते लिलिखुः – 'द्योतकत्वं च क्वचित्स्वसमभिव्याहृतपदीयशक्तिव्यञ्जकत्वम्'। व्यञ्जनाया लक्षणावसरे 'मुख्यार्थबाधग्रहनिरपेक्षबोधजनकः, मुख्यार्थसम्बद्धासम्बद्धसाधारणः' इति द्वे विशेषणे पुरस्तात् तैरेव कथिते वर्तेते। उपसर्गाणां निपातानां वा शक्त्या अर्थवत्त्वाभावे, व्यञ्जनाविशेषरूपत्वेन द्योतनायामङ्गीकृतायां च ते द्वे विशेषणे कथंकारं संगच्छेताम्। यतः यदि तेषां मुख्यार्थ एव नास्ति तत्कुतस्तद्बाधग्रहचिन्ता, कुतो वा तत्सम्बद्धासंबद्धविमर्शः प्रादुर्भवेत्। तदिदं सर्वथा वाच्यार्थरहितत्वं केषांचन पदानाम् 'अधिपरी अनर्थकौ' इतिसूत्रेण 'निपातस्यानर्थकस्य प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञा वक्तव्या' इति वार्तिकेन च सूत्रवार्तिककृतोः संमतमपि। एवंस्थिते द्योतनायाः व्यञ्जनान्तः पातित्वं स्यादुताहो व्यापारान्तरमेवानर्थकशब्दनिष्ठं द्योतना इति अभ्युपेतव्यम्?

यदि व्यञ्जनायाः स्वरूपं सर्वैः शास्त्रकारैरभ्युपगतं नागोजीभट्टैश्च लक्षितम् अभिधामूलं लक्षणामूलं चेति द्विधा विभज्यते तदा द्योतनाख्योऽयं शब्दव्यापारः सर्वथा स्वतन्त्र एवाभ्युपेतव्यः यस्य च लक्षणं स्यात् 'वाच्यार्थरहितत्वे सति स्वसमभिव्याहृतपदनिष्ठशक्तिविशेषद्योतकत्वम्' इति।

ननु इदं द्योतकत्वं द्योतना वा शब्दनिष्ठः व्यापारविशेषः, तस्य चोपरिनिर्दिष्टं लक्षणम् इति स्वातन्त्र्येण स्वीकारे वृथागौरवमापद्येत, तदपेक्षया वरं तस्याः द्योतनायाः व्यञ्जनान्तःपातित्वमिति चेत् प्रामाणिकं गौरवं न दोषाय, यतः शक्यार्थेनार्थवतां शब्दानां तत्तच्छक्यार्थद्वारा लक्ष्यार्थद्वारा वा अन्येन वक्त्रादिवैशिष्ट्येन वा यत्रार्थान्तरस्य प्रतीतिः तत्रैव व्यञ्जनाव्यापार इति व्यञ्जनास्वरूपे निर्णीते येषु सर्वथा शक्यार्थराहित्यमेव तेषु पदान्तरनिष्ठशक्तिविशेषोद्बोधकेषु उपसर्गादिषु कथंकारं व्यञ्जनाव्यापारः व्याप्रियेत। एतादृशे सर्वथा वैलक्षण्ये जागरूके तदनवेक्षणं गजनिमीलिकैव स्यादिति व्यञ्जनान्तःपातित्वं द्योतनाया नाभ्युपैतुं सुशकम्।

प्राचीनैः ऋषिभिरनभ्युपगतस्य 'द्योतना'रूपस्वतन्त्रव्यापारस्य स्वीकारे तद्विरोधःस्यादिति न कामपि क्षतिशङ्कां श्रीमन्तोऽत्रभवन्तो मन्येरन्। यतः शब्दार्थसम्बन्धविचारे सूत्रकारमारभ्याद्यावद्या विचारधारा तत्र तत्र प्रस्तुता, तां यदि वयं पर्यालोचयामः तर्हि 'अव्यक्तादीनि भूतानि व्यक्तमध्यानि भारत' इत्येव श्रीमद्भगवदुक्तां सरणिमुपलभामहे। यतः प्राचीनतमेषु ग्रन्थेषु सर्वोऽपि शब्दप्रतिपाद्यः वाच्यः, लक्ष्यः, व्यङ्ग्यः अन्यो वा अर्थः एकरूपेणैव निर्दिष्ट उपलभ्यते। यथा चाहुः महाभाष्यकाराः 'सर्वे सर्वार्थवाचकाः' 'ग्रामशब्दोऽयं बह्वर्थः—' इत्यादि। वाक्यपदीयेऽपि

'यथा सास्नादिमान् पिण्डः गोशब्देनाभिधीयते।
तथा स एव गोशब्दः वाहीकेऽपि व्यवस्थितः॥ (२. २५३)

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सर्वशक्तेस्तु तस्यैव शब्दस्यानेकधर्मणः।
प्रसिद्धिभेदात् गौणत्वं मुख्यत्वं चोपवर्ण्यते ॥ (२. २५४)

इत्यादौ शब्दानां सर्वशक्तित्वमुपवर्ण्यते। न तावता 'गोशब्दस्य वाहीके शक्तिः, वाहीकः गोशब्दस्य शक्यः' इति वा तेऽभिप्रयन्ति यथा यथा उत्तरोत्तरैः शास्त्रकृद्भिः शब्दानां तत्र तत्र वर्तमानान् तान् तान् समानधर्मान् विधर्मांश्च प्रपञ्च्य अर्थबोधनसामर्थ्ये विविधता महत्या सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया लक्षिता, तदा इयमभिधा, अयमर्थोऽभिधेयः, इयं लक्षणा, अयं चार्थो लक्ष्यः, इयं व्यञ्जना अयं च व्यङ्ग्योऽर्थः इति यथाक्रमं विभेदमापन्नं तत्तत्सामर्थ्यं व्यक्तं, व्यक्ततरं, व्यक्ततमं च लक्षितं शास्त्रेषु। नहि तत्र कदाचिदृषिः शास्ति, ईश्वरो वाज्ञापयति, राजा वा दण्डयति 'एते एव शब्दसामर्थ्यस्य विभेदाः, एतान्येव तल्लक्षणानि तेष्वेव सर्वोऽप्ययं शब्दसामर्थ्यप्रपञ्चः यथाकथञ्चिदन्तर्भाव्यः अन्यथा मूर्धा ते व्यपतिष्यत्' इति।

इतः पूर्वं शास्त्रकारैः लक्षितेषु शब्दव्यापारेषु यदि द्योतनाव्यापारः स्ववैलक्षण्येन न क्वापि समन्वियात् तर्हि सर्वथा वस्तुभूतस्य पदार्थान्तरस्य अपलापं विहाय, विहाय च वृथागौरवशङ्कां द्योतनारूपव्यापारान्तरस्वीकार एव प्रामाणिकः शास्त्रसरणिमनुसरति इति स्वाभिप्रायं समुपस्थितेषु विद्वत्सु महता प्रश्रयेण निवेद्य विरमामि।

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निरुक्ते निपातप्रसंगः

मुकुन्द माधव शर्मा, गौहाटी

निपातानामर्थद्योतकत्वविषये निरुक्तकार एव सर्वप्रथमं हस्तावलम्बनं वितरति। तथा चोच्यते—

न निर्बद्धा उपसर्गा अर्थान्निराहुरिति शाकटायनो नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्त्युच्चावचाः पदार्था भवन्तीति गार्ग्यस्तद्य एषु पदार्थः प्राहुरिमे तं नामाख्यातयोरर्थविकरणम्। इति (निरुक्तम्, १-३)

अयमाशयः— निर्बद्धाः निष्कृष्य नामाख्यातमध्यात् पदवाक्यरूपेण विरचिताः सन्तः अर्थं न बोधयन्ति उपसर्गा इति शाकटायनस्य मतम्। कथं तेषामर्थवत्त्वमिति प्रश्ने शाकटायन एव आह— नामाख्यातयस्तु इति। नामाख्यातयोरेव योऽर्थः तत्रैव विशेषं कंचिदुपसंयोज्य द्योदयन्ति। उपसर्गसंयोगे सति नामाख्यातयोरेवार्थविशेषः व्यज्यते। 'यथा प्रदीपसंयोगे द्रव्यस्य गुणविशेषोऽभिव्यज्यमानो द्रव्याश्रय एव भवति न प्रदीपाश्रयः।' तथा। (दुर्गाचार्यस्य टीका, पृ. ५८-५९)। अत्र 'कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका' इत्यत्र कर्मपदमर्थपर्यायम् इत्यग्रे विस्पष्टं दर्शयिष्यते। गार्ग्यस्तु अन्यथाब्रूते। तन्मते हि उच्चावचाः बहुप्रकारा एषामुपसर्गपदानामर्थाः भवन्ति वियुक्तानामपि नामाख्याताभ्याम्। ननु नामाख्यातनैरपेक्ष्येण अर्थबोधनार्थं न कोऽपि उपसर्गं एकाकी प्रयुज्यते इति कथमुच्यते उपसर्गाणामप्यर्था भवन्तीति। तत्रोच्यते— "अस्योपसर्गस्यायमर्थ" इति कथनादेवोपसर्गस्य स्वातन्त्र्योणार्थवत्त्वं सिद्धम्। स तु अर्थः नामाख्यातयोरेवार्थविशेषरूपः। प्रयोगस्तु यथा "आ इत्यर्वागर्थे" इति। आ पर्वतात्। 'अर्वाग् इति गम्यते' इति दुर्गाचार्यः। अर्वाग् इत्यनेन सम्बन्धविशेषो लभ्यते। स च सम्बन्धोऽन्तत एकतरं सम्बन्धिनमपेक्षते। तस्मादा इत्यनेन पर्वतादित्यस्य प्रयोग आवश्यकः। एवञ्च स्वयमर्थवानपि उपसर्गः स्वसमभिव्याहृतपदान्तरस्यार्थमपेक्षते, तस्यैव च विशेषं द्योतयति इति शाकटायनमतमपि निर्विवादम्। किन्तु गार्ग्येण यदुक्तमर्थवान् उपसर्ग इति तस्यापि किञ्चिदनपह्नवनीयं तथ्यमस्ति। तथा हि अर्थवान् उपसर्गः। तस्मादेव "अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम्" (पा० १-२-४५) इति सूत्रेण प्रातिपादिकसंज्ञा उपसर्गे संगच्छते। तदनु "ङ्याप् प्रातिपदिकात्" (पा० ४-१-१) इत्यस्याधिकारे "स्वौजसगौड्"० (पा० ४-१-२) इत्यादि सूत्रेण सुवादिलाभः। "अव्ययादाप्सुपः" (पा० ८-४-९२) इत्यनेन तल्लोपश्च सम्भवति। प्रत्यये लुप्तेऽपि "प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम्" इति न्यायेन न पदत्वहानिः।

अत्रायं शंका समुदेति। ननु निपातानां द्योतकत्वं विचारयितुमुपक्रम्य कथमत्र उपसर्गप्रसंग एवावतार्यते। न खलु एकतरेणान्यतरस्य सिद्धिः। उपसर्गो निपातश्चेत्युभावपि भिन्नौ स्तः। स्वीकृत एव चैतद्भेदे "तद्यान्येतानि चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्यंति चोपसर्गनिपातश्च तानीमानि भवन्ति" इति निरुक्तकारवचनं (निरुक्तम्, १-१) संगच्छते। महाभाष्यस्य पस्पशायामपि—

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चत्वारि शृंगा त्रयोऽस्य पादाः
द्वे शीर्षे सप्त हस्तासो अस्य।
त्रिधा बद्धो वृषभो रोरवीति
महो देवो मर्त्यां आ विवेश॥ (ऋ. सं. ४-५८-३)

इत्यस्य व्याख्याने "'चत्वारि शृंगाणि' चत्वारि पदजातानि नामाख्याते चोपसर्गनिपाताश्च" इति महाभाष्यकारवचनमेतद्भेदमेव परामृशति। तथैव—

"चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि" [ऋ० सं० १-१६४-४५] इत्यस्य व्याख्यानेऽपि महाभाष्यकारः तद्भेदं स्वीकरोति। किञ्च सत्यप्युपसर्गनिपातयोर्भेदे नागोजीभट्टः परमलघुमञ्जूषायां निपातार्थनिर्णयप्रसंगे उपसर्गार्थमपि निर्णयति। तथैव भट्टोजिदीक्षितस्य कारिकासु तद्व्याख्यानात्मके कौण्डभट्टस्य वैयाकरणभूषणसारेऽपि निपातार्थनिर्णयप्रसंग एव उपसर्गार्थस्यापि निर्णय इति कथमुभयोर्भेदः को वा उभयोः सम्बन्ध इत्ययं प्रश्नः। अत्रास्माभिरेवं समाधीयते—

"प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपातः" (पा० १-४-५६) इत्यधिकृत्य "चादयोऽसत्त्वे" (पा० १-४-५७) तथा "प्रादयः" (पा० १-४-५८) इति सूत्राभ्यां निपातसंज्ञा विधीयते। अद्रव्यार्थाः चादयः प्रादयश्च निपाता इत्यर्थः। "उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे" (पा० १-४-५९) इति सूत्रेण उपसर्गसंज्ञा च विधीयते। तस्मात् चादयः निपाता एव प्रादयस्तु निपातास्सन्त एव क्रियायोगे अर्थात् क्रियया अन्वये सति उपसर्ग इति व्यपदेशं लभन्ते। एवञ्च संगच्छत एव निपातार्थनिर्णयप्रसंगे उपसर्गार्थस्यापि निर्णयः नागोजीभट्टप्रभृतीनां ग्रन्थेषु। सति चैवं प्रादिषु पठितत्वेऽपि आ-इत्यस्य क्रियायोगाभावाद् आ पर्वतादित्यत्र नोपसर्गत्वं किन्तु निपातत्वमेव। एवन्तर्हि नामाख्याते निपातश्चेति त्रीणि एव पदजातानि सन्तु इति चेन्नैष दोषः। क्रियायोगवत्त्वे सति असत्त्वं प्रादीनाम् उपसर्गत्वम्। क्रियायोगरहितत्वे सति चादिप्रादिसाधारण्येन असत्त्वमर्थाद्द्रव्यार्थत्वं निपातत्वमित्युभयोर्भेदस्य सुवचत्वात्।

पुनरप्यत्रेयं शंका समुदेति। ननु उपसर्गाः नामाख्यातयोः कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्तीति शाकटायनेनोक्तं निरुक्ते अभ्युपगम्यते। किन्तु "उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे" इत्यस्य प्रसिद्धत्वे कथमत्र नाम्नः कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतकत्वस्योक्तिः संगच्छते। इति। तत्र पुनरस्माभिरेवं समाधीयते। ये च प्रादयस्त एव साधारण्येन उपसर्गा इत्युक्ताः त एव आख्यातस्य कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतकास्सन्तः पाणिनिमुनेरभिप्रेता उपसर्गाः भवन्ति। नाम्नः कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतकत्वे तु चादिसाधारण्येन केवलं निपातत्वमेव। अस्मन्मते पाणिनिरेव सर्वप्राथम्येन निपातोपसर्गयोर्भेदं विस्पष्टं प्रकटयति। निरुक्ते तु स भेदः श्लिष्टतया एवोपलभ्यते। यथा तथा वा भवतु, उपसर्गलक्षणं साधारण्येन प्रतिपाद्य पुनरपि चादिप्रादिसाधारण्येन कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतकत्ववैलक्षण्येन निपातलक्षणमुपस्थापयन्नाह निरुक्तकारः—

"अथ निपाता उच्चावचेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्त्युपमार्थेऽपि कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थेऽपि पदपूरणाः" इति (निरुक्तम् १-४)। "उच्चावचेष्वनेकप्रकारेष्वर्थेषु निपतन्तीति निपाताः" (निरुक्तवृत्तिः)। के वा ते अर्था इत्यत्र उच्यते— "अप्युपमार्थेऽपि कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थेऽपि पदपूरणाः" इति। उपमार्थे उदाहरणमग्निरिवेन्द्र इति। उपमा नाम कस्मिंश्चिदेवार्थे प्रसिद्धो यो गुणस्तस्यान्यस्मिन्नप्रसिद्धतद्-

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गुणेऽर्थे प्रकाशनम्। एतच्च प्रकाशनं वस्तुतस्तद्भिन्नत्वे सति तद्गतभूयोधर्मवत्त्वमिति लक्षणेन लक्षितस्य सादृश्यस्यैवाभिव्यञ्जनम्। कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थेऽपीत्यंशं व्याख्यायन्नाह दुर्गाचार्यः— "कर्मोपसंग्रह एवार्थः कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थः। तस्मिन् कर्मोपसंग्रहार्थे। अर्थोपसंग्रहार्थे इत्यर्थः। कर्मशब्दो हि प्रायेणार्थपर्यायवचन एतस्मिञ्छास्त्रे। 'गतिकर्माण उत्तरे धातवः' गत्यर्था इति गम्यते।" इति (निरुक्तवृत्तिः, पृ. ६३)। को नामकर्मोपसंग्रह इत्यत्र निरुक्तकारः स्वयमेव ब्रूते— "अथ यस्यागमादर्थपृथक्त्वं विज्ञायते न त्वौद्देशिकमिव विग्रहेण पृथक्त्वात् स कर्मोपसंग्रहः।" (निरुक्तम्, १–४)। एतद् व्याख्यायन्नाह दुर्गाचार्यः— "यस्यागमादध्याहारादश्रूयमाणस्यैव निपातस्य सरूपविरूपैकशेषादर्थतो वा पृथक्त्वम् अथ पृथग्भाव एव विज्ञायते।[1] तद् यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्तश्चेति। द्वावप्यत्र देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ श्रूयेते न तु तयोरौद्देशिकमिव[2] पृथक्त्वमिति यथा गाः अश्वान् पुरुषान् पशून्[3] इति प्रत्येकमुद्दिश्यमानानाम्। इह तु विग्रहेण च-शब्दागमादेतत् पृथक्त्वमुपजायते। – – – स एष (अर्थात् कर्मोपसंग्रहः) पृथक्त्वद्धेतोः पृथक्त्वेन निमित्तेनोपलक्ष्यमाणो यस्माद् द्वावर्थौ बहून् वा गृहीत्वैकस्मिन् कर्मण्युपसमावेष्टयति तद् यथा देवदत्तयज्ञदत्तौ पचेते इत्येवम्। कर्मोपसंग्रह इत्येतन्नामैव तद् भवति। अथवा बृहस्पतिश्चेत्युक्ते प्रजापतिरनुक्तोऽपि द्वितीयो गम्यते प्रजापतिश्चेति।" (निरुक्तवृत्तिः, पृ ७०)

अत्र तावद् दुर्गाचार्यस्य व्याख्याने विकल्पद्वयमुपलभ्यते। तथा हि यत्र नामपदानामुल्लेखमात्रेणैव भेदो नोपलभ्यते तत्र निपातेन भेद उपलभ्यते। स चायं भिन्नानपि नामपदान् एकेन कर्मणा संयोजयतीति हेतोः स निपात एव कर्मोपसंग्रह इत्युच्यते। अयं प्रथमो विकल्पः। अस्मिन् विकल्पेऽपि नामपदार्थयोर्भेदः अनुपलभ्यमानोऽनुत्कटः धर्मविशेषो निपातेन द्योत्यत इत्युन्नेतुं शक्यते। निपातेनानुक्तोऽपि समुच्चीयते। निपातेषु च-कारस्तु प्रायश एवानुक्तसमुच्चयार्थकः एवं यो निपातोऽमुक्तमपि अर्थम् उपसंगृह्णाति स कर्मोपसंग्रहः। अयं द्वितीयो विकल्पः अस्मिन् विकल्पे 'गम्यते' इति पदस्य प्रयोगाद् विस्पष्टमेव निपातस्य द्योतकत्वम्। अस्मिन् दुर्गाचार्यस्य व्याख्याने प्रथमतरविकल्पे अस्वरसस्तु स्वयमेव द्वितीयविकल्पस्योपस्थापनेन सूचितः। यदाह भट्टकुमारिलः—

> व्याख्यान्तरविकल्पस्य द्वयमिष्टं निबन्धनम्।
> पूर्वत्रापरितोषो वा व्याप्तिर्वा विषयान्तरे॥ इति।

द्वितीयोऽपि विकल्पो नास्मभ्यं रोचते। मूले अनुक्तसमुच्चयार्थकस्य निपातस्योदाहरणादर्शनात्। अस्मन्मते प्रथमतरविकल्पस्य कर्मोपसंग्रहपदस्य व्युत्पत्तिरपि चिन्तनीया। मूले तादृशार्थस्याविवक्षितत्वस्य प्रतीयमाणत्वात्। तस्मादयमाशयो निरुक्तकारस्यास्मदभिप्रेतो यथा—

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१. एतदेव निपातानां पृथग् भावजनकत्वं "निपातातिरिक्तनामार्थयोर्भेदेनान्वयबोधस्याव्युत्पन्नत्वनियम" स्य बीजम् इति सम्भावयामः।

२. उद्देशः = उल्लेखः

३. तुलनीयम्— "गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुमितिवत् समुच्चयोऽत्र चकारेण विनापी"ति लोचने। गामश्वमित्यादेर्मूलं महाभाष्ये उपलभ्यमानः

> अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम्।
> वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति सुरया इव दुर्मदी॥ इति श्लोकः।

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यस्य (निपातस्य) दर्शनात् पृथक्त्वं ज्ञायते स कर्मोपसंग्रहः। गामश्वमित्येवमादिषु औद्देशिकमेव पृथक्त्वम्। उल्लेखमात्रेणैव निपातनैरपेक्ष्येणैव पृथक्त्वम्। तद्व्यतिरिक्तस्थलेषु यस्य (निपातस्य) प्रयोगे सति नामार्थयोः भेद एव ज्ञायते भेदेन एवान्वयो भवति स कर्मोपसंग्रहः। अयञ्च भेदो नामार्थयोरेव धर्मविशेषः। संयोगे नाम गुणो यथा संयुक्तयोरुभयत्रापि वर्तते तथैव पृथक्त्वमपि भिन्नयोर्नामार्थयोरुभयत्र वर्तते। एवमसति पृथक्त्वे अविशिष्ट एव नामार्थः। सति पृथक्त्वे विशिष्टावेव नामार्थौ ययोरयं विशेषो निपातेन द्योत्यते। स एव निपातः कर्मोपसंग्रहः। कर्म अर्थम् उप समीपे संगृह्णाति समाक्षिपति द्योतयतीति यावत्। एवंक्रमेणापि निपातस्य द्योतकत्वं निर्विवादमित्यास्तां तावत्।

पदपूरणास्तु ये निपातास्ते निरर्थका एवेति किं तेषामर्थस्वरूपविचारेणेति न वक्तव्यम्। पदपूरणानामपि अर्थास्सन्त्येव। अर्थाभावे सति प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाऽलाभेन "सुप्तिङन्तं पदम्" (पा० १-४-१४) इति सूत्रेण सुबाद्यलाभात् पदत्वविरहः। पदत्वविरहे सति "नापदं प्रयुञ्जीत" इति न्यायानुरोधेन तेषां प्रयोगालम्भवात्। तस्मात् साधूक्तं दुर्गाचार्येण— "पदमेव पूरयितव्यं येषामर्थस्ते पदपूरणाः। तदेतत् त्रिधात्वमर्थभेदकृतं निपातानां समासेन।" (निरुक्तवृत्तिः, पृ० ६३)। अस्मन्मते अत्रायमाशयः— पदपूरणार्थके कस्मिंश्चन निपाते प्रयुक्ते सति वक्ता पदपूरणार्थमेवात्रैतन्निपातं प्रयुंक्ते इत्यर्थः समुन्नीयते। सर्वथा सार्थकपादैर्वक्ता स्वकीयमभिप्रायमेव प्रकाशयति। एवमयमपि वक्तुरेवाभिप्रायः पदपूरणार्थकेन निपातेन समासाद्यते। स चायं वक्तुरभिप्रायो न वाच्यः किन्तु प्रतीयमान एवेति सर्वथा निपातानां द्योतकत्वे भूषणमेवैतदित्यलं बहुना॥

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